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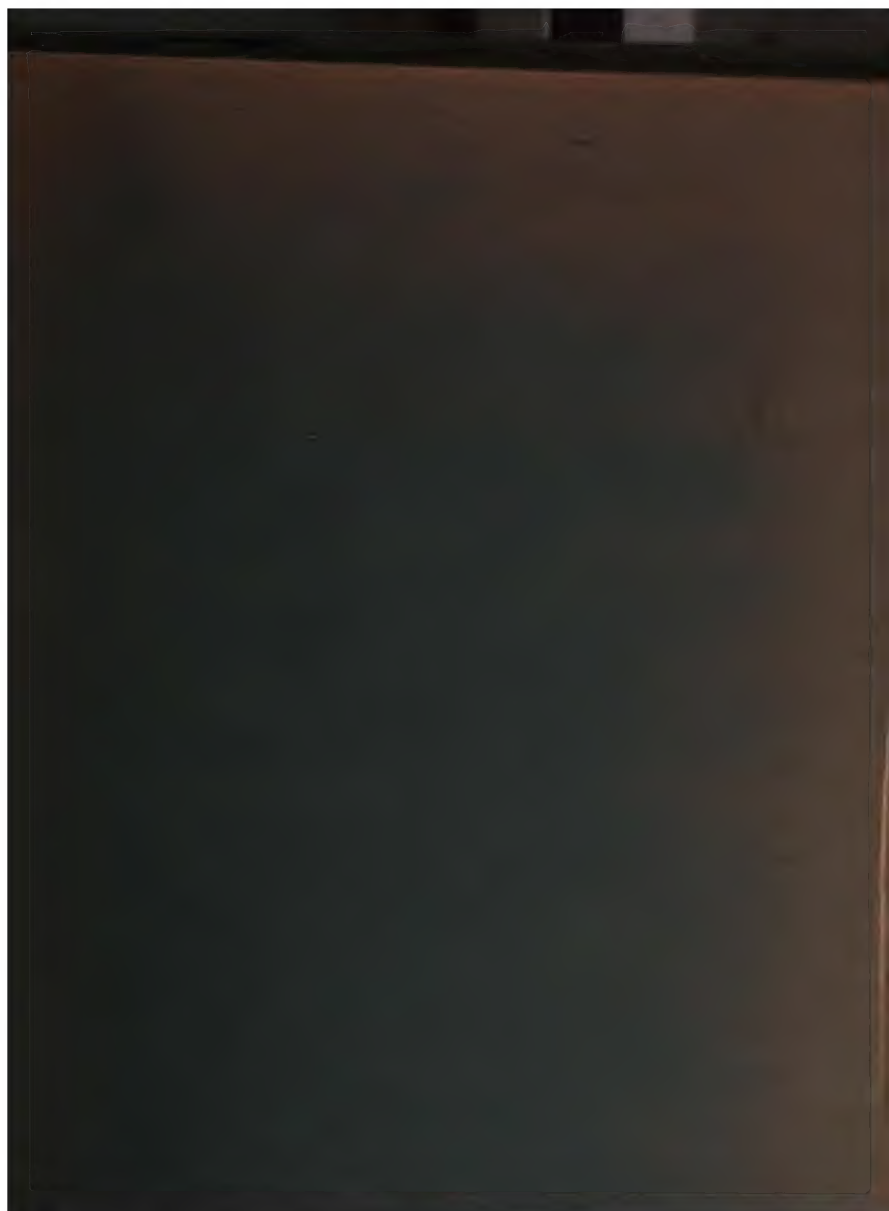
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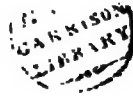






THE

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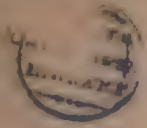
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# THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1886.

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## ART. I.—PROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION.

CONTEMPLATED WITH REFERENCE TO THE IDEA INVOLVED IN IT.

1. *The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal.* By THOMAS HARE. London: Longmans.
2. *Minorities and Majorities: their Relative Rights.* By J. G. MARSHALL. London: Ridgway.
3. *Works of Edmund Burke.*

THE question of Proportionate Representation—although, owing to an accidental combination of circumstances, it may seem for the moment to be disposed of—is one certain to recur, and perhaps more than once, for discussion, because it involves a deep principle, and a principle carries with it a strong vitality. It concerns the philosophy of politics, while by the superficial it is frequently treated as if it were but an arithmetical conundrum. Those who thus regard it have turned out the wrong side of the tapestry for inspection; the pattern is lost to them, and it is no wonder if they amuse themselves by plucking at the stuck-out ends of threads. In dealing with a serious matter of ethics we cannot make a beginning unless we separate the accidental from the essential, and contemplate the problem in the light of that idea which illustrates it. Let us thus contemplate "Proportionate Representation" in its connection with two things of which the modern world makes boast, without, however, at all times appreciating their higher claims on our respect—viz., "the Nation," and "National Progress." Coleridge once exclaimed, "Oh for a statesman—a single one—who truly understands the living might inherent in a principle!" It will be well on the present occasion to confine our attention to the great principle at issue, discarding all subordinate matters of

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detail, and all that belongs but to the mere polemics of party. Such questions as the "Preferential Vote," however important, are thus outside our present theme. We have here to deal with "Proportionate Representation" in a form so simple that no one can charge it with complexity. According to the arrangements till lately prevalent in England, the majority, however small, was commonly represented by two members; while the minority, however large, within the same electoral district, was left without representation, as it is now in the new single-member districts. On the other hand, if we adopt the simple expedient of having fewer but larger electoral districts, each returning three representatives or more; if we give to each voter as many votes as there are members to be returned; and if we permit him either to distribute his votes among several candidates, or to concentrate them on one, as he pleases; then, while a large majority can return two representatives, a minority of two-fifths is strong enough to return one. This, though far from being the exclusive, is the most typical formula by which "Proportionate Representation" can be expressed. Beyond this it is better here not to go; more subtle questions belong to the perfection, not to the principle, of Proportionate Representation.

Neither the authentic "Idea" of National Representation, nor its true dignity, is understood by those who assert that men discontented by a mere majority representation are labouring under a sentimental grievance. The injury is not chiefly that done to individuals, or to the local minority, which, even when nearly equal to the majority in numbers, and more numerous than the total electors of several represented towns, has often found itself amerced of all part in the making of those laws which yet it is bound to obey. The chief injury is the one inflicted on the nation itself, whose collective interests are postponed, as they were in the days of "Protection," to the supposed interests of a section of the nation. It is the old monopoly again, but in a form as yet not commonly detected; for what does mere majority representation mean but that majorities, strong enough in themselves, are artificially protected from the frank competition of minorities, the latter being often down-trodden and misshapen while their growth is still immature?

The "Public Opinion," even of a whole community, is itself often but a passing thing, self-corrected on mature reflection, as is shown by the "public opinion" of England during the days of "The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," and of the late Civil War in America. What, then, is to be hoped for if the rule of a mere majority among electors is preferred to that of the whole body,



that majority itself often consisting mainly of the least educated? What the disfranchised minorities demand is not equality of power, but equality of treatment, a free stage and no favour. What they ask from their country is not the indulgence often given to the weak, but a common right to serve her so far as their humble, but not inconsiderable, powers permit. The answer of those in possession is, "If you want power, make yourselves a majority!" This is a rough and ready admonition to make bricks without straw. A minority is first interdicted the ordinary means of growth, and then admonished to grow. The food that stimulates growth is reasonable hope; and hope is stifled when the best exertion meets no proportional reward. In the most arduous careers men advance by degrees, because effort is not in vain. With hope men are strengthened by trial; in the absence of hope they remain inert. A zealous, patriotic citizen not only desires to see his country prosper, but also aspires himself to win for her advantages especially appreciated by him, and to avert from her particular forms of evil not brought within the cognizance of all. Deride such aspirations, and you freeze that life-blood which would have gladly poured itself forth for king and country. A minority, the exertions of which are not rewarded within just degrees, either becomes extinct, or lives on not to work but to sulk; while the party that boasts its victory degenerates into a triumphant faction. To treat men with contumely because they are less strong than ourselves, is a violation both of good morals and good manners, which neither an individual or a nation can afford.

But, as has been already remarked, it is the nation itself that suffers most from the wrong, and this consideration brings us to the heart of the matter. The reason that so many miss this truth is because they are still intellectually running in the rut of past times, and have not risen to the full conception of that *actual* as distinguished from *virtual* representation of which, notwithstanding, we make our boast. In old times the representation of the country in the House of Commons, while nominally *an actual*, was in reality chiefly a *virtual* representation, such as it remains in the House of Lords, largely, though not exclusively. During the last century the House of Commons consisted in the main of England's country gentlemen: it virtually represented the landed proprietors, farmers, and labourers, and the old constitutional traditions; while the popular power, though partially represented in it also, was, for the most part, not *directly* represented, remaining a passive thing, but one of great importance because it included a latent, active force, sure to become patent under the stimulus of a sentiment that strongly

appealed to all. Virtual and actual representation are capable of working admirably in conjunction; but when a country ceases to be contented with virtual representation in its popular House it must go on to a real, and not a pretended, direct representation,—one that represents it intellectually and morally, not merely physically and numerically; one which represents its many classes, interests, and opinions, as generated both by historical and local circumstance, and which therefore must represent its local minorities, which, though they bear the common name of minority, are yet essentially different things in the different parts of the country, and make a wholly different contribution to the parliamentary stock of knowledge and judgment. Virtual representation is good in its place, and direct representation is good; but fictitious representation is bad.

A country may, at different periods of its existence, be guided by a single man who is recognized by all as their virtual representative; or by a senate consisting of those regarded as its representative men; or, again, by such a direct representation of the whole country as presents, in its Parliament, a true and, as far as may be, a complete image of that country. Under all these changes, which commonly accompany a nation's development, there is one thing that remains unchanged. At one period the nation believes in the wisdom of some one great chief or king, at another of some historical order, and later in that of the people taken collectively; but at all those different periods alike it knows that a nation must be governed by wisdom, and not by mere will. So long as the wisdom recognized as a nation's guide is that of a particular order regarded as pre-eminently well informed, conspicuously responsible, and profoundly interested in the permanent well-being of the whole community, so long a clumsy method of testing the opinions of the country taken as a whole—opinions intended less to initiate a political course than to add to it a new sanction—is found sufficient: and such a method is mere majority representation; but when a nation deliberately elects to be self-governed, which few nations do prematurely unless they are artificially stimulated, it is bound to ascertain, with a scientific accuracy, if it can, and at the least with a conscientious solicitude, what it inwardly believes respecting the true and the right, of the authentic claims and the permanent interests of all. Whether the constitution be monarchical, aristocratical, or popular, or all three blended—the especial merit attributed to our own by the chief foreign political writers—to teach that Will apart from Wisdom has a right to govern, or can govern aright, is to teach a moral and political heresy; and the nation which gives ear to such teaching but “makes its rounds,” and returns, through civilization, to barbarism.

Let us apply these principles to Proportionate Representation. A self-governed nation has undertaken to be directed by its own wisdom; and the wisdom of a nation is public opinion rightly formed and justly estimated. But if the philosophic schools may err, much more may a nation, which has violent passions, much to delude it, and habits rather practical than reflective. How, then, is a genuine public opinion, as distinguished from a counterfeit one, to be formed? The following remarks deal with that question:—

A genuine public opinion, which alone should claim the name, is a rarer thing than many imagine; and there are countries in which it cannot exist. It is dissipated by the fervours of faction, and frozen by timidity and selfishness. The formation of a true public opinion resembles the process of crystallization, which takes place perfectly in proportion as it takes place without disturbance, and by the gradual operation of its own silent and interior law; the minute particles slowly settling down into the definite form, hexagonal, or more many-sided, according to the crystal's special type. Public opinion consists of numberless individual opinions, attracting each other, blended, but not merged; each of which must therefore at once possess the independence of real and free thought, and unite it with that moderation, charity, and reverence through which real and free thought willingly submits to conscientious modifications, resisting only the incompatible and the arbitrary, until at last there arises that harmony in which many minds become one.

If this estimate of public opinion be just, that singular attribute of a wise people is not formed by loud harangues, partisan clamours, unscrupulous electioneering contrivances, anonymous newspaper paragraphs too often calculated only to deepen old prejudices or inflame sudden passions, and least of all by mob-processions, with banner and brass band, the omens of that time when Liberty, in place of being the "grave mother of majestic works," is forced, after many a discreditable adventure, to put on motley attire, and take her place in pantomime. As little is it formed by depriving a nation's scattered minorities of political citizenship, exalting its scattered majorities into local despotisms, dragging the *disjecta membra* into a Medea's cauldron, and, after they have been well boiled down together, lifting thence a renovated Parliament as vivacious as old Egeus in his renewed youth. The formation of a true public opinion is neither a concubine, a mechanical, nor a magical process. It is not a sprite "dancing in the air," nor a more fleshly apparition rising from below and vanishing in mist:—

The earth hath bubbles as the water has,  
And these are of them.



It is not the resultant of fierce antagonisms made fiercer by insolent methods of public procedure preferred to the considerate and the courteous by enthusiasts bent upon doing a nation's work rapidly rather than on doing it well. The passions engendered by wrong are inconsistent with serious thought, and the numberless fictitious "public opinions" refuse to coalesce and become a real one. In other words, the multiplication of exaggerated local triumphs and of unmerited defeats deprives a people of the virtuous use of its political faculties, and substitutes for the unity of a true national existence a Babel of social sects and warring interests, to the destruction, eventually, of all solid patriotism. A nation thus maimed is rendered unfit both for the trials and the magnificent prospects which lie before modern civilization. How high a Christian nation might rise above what has hitherto been known of national greatness, if it were as zealous to discharge its duties as to claim its rights, it is hard to say : but we have too many examples to show us how low it may fall when counterfeit freedom, counterfeit equality, and counterfeit greatness are substituted for the realities, and walk in the train of a counterfeit national representation.

We perceive thus at once the fallacy of that plea so constantly urged by the apologists for mere majority representation—viz., "the minority in one district is the majority in another, and in Parliament they balance each other." The question is not primarily one as to the balance of forces in Parliament. It is as to whether the nation has so developed public opinion throughout her wide domain, and so adjusted the intellectual resources thus placed at her disposal, as to enjoy within the walls of Parliament the full contributions which she ought to have drawn from those whom she deems fit to be electors, and, indirectly, from all for whose weal she is bound to consult. Even on the assumption that public opinion has been duly formed though not represented, in the various electoral districts, and, again, that the minority in one district is the majority in another, so far as the battle of parties is concerned, it does not follow that any corresponding compensation takes place as regards political opinion outside the ring of party contests. The minority in one district and the majority in another may be in harmony so far as adhesion or opposition to a particular political party goes, and yet the most intimate conviction and ardent aspiration of the one may be wholly unshared by the other : the one may be zealous for religious education, the other for secular ; the one may approve of intervention, and the other of non-intervention. Consequently as regards convictions cherished by large bodies, and yet left unrepresented, the supposed compensation afforded to minorities is imaginary. Add to this that, except where two parties are nearly balanced, the

supposed compensation cannot exist even as regards the balance of party forces. Catholic Emancipation, Negro Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, Commercial Freedom, these great measures had met with considerable support from the thoughtful for many a year before they were passed into law. What caused a delay, in some cases so full of mischief? The circumstance that in districts where the party supporting those reforms lacked a majority, the minorities favourable to it were unrepresented. The game of party politics was played merrily enough, but the wound that went on festering in the breast of the nation has never been healed. Mere majority representation unites two evils of an opposite character. During inert periods it resists the passing of just measures until the reform ceases to carry with it a healing efficacy: at periods of excitement it will not tolerate even these brief constitutional delays without which a nation cannot distinguish between its deeper convictions and its superficial theories or passions; and thus for reform it substitutes revolution.

National representation, then, when contemplated in the light of an idea, means the proportionate representation both of a nation's majorities and larger minorities throughout the whole country, not chiefly in order to adjust the relations of parties, but for the purpose of eliciting the moral intelligence and maturing the wisdom of a nation. If men do not see this, it is because they do not contemplate the nation itself in the light of an idea: if they recognized its majesty they would at once be delivered from all temptation to worship that idol of political materialists—a majority. What is a nation? It is not, like a handful of sand, merely an *aggregate* of the individual grains which compose it. It is an organic growth the life of which is in the whole. It is a body the larger portion of which is subordinate to the nobler, the heart and the head. It is a hierarchy of high powers which only continue to live because they are ranged, one beneath another, in just subordination. The several atoms which compose that body derive from it, not their strength only, but their sequent existence. Separated from it, their fate would be "to lie in cold obstruction and to rot;" and their noblest heritage is the obedience they owe to it as a whole, and not to any mere portion of it, whether the major or the minor, taken apart from that whole. So long as the individual members of a nation recognize their duties to it, so long does the nation recognize its duties to them all, and claim to be the servant of each. To it the humblest individual member is an object of reverence. The nation, indeed, is but the expansion of the individual, a larger mirror reflecting his latent greatness. It exists for him, and though its authority is not derived from him,



yet it is bound both to promote his spiritual interests and take charge of those that are material. The obligation is mutual; the loyalty is reciprocal; and the dignity of the nation is enhanced, not abated, when it acknowledges the duty which it owes to its members, even when but a minority. On the other hand, a mere majority is, *as such*, but a material thing: if by an act of self-will, and without necessity, it revolts against the organic body, that body continues to be the nation, even when numerically a minority, and the revolted majority is but a populace, not a people. It follows that servile deference to a mere majority, as if it possessed a virtue *inherent in itself*, and could claim to be the representative of the nation beyond the limits assigned to its power by the national constitution, is simply the worship of material force. When a nation far advanced in civilization discovers that its maturer intelligence can no longer be adequately expressed by adding up a mere sum total of local majorities—just as the thought of the man cannot be interpreted by the babble of the child—and finds that it needs a finer organ of expression, one that includes the voice of important minorities, it is *bound* imperatively to select that, the more exact form of expression; and the local majorities are bound not only to accept that choice but to rejoice in it. They are disloyal to the nation which they affect to represent unless they desire that her deliberate and conscientious will, ascertained in the most exact manner, should prevail. The wrong done to the local minority, when deliberately left unrepresented, is a two-fold wrong: it is the expansion of that injury inflicted on the sacred right of each individual, amerced of a right conferred on him by his country; it is also the image in miniature of the injury done to the total country in which that conscientious public opinion, which ought to have grown up and become the nation's guide, is murdered before its birth.

It is thus that Edmund Burke speaks respecting that will of a majority:

In a state of *rude* nature there is no such thing as a People. A number of men in themselves have no collective capacity. The idea of a People is the idea of a corporation. . . . We are so little affected by things which are habitual, that we consider this idea of the decision of a *majority*, as if it were a law of our original nature; but such constructive whole, residing in a part only, is one of the most violent fictions of positive law that ever has been, or can be, made on the principles of artificial incorporation. Out of civil society nature knows nothing of it. . . . In the abstract, it is perfectly clear, that out of a state of civil society, majority and minority are relations which can have no existence; and that, in civil society, its own specific conventions in each corporation determine what it is that

constitutes the people, so as to make their act the signification of the general will. . . . I see as little of policy or utility as there is of right in laying down a principle that a majority of men told by the head are to be considered as the people, and that as such their will is to be law.

To the omnipotence of a mere majority he opposes the high and special qualifications, both for counsel and rule, often bestowed, not by privilege, but by *nature*, on a minority; and on them bestowed, not for their own advantage, but for the behoof of the whole nation; and he thus characterizes the policy which would exalt a nation by practically ostracizing her wisest and her best: "To give therefore no more importance to such descriptions of men than that of so many units, is a *horrible usurpation*." \* Again he shows how, in various countries, for various functions, political or judicial, the power of decision has been confided, not to a simple majority, as if a magic charm resided in the word, but sometimes to a larger, sometimes to a smaller majority, and sometimes to a selected minority. A majority is not a principle, but one of many modes for realizing the true principle, viz., National Representation. He sums up thus:—"Neither the few nor the many have a right to act merely by their will, in any matter connected with duty, trust, engagement, or obligation."

To deny that numbers alone are to rule is not to affirm that civil position and privilege alone are to rule; the qualifications to rule wisely and justly are essentially moral qualifications demanded and imparted by nature, and recognized, not created by, convention. So long as the qualities which naturally lead to eminence survive in sequent generations, their claims to power, though not to exclusive power, survive also, because their powers to serve the nation survive. If these powers survive no longer, the order which had once possessed them deservedly falls; and nature supplies its place:—but not by substituting the mere rule of numbers for that of intellectual and moral power. Let us listen once more to Burke. He speaks of the qualifications for liberty: from these may be inferred the qualifications for the exercise of political power in a country that possesses liberty, and is resolved to transmit the gift it has inherited.

Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites; in proportion as their love to justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen

\* "Appeal from the New Whigs to the Old Whigs," pp. 210-219. (Barrington, 1826)

to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

If they cannot be free, much less are they fit to be trusted with preponderant, and least of all with illimitable, political power in a free country. It was not in contempt of the poor, but in their defence, that that great political philosopher, if possible even more eminent for his passionate love of justice, and hatred of injustice, than for his wisdom, thus rebuked the ethical heresies which in his later years threatened with destruction "that glorious work of time and providence," the constitution of England; while, triumphant in France, they wrote in blood on the bosom of that once noble and religious country, the sentence of her condemnation and of her shame. In this high philosophy there was nothing one-sided. Burke knew what the real claims of the poor are; and for that reason he knew what they are not, and denounced those who, when they demanded bread gave them a stone. They have a high political function, but it is not that of predominant rule, however their numbers may predominate.

The most poor, illiterate, and uninformed creatures upon earth are judges of a *practical* oppression. It is a matter of feeling; and as such persons generally have felt most of it, and are not of an over-lively sensibility, they are the best judges of it. But for the *real cause or the appropriate remedy*, they ought never to be called into council about the one or the other . . . because their reason is weak; because, when once roused, their passions are ungoverned; because they want information; because the smallness of the property which individually they possess, renders them less attentive to the consequence of the measures they adopt in affairs of moment.\*

Elsewhere he shows that such statements do not deny that the masses have a momentous civil office, but, on the contrary, indicate in what it consists.

It is not necessary to teach men to thirst after power. But it is very expedient that by moral instruction they should be taught, and *by their civil constitutions they should be compelled* to put many restrictions upon the immoderate use of it, and the inordinate desire. . . He (the 'true Statesman') thinks of the place in which political power is to be lodged with no other attention than as it may render the more or the less practicable its salutary restraint, and its prudent direction. For this reason, no legislator, at any period of the world, has willingly placed the seat of *active* power in the hands of the multitude; because

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\* Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.



there it admits of no control, no regulation, no steady direction whatever. *The people are the natural control on authority : but to exercise and control it together, is contradictory and impossible.\**

To the same effect Coleridge speaks. The people are, he says, the very life-blood of the body politic; but in health that life-blood manifests itself by the glow of life and strength in the cheek:—if it flows over in a stream it is because a wound has been inflicted.

It may appear to some that the principles here advocated imply an exclusive admiration for aristocratic and a narrow prejudice against democratic institutions. What they really imply is a preference for the English Constitution, the boast of which has so long been that it alone combines the three great elements of power, monarchical, aristocratical, and popular, to a constitution founded on the popular element by itself. This is a preference which, at least till lately, the two great historical parties of England, the Tory and the Whig, have shared, as men still share a belief that the acephalous and non-vertebrated animal structures are inferior to those which include a head and a spine. But, if England should ever adopt purely democratic institutions, it will become, on that account, not less but more necessary that her representative system should represent the whole community and not merely a sum total of local majorities. In an admirable pamphlet† published when the household franchise was conceded to boroughs, Mr. James Garth Marshall, a man whose whole heart was with the people, and who loved them too well to pander to popular passions, thus distinguishes between two opposite things which are often called by the same name:—

Let us first think what we mean by the term democracy, for there may be two very different kinds of democracy—the one just and noble, the fruit of which is true freedom and equitable laws; the other unjust and degrading, which is destructive to true liberty, and which leads either to anarchy and confusion, or else to tyranny and despotism. The main principle of a just and beneficent democracy, with parliamentary government, is this—that the opinions and interests of all classes of society, in all parts of the country, should be fully and equitably represented in Parliament; and that any party who at any time possess overbalancing power, because they form a majority of the whole, should exercise their power with moderation, and as a trust for the public good, not for their own exclusive advantage. To stamp our democracy with the character of this higher principle it is of the first necessity that in all contests between opposite political parties, especially in contested elections, a spirit of

\* "Appeal from the New Whigs to the Old Whigs," p. 203.

† "The New Franchise; How to Use it. An Address to the Working Men of Leeds." By James Garth Marshall. 1867.

honourable fair play should be observed. . . . I believe nothing would prove more effective in promoting the spirit of *fair dealing* between political parties than the measure now adopted by Parliament for giving, in large constituencies having three members, a fair proportionate weight to any party that may be in a minority. By the new Reform Bill it is enacted that in these constituencies no elector shall vote for more than two out of three members; a minority of two-fifths would, if they voted together, be able to secure one of the three members. If the minority were less than two-fifths, the majority, by distributing their votes, would return all the three members. I think the cumulative vote would have been a more complete and satisfactory arrangement; the plan, however, of the present Bill secures substantial justice, and a true representation of the whole constituency, not of the majority merely.

The expression "cumulative vote" means a system of voting where each elector in a constituency having as many votes as there are representatives to be elected in his county or borough, and distributing his votes as he pleases, may at his option give one vote to each candidate, or accumulate the whole number of his votes in favour of one candidate. . . . (p. 13).<sup>\*</sup> It is therefore desirable that, to give the fullest development to the advantages of the cumulative vote, there should be not less than three representatives to each constituency. (p. 22).

When, some eighteen years ago, such men as Mr. J. G. Marshall, John Mill, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Hare, and others wrote on "Proportionate Representation," the subject was discussed with more reference to philosophical considerations and less to party interests than it has recently been. In the years referred to the question was treated as one not only of political, but of great moral significance. Thus Mr. Marshall remarked: "It is when one party, under the present system of voting, feel themselves at an unjust disadvantage, that they are driven to various violent and immoral expedients to maintain their position; to bribery, intimidation, and the raking up of class animosities." This is most true; and from this it follows that, if "Proportionate Representation" had been adopted in time, there would have been neither need nor pretext for the ballot, that cowardly procedure, through which men are to be protected from the consequences of discharging their political duties, not by laws punishing intimidation, direct or indirect, but by the use of a mask when they vote, and by subsequent lying if interrogated. At that time democracy had serious moral and patriotic aspirations. It was before the days of the Caucus.

Let us not be outstripped by our cousins across the Atlantic in the endeavour to realize this great improvement. Let us prove ourselves

<sup>\*</sup> "Minorities and Majorities: their Relative Rights." By J. G. Marshall. Ridgway.

worthy of the new grand onward movement of democracy in our own England, the nursing mother of free institutions. Do not let democracy be amongst us degraded by narrow party or class prejudices. . . . This is the glorious history and tradition which has come down to us, and which it is our duty to maintain. . . . An Englishman will strike down his opponent, but scorns to trample on him when down.\* . . . There is much to favour the establishment, in far greater power and influence than it has yet attained, of a *true and beneficent democracy* in England; I do not mean as hostile to our monarchic and aristocratic institutions, but as combining with these in new forms, and giving them a new motive force. For these three principles, far from being necessarily opposed to each other, are, on the contrary, by the very nature of human society, indispensable to each other. A democracy without fit organization is a rope of sand; is no more able to direct and take care of itself than a herd of wild buffaloes wandering over an American prairie, and liable at any moment to rush off into a headlong stampede, they know not why and care not whither. Brains, and not numbers, do in fact rule the world in the long run, wherever there is any rule or order at all.

The warning with which he ends is even more a moral than a political warning:—"Let them avoid, as they would shun a certain shipwreck, the danger of being tempted by the possession of new and great power to use that power for unjust or selfish objects, the danger of setting up *the mere arbitrary will of a majority*, however small and fluctuating, as the supreme law."

This danger is one rendered much more formidable by the degree in which the mechanism of irregular political strategy has recently learned to blend together a thousand discordant wills, and thus impart to them "all ambition's singleness of aim." Formerly the power of mere numbers was limited by its own incoherency and self-contradictions. The science of modern agitation has flashed an intelligence—not an intelligence from above—into the restless mass, but done so without communicating to it a moral purpose. The exclusive rule of a mere majority is a bad thing because it is the rule of a force comparatively material: still worse is the rule of a majority representing not the various classes and conditions of a nation, but mainly a single interest and a single instinct; but worst of all is the rule of a mere majority wielded by a small, irresponsible, perhaps invisible, body of agitators. A nation which evokes such a power, creates, as Canning affirmed, a Political Frankenstein whose earliest impulse must ever be to hunt its creator to death.

The quotations made above from Burke, and from those writings of his later years elicited by the French Revolution, which threw him chiefly upon the conservative side of a many-sided

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\* "Minorities and Majorities: their Relative Rights."



intellect, might have been expected to exhibit a striking contrast to quotations from modern writers ardently devoted to the cause of progress. Notwithstanding, many of these later extracts have not a little analogy with those taken from Burke; and it would be easy to add very largely to their number, while quoting only from writers whose opinions belong to those of the "advanced school." Thus John Mill said:—

The natural tendency of representative government, as of modern civilization, is toward collective mediocrity; and this tendency is increased by all reductions and extensions of the franchise, their effect being to place the principal power in the hands of classes more and more below the highest level of instruction in the community. But, though the superior intellects and characters will necessarily be outnumbered, it makes a great difference whether or not they are heard. In the false democracy which, instead of giving representation to all, gives it only to the local majorities, the voice of the instructed minority may have no organs at all in the representative body. . . . The great difficulty of democratic government has hitherto seemed to be how to provide, in a democratic society, what circumstances have provided hitherto in all the societies which have maintained themselves a-head of others—a social support, a *point d'appui* for individual resistance to the tendencies of the ruling power, a protection, a rallying-point for opinions and interests which the ascendant public opinion views with disfavour. For want of such a *point d'appui* the older societies, and all but a few modern ones, either fell into dissolution or became stationary (which means slow deterioration), through the exclusive predominance of a part only of the conditions of social and mental well-being. . . . The only quarter in which to look for a supplement, or completing corrective to the instincts of a democratic majority, is the instructed minority; but in the ordinary mode of constituting democracy, this minority has no organ.

Mr. Buxton thus justified his advocacy of Proportionate Representation in 1867:—

It seemed to him that, valuable as the other results would be of the adoption of the proposed arrangement, no one of them would be of greater importance than this: that it would call forth so much political vigour and life in the constituencies to which it was applied. . . . It would be invidious to do so, otherwise he could easily remind the House of many boroughs and many counties in which utter apathy and stagnation had actually resulted from the feeling of the minority that any exertion of theirs must be vain.

Such statements strikingly show how much there is in common between very different schools of thought, when each is at its best—that is, when each has derived its principles from sincere philosophic and ethical reflection, not from the passions or necessities of party. A Conservative and a Popular political

philosophy, however they may differ in detail, are seldom wholly antagonistic, if grounded on real thought, except when each turns out its worst side upon the other. Under the influence of pride or interest mere dead "castes," grounded on accident, or injustice, and separated by eternal and impassable barriers, may take the place of those living orders and degrees which sustain the inner life of a nation; and an intelligence spell-bound by its devotion to old traditions may waste its energies in endeavours to prolong decay, and keep above ground what would be better beneath it; but it is quite as true that there is a spurious progress, the very opposite of a genuine one, and that the most ardent zealots for popular liberties may render it impossible for them either to achieve permanence or to deserve it. Those principles which are held in common by the best representatives of political systems in many respects at variance, possess an extraordinary claim on our attention.

In Burke's time, Proportionate Representation was an idea which had not yet risen above the political horizon; but its ascent was obviously watched for by a philosophy which saw so plainly at once the true greatness of a nation, and the counterfeit greatness of a majority. The same spot may be reached from very different directions, and those who have held many great principles in common, while opposed on not a few political questions of the day, may easily, under changed circumstances, arrive at nearly the same conclusions. Assuming that a nation, long dependent for its political guidance upon its most highly educated order, an order identified by history with the noblest traditions of that nation, and by property with its gravest interests in the present and the future, had at last come to the conclusion that the time for such tutelage had ceased, and had claimed at once the rights and duties of manhood, through the establishment of a very extended franchise; such an experiment, upon the principles of Burke, whether or not a wise one, might well be regarded as the expression of a generous aspiration, not of an ignorant arrogance, and as one which need involve, if undertaken in a righteous spirit, no dangers except those which a manly prudence converts into a "glorious gain." But on the principles of Burke as well as on those of the best "advanced thinkers" in our own day, the "righteous spirit" and the "manly prudence" would alike have demanded, not the claim to despotic power on the part of every shifting majority, but the zealous repudiation of any such claim. On the principles alike of Burke and of a philosophical democrat, a nation thus acting for itself in its collective capacity, giving an account to none, stirring up its strength when it wills, and committing itself to courses which, if erroneous, may admit of no retrieval, is pre-eminently bound to ascertain



that its Parliament at least represents the total judgment of the nation impartially collected, diligently sifted and justly applied; it must rebuke whatever might taint its deliberations with passion or pride; it must repel whatever sophisticates patriotic thought by overweening class-interests, and whatever discourages the conscientious growth and free expression of opinions at the moment unpopular; and it must ban all those illicit modes of political action which give a reckless minority dominion over the nation itself, like that marvellously small minority in Paris which created the "Reign of Terror" during the French Revolution. Finally, it need hardly be said that, on the principles alike of true Conservatism or true Democracy, powers so tremendous can never be conscientiously given, on any pretext, to those who have not learned their duties as subjects and citizens, and who consequently—more sinned against than sinning—are necessitated to abuse the powers thus prematurely conferred upon them to their own destruction and that of their country.

Once more, on the principles alike of Burke and of our "philosophical Radicals," it would be necessary, if a nation ventured on a change so great, and if that change was intended to be permanent, to effect it in such a manner as to allow the new institution created to work amicably with the old institutions retained. Thus, unless we desire a revolution as well as a great political development, the House of Lords and the newly constituted House of Commons should be capable of working in harmony. The House of Lords, though it includes the most distinguished members of the professions, the Army and the Navy, the Church and the Bar, as well as many eminent men of letters, and statesmen whose training was in the House of Commons, and thus far must be considered a directly representative body, though not an elective one, is yet more eminently a virtually representative assembly, and as such represents much in the present which is most unobtrusively and disinterestedly helpful to England, and much besides by which the past still ministers to the present and the future. Now that the House of Commons is elected by Household Suffrage, it is obviously not impossible that the relations between the two legislative bodies may often be strained. How is such a contingency to be met? We know well enough how it would be met by a country as impulsive, and as fanatically inexorable in the character of its political logic, as France is. But England is a deliberate, not an impulsive country, and in its political movements it has more belief in the judicious than in the merely and dryly logical. It would think twice before it abolished an assembly to which its liberties have owed so much in past ages; such as no other country in the world possesses or could create. In

matters of detail that House of course might be modified ; but to alter it essentially would be to destroy it, and thus to impoverish the English Constitution by eliminating from it an element necessary in itself and necessary also as a balance to other elements. As little could the House of Commons be now altered essentially, at least by the narrowing of the franchise recently so much enlarged. But it, too, might, in matters of detail, be modified, as well as the House of Lords, if experience should prove that such modification was needful ; nor is it by any means philosophical to assume that such modification may not, in calmer days than these, be reached through the principle of Proportionate Representation. Such a modification might not improbably recommend itself on very various grounds to very different persons, after a mature experience. The characteristic tendencies attributed to Proportionate Representation, equally by its Conservative and its Democratic advocates, suggest such an anticipation. Both classes affirm that its effects must be to represent, not numbers only, but the different classes and varied interests of the community, as well as the more permanent of its diversified political opinions. They point to the circumstance that it must admit to Parliament men of high and known ability and of exceptional experience, who lack the pecuniary means, the connections, the strength, and the popular qualities which recommend men to large majorities—thus including among the gifts bestowed by popular institutes, the benefits, without the defects, once derived from such boroughs as introduced into Parliament not a few of England's most eminent public servants. By others, members of opposed parties, Proportionate Representation is urged on us because through it alone continuity of national policy is rendered possible. Without it, they truly remark, our legislation is spasmodic and full of fierce alternations and reactions. In one Parliament there is an overwhelming majority at one side, in the next at the other side, both alike misrepresenting the general mind of the nation, exaggerating its most transient impulses, and not seldom at variance with the actual majority in the country at large.

" Give us," others say, " in the interests of Democracy itself, not whatever her zealots or her parasites may claim for her, but that which is needed to enable her to encounter those trials which no form of government can elude. Give us not only what will strengthen her hands, but what will provide her energies with a balance and a regulator. Give us what will raise the masses, not pull down those who have won for themselves, or honourably preserved as their inheritance, the natural rewards of superior intellect, courage, and perseverance—rewards, however, which ought to be open to all. Improve the condition of those who still remain on the lowest step

of the social ladder, and remove all obstacles from those whom nature has qualified to rise to the highest. Give us a parliamentary system which will not set class against class, but which will be the perpetual educator of a people."

Few nations have ever had such great opportunities for the formation of that true public opinion, which can alone prevent a democracy from becoming that false democracy deprecated alike by wise men of all parties, as England possesses; for she has a strong natural sense of justice, the best help to just thinking, and also the gift of slow, persistent thought, which alone makes its way to steadfast conclusions. She has the moral courage which enables a man to hold fast by what he has learned of truth, and therefore to add it to his country's common stock; and she has not the vivid impulses that incessantly break the slender tendrils of growing thought, or the ardent sympathies that make a man lose his individuality amid the clamour of the crowd. What at present too often impedes her exercise of these characteristic qualifications in the political sphere is chiefly the party violence natural to a country the government of which is party government. The antidote to this evil is to be found only in the upgrowth of a true and moderate public opinion, which must needs uplift the whole soul of the nation till it becomes fit for the highest attainable degree of liberty in union with order and with law. Proportionate Representation, in favouring such a growth and teaching each man to *respect* "his neighbour as himself," sides with all the best that England has inherited or acquired, and furnishes a protection against the chief dangers that threaten her from within or from without. It harmonizes with the interior gifts by nature hers, already referred to, and not less with the external gifts bequeathed to her by a heroic past. England, which has been the mother of parliaments, should be the first country to show to the world the example of a true parliament—the undistorting mirror that reflects the image, not falsified, and yet ennobled, of a just, wise, and valiant nation. Whether at an earlier or later period—for these remarks do not apply exclusively to the present time—this should be the privilege of England. She has been making various political experiments of late; and experimental philosophy does not hastily make its boast of finality. It "lives and learns," preserving what is sound in all that it has built up by introducing into the social fabric whatever a maturer experience proves to be yet deficient.

To the present confused state of Ireland it is hardly necessary to refer. It has more to do with her past than many suppose. Irish history, abounding as it does in the pathetic and the *picturesque*, was unfavourable to the creation of public opinion,



even in its rudiments. The clan system produced everywhere a breathlessly rapid succession of events, but not of the events which leave behind them political experience. These events were all of the same sort, each clan at once resembling its neighbour clan, and waging war against it. The clan system fostered a passionate loyalty both to ancient chiefs and to ancient laws, and as passionate a love of local, though not of individual, independence: it produced ardent affections and fierce antagonisms; heroic self-sacrifice and barbaric vindictiveness. It developed high domestic virtues, and much of moral, though not conventional, refinement; and, under fortunate circumstances, favouring, as it did, the conventional life, it stimulated a spiritual intensity which once rendered Ireland the land of saints, and might have rendered her such again; but it left neither provision nor demand for industry, prudence, or the other political qualities which build up states; and of course it did not bequeath the materials out of which public opinion, a great but somewhat prosaic thing, shapes itself.

Later times have, in that respect, been nearly as unfavourable to Ireland. The penal laws crushed out the seeds of public opinion. Life itself seemed but an untoward accident. It left place for careful broodings, and for gusts of careless gaiety; but serious reflection did not seem worth while. The movement which won Catholic Emancipation, the noblest and most unsullied popular movement exhibited by any people in modern times, had little to do with public opinion, though much with public sentiment in its highest form, that which blends religious aspiration with the true and wise patriotism in which neither vanity nor greed has a part. One strong man, Mr. O'Connell, thought for all Ireland. He put his brain into a people's heart, and thus, while giving unity to a people's action, superseded rather than started individual thought. What he needed was a single and a vehement popular response; and when, under the influence of the "Young Ireland" party, a sudden and semi-organized public opinion, began to manifest itself in strange, spasmodic movements, the apparition thus rudely extemporized proved incapable of engaging with a system founded on the will of one great man, and must either have speedily destroyed that system or been destroyed by it. The attempted revolt of 1848, into which its authors rather blundered than entered deliberately, prolonged for nearly a quarter of a century the political system founded on that Sectarian Ascendancy only partially overthrown by Catholic Emancipation, and out of the ruins of which the statesmanship of that day had not the wisdom and the insight, even when it had a serious desire, to extricate itself.

The late Reform Act has given Ireland a franchise practically much wider than England has been deemed fit to use after a

political education of two centuries and a half. That a political power, resting on what is in Ireland nearly "universal suffrage," should be exercised under the benign sway, at once enlightening and restraining, of a true and not a fictitious public opinion, that is, should be exercised with prudence, mutual respect, and righteousness, must be the aspiration of every Irishman who is a lover of his country, not her flatterer, and who recognizes any connection between her honour and her interests, or between politics and morals. Political power, however large, is lasting only when those on whom it has been bestowed are competent to use it; and political competence is not communicated to the inexperienced by an "infused knowledge" of politics, but by that moral discipline which respects the rights of the whole community, and not a part of it only, whether a majority or minority. Those who have loved Ireland longest, and with the most appreciative love, have ever cherished the hope that that Apostolic mission which was hers of old, and which is greater than any political or material greatness, was reserved also for her latter day of freedom, as the highest reward for her fidelity during the centuries of persecution. Such aspirations are too often forgotten amid the storms of modern politics. If they are to have place in Ireland, and to shape her loftier destinies, that political career which lies before her, and which will work her weal or her woe according as it is directed, must advance along the royal road of political virtue, of which a virtuous public opinion is an essential part.

I regret that it was not till after the present remarks had been written that I saw Mr. Hare's admirable book, the name of which is prefixed to this essay. It is a book of deep thought, expressed in language worthy of that thought. Mr. Hare was one of the first among those who devoted themselves seriously to the great cause of "Proportionate Representation," which probably owes to him more than to any other writer. In his earlier works he had advocated an area for the exercise of the Electoral Franchise, so wide as to meet with disapproval from many of his strongest admirers. Such a scheme had, however, like the "Preferential Vote," no essential connection with the great principle of "Proportionate Representation," and he has much modified it of late years, in consideration of changed circumstances. In a recent publication his proposal on that subject is as follows: "Every elector shall be entitled to one vote in the constituency to which he or she is registered, and may give the same to a candidate for any constituency within the county in England, Scotland, and Wales, and within the province in Ireland." It would need much space to do justice to such a work as Mr. Hare's. Here it is only possible to direct attention to a few passages which bear upon matters often grievously slighted.

One of the rare characteristics of Mr. Hare's book is the elevation, both moral and religious, of its spirit. This merit is illustrated in his manly protest against the Ballot (pp. 143-47), in connection with which he quotes from Guizot: "*Ce ne sont pas les hommes qui ont inventé l'analogie du bien avec la lumière, du mal avec les ténèbres.*"

Mr. Hare rests the principle of "Proportionate Representation" on the solid ground that political action is essentially a form of moral action.

The indispensable conditions are, to render the duty of every man as perceptible to his understanding as it can be made, and to remove every obstacle in the way of its performance. The opening to every center of the power of performing his electoral duty is the first and prime necessity, in order to re-establish the sense of personal responsibility, or the empire of conscience, in electoral action. . . . Lamentable will be the error of those legislators, unhappy the condition of that people, who think, and form their constitutional laws on the belief that government by representative institutions can be safe or permanent without the aid of conscience.

He sees nothing but a narrow jealousy in the modern law, which excludes ministers of religion from Parliament.

Nothing abstractedly could appear more unreasonable than the exclusion of a set of men whose education and functions necessarily point their attention to the greatest subjects that can occupy the thoughts of men, and whose habits and duties moreover bring them into communication with every phase of society, and especially with the poor (p. 117).

A general election, he asserts, should be guarded from abuses by the august ceremonies of religion.

The ancient customs of the kingdom connect religion with its most important events and transitions. The coronation is accompanied by a solemn recognition of the sovereignty of God over all; . . . the ceremony should have a suitable parallel on the day of the election of the representative assembly (pp. 149-50).

Mr. Hare's book is replete with quotations of great value. Some of these remarkably confirm Burke's assertion that a mere majority has no claim to act as if it were virtually the State embodied. Thus Pascal: "*La multitude qui ne se réduit pas à l'unité est confusion. L'unité qui n'est pas multitude est tyrannie.*" This, says M. Guizot, "*est l'expression la plus belle, et la solution la plus précise du gouvernement représentatif. La multitude c'est la société: l'unité c'est la vérité—c'est l'ensemble des lois, de justice, et de raison qui doivent gouverner la société*" (pp. 222-8). Not less striking is Guizot's remark as to the loss which majorities themselves sustain from the practical suppression



of minorities in the electoral districts, a loss to those majorities not less heavy than that which they would suffer if, within the walls of Parliament, the minority were by law condemned to perpetual silence. Most important also are his extracts from an eminent American authority, Mr. Calhoun. "If the representative body be the creature of numerical majorities, the Constitution will be ultimately drawn into the vortex to which governments by such majorities are exposed." In such a case Mr. Calhoun cautions the minority not "to indulge the folly of supposing that the party in possession of the ballot-box and the physical force of the country could be successfully resisted by an appeal to reason, truth, justice, or the obligations imposed by the Constitution." If these could be relied on, he observes, "government might be dispensed with" (p. 233). The appendices attached to Mr. Hare's work give us the history of Proportionate Representation, with copious illustrations of the progress which it has made, whether as applied to Parliamentary, Municipal, or Educational institutes in Europe, America, and the British dependencies. He has also shown that in those few instances in which the experiment, as some have alleged, has not succeeded, it was not fairly tried; an over-confident majority having, in these cases, wasted its voting power in an endeavour to grasp a still larger number of representatives than its superior strength entitled it to claim.

AUBREY DE VERE.

## ART. II.—OLIER AND DUPANLOUP.

1. *The Life of Jean-Jacques Olier.* By EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON. New Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1885.
2. *Life of Monseigneur Dupanloup.* By ABBÉ F. LAGRANGE. Translated by Lady HERBERT. Two vols. London: Chapman & Hall. 1885.
3. *Enchiridion Clericorum.* Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

WHEN Our Blessed Lord was besought by the poor blind wayfarer of the Gospel to cure him of his malady, He at once took clay and anointed his eyes, and sight was restored to him. And the beggar recognised his Benefactor, and glorified Him. The simple clay thus became in the hands of God an instrument of unspeakable power and efficacy for good.

Now the blind man is, after all, but a figure of the world, lying "in darkness and the shadow of death," and supplicating God, by its very condition of utter helplessness and misery, to come and

open out to it the light of heaven and the brightness of truth. And God, again, with ineffable condescension, stoops down to earth and takes the very clay to fashion it into an instrument of unspeakable power and mercy. For it is not the angelic hosts of heaven whom He has chosen to be the "Light of the World," but lowly, simple priests, weak creatures of clay—powerful only in the might of God's strong right arm. "*Vos estis lux mundi: You are the light of the world.*" Thus God, who is absolutely independent of all means, would select the weakest instruments for the execution of His greatest designs, thereby to manifest more clearly the infinitude of His power. He loves to "choose the foolish things of the world, that He may confound the wise; and the weak things, that He may confound the strong; and the base things, and the things that are contemptible, and things that are not, that He may bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His sight" (1 Cor. i. 27).

The work of the priesthood is thus the highest, the holiest, and the most excellent that it is possible for any man to be engaged in; for it is nothing less than the co-operating with Christ in glorifying God by the saving and sanctifying of souls. And if his work is gigantic and incomparable, his powers are nevertheless commensurate with his work; and his exalted dignity (though not of this world) is commensurate with his powers. In the prerogatives conferred upon him in the Sacrament of Holy Orders he stands alone; his position is unique, unapproachable, and eternal; his words—the words of consecration or absolution—are as irresistible as a sword of fire. They may go forth unattended and unheeded, but they work a change which the combined forces of all kings could never effect. Like the cloak of Elijah, or the rod of Moses, they open out passages which are closed and irresponsive to all other agencies.

A priest is not like other men; he stands on a pedestal, apart. he is a new creation, and his position is without parallel. Indeed, there is none like to him in heaven or on earth.\* The gulf that yawns between the greatest sovereign and the least of his subjects is but a tiny span compared to the immeasurable space that divides the priest from other men. He is no official of the State, no hireling of man, but the duly appointed servant of the King of kings, and the "ambassador for Christ" (2 Cor. v. 20), not choosing his position as a lawyer or a doctor may choose his, but being chosen for it by God Himself, and set apart—"segregatus"—from the world, and lifted far above all the interests of time—"non vos Me elegistis, sed Ego elegi vos."

\* "O sacerdos Dei!  
Soli Deo et Creatori tuo  
inferior es."—CASSIAN.

"Speak not to me," says S. Chrysostom, "of the purple of a diadem, or gold-embroidered garments. These are but shadows in my eyes. The priesthood is more venerable and greater than any regal grandeur or magnificence" (Hom. v. in illud *Isaiae*).

Men, for the most part, seldom realize this, and see but little distinction between priests and other men. And how should they, since the distinction is in the soul, and therefore impervious to sense? But it exists as a great and an undeniable fact, which becomes to those who possess it, and are aware of it, a source of joy and encouragement wholly inexpressible. Of joy, but also of fear and anxiety: so much so that many have not dared to accept so crushing a burden, but have fled from a dignity which carries with it so tremendous a responsibility. The greatest saints—and that is merely to say, those who best understood its excellence and character—shrunk back from it in terror, and had to be forced to enter the sanctuary, as we find was the case with S. Chrysostom, S. Gregory, S. Ambrose, S. Martin, and many more. As for S. Vincent, we are assured that he "never ceased to accuse himself of criminal temerity for having ventured to become a priest, and that he never gave the slightest encouragement to any relative of his to aspire to the ecclesiastical state." It were greatly to be desired, indeed, that Catholics better understood the nature and sublime dignity of the priesthood, for since the majesty and perfection of a religion is so largely judged by the powers and dignity possessed by its ministers, it would at once be felt how unique and absolutely exceptional is the true Church of God. Men would then also learn better how to distinguish between the person of a priest and his sacred office; and his exalted dignity, as the ambassador of Heaven, would be less easily compromised by a life sometimes possibly little in keeping with it.

But hitherto we have only been considering a priest's functions, and the unapproachable and dazzling splendour of his position as the vicegerent and plenipotentiary of Christ, entrusted with God-like powers, whose effects eternity itself cannot efface nor hell destroy. To speak of these, even though we be priests ourselves, is not to idly boast, but merely to recognize the unspeakable mercies of God, who distributes His gifts where and to whomsoever He pleases, and irrespectively of all merit. Indeed, it is of great importance that those who possess them should recognize them, in order to be thankful for them,\* though those who possess them not have no right to complain, because God has not given to all what He is in no sense bound

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\* S. Teresa observes: "If we do not recognize the gifts received at His hands, we shall never be moved to love Him."



to give to any. In recognizing them, priests recognize the distinctness of their call to follow Christ and carry on His work. They recognize themselves as at least *de officio*, "salvatores mundi," to use S. Jerome's bold words, and feel the full force of the dictum: "Sacerdos alter Christus." Now Christ moved the world by (1) the exercise of His power, and (2) by the attractiveness of His personal sanctity. His power, such as the power of offering sacrifice, of transforming slaves of Satan into children of God, of forgiving sin, &c., is conferred without our co-operation; it is a pure gift from God. But to the exercise of this power the priest must bring sanctity of life and purity of morals.

To wield the power of Christ, but to have nothing of His holiness, zeal, and personal humility, would be to outrage Christ. The exceptional character of a priest's functions demands a wholly exceptional purity and spotlessness of life—far more than is demanded by any other sphere of human activity. When the clergy grow lukewarm, and lose their fervour, nations languish and peoples perish. The Reformation, in England as elsewhere, would have been impossible had the natural guardians of virtue been true to their trusts. But when the salt itself loses its savour, with what is the world to be salted? The great question, consequently, in every age is the proper training and education of youths destined for the altar.

The first, most fundamental and fatal misfortune is the admission of candidates who have no real call. Such mistakes reveal with terrible effect, not merely upon the unhappy men themselves, but upon the whole Church, bringing irreparable scandal and bad example whenever and wherever they occur. Parents, therefore, who, through ambitious or interested motives, exercise an undue pressure on their sons, are authors of incalculable mischief and endless sin, and prepare for their children the worst chastisements of God, both in this world and the next. They may seem to be consecrating them to God, they are really immolating them to the devil. And though there are not the same worldly inducements, especially in England, which there once were, there are quite enough to make it a matter of consideration. By entering the sanctuary, many a man who would otherwise be following the plough, or exercising some equally menial office, is raised in the social scale, and exercises an influence and moves in a society which in any other circumstance would be wholly impossible. Socially, pecuniarily, and mentally, it must come before such a one as a decided gain; and to say that there is never any danger of being swayed by such worldly advantages is to say that men are never influenced by any motives which are not good as well as

strong. When such enter the priesthood from higher motives, and at the call of God, they often make the best of priests, the most zealous of pastors; but we take it that some at least among those who "go out from amongst us," leaving an odour behind them which is hardly the odour of sanctity, were never really "of us," and that they never had a vocation—though, of course, vocations may be lost.

Those who seek the priesthood as a means of obtaining a livelihood, or of passing life in the midst of easier circumstances than their condition would otherwise warrant, enter the sanctuary by the window as thieves and robbers. Widely different from these are the signs of a genuine vocation. True aspirants ever regard the priesthood as a state of detachment, of poverty, of pain, of sacrifice, in which they may spend themselves and be spent for the good of the Church, and the salvation of souls. "*Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus Te*" should be the words suggested to the minds of all who see them and know them, and benefit by their ministrations.

But granted a true vocation, a special training is still needed to fit the candidate for orders, and to mould him into a useful instrument for the great purposes of the ecclesiastical life.

In the valuable Life of M. Olier, by Mr. E. Thompson, we are presented with a most interesting account of this very work, which formed the chief and quite the most important occupation of his life. We shall now consider this somewhat closely, and then seek to trace the effects of such a system in the wonderful career of Bishop Dupanloup, who was educated according to the principles and plans laid down by that great founder of S. Sulpice, and may therefore be taken as a specimen of their fruit.

The success of his system has been abundantly attested by the wondrous fruits it has produced and the extraordinary change it has effected among the clergy of France, who, for personal piety, as well as for missionary enterprise, are now generally acknowledged to be the foremost in the world. Not only is the whole history of the planning and founding of S. Sulpice such as to inspire our confidence, but the special promises and assurances of God give it a sanction which few, if any, other places can claim (pp. 415-17). Indeed, a mere glance at the many noble and heroic priests that it has given to the Church speaks more eloquently in its favour than any words, and we may well dispense with praising it, in order to occupy ourselves with the more profitable task of describing it.

The first and by far the most important thing, to our mind, at least, in the training of a priest, is that he should have the most exalted idea possible of the excellence of the sacerdotal state; for that being once secured, it will not be difficult



to imbue him with an intimate conviction of the consequent necessity of fitting himself for it. Every man, consciously or unconsciously, is affected and influenced by his ideal. If his ideal fall short of the truth, his whole conduct, character, and manner of life will suffer. If he allows himself to fancy that any state is to be likened to the ecclesiastical, or even to be placed for a single instant in comparison with it, it will lower the whole tone of his life.

Merely to bear in mind the unique privileges he enjoys, his intimate and daily relationship and, we may even say, close familiarity with Jesus Christ, the dazzling source of all purity and holiness; the control he exercises over His real, no less than over His mystical body, &c., would be enough, one might have imagined, to dispel every thought of comparison between the sanctity incumbent on him and that which should adorn the souls of others. Indeed, the greatest harm must inevitably arise from any attempt, intentional or unintentional, to dissemble or to diminish the degree of sanctity which is demanded of a priest, as though his sacred functions did not put forward a more urgent claim than any vows of a simple religious. The sentence of S. Augustin is celebrated,\* "*Vix bonus monachus bonum clericum facit.*" His obligations to sanctity arise directly from his position and office, and we fail to see how it is possible to reconcile a call to offer up, morning by morning, the adorable Sacrifice for himself and for the world, with anything less than the most explicit call to a state of life with which such an obligation is not inconsistent. While, even apart from that, the mere fact of a number of souls being dependent upon him, under God, for the means of grace and salvation would surely supply him with a more powerful motive to acquire a high degree of personal sanctity than any that might be offered even to a religious, unburdened with such a responsibility.

We secular priests are too easily swayed by certain unworthy views sometimes put forward, and are too willing to listen to those who would persuade us that we may rest satisfied with a very slight tincture of sanctity. Our ideal is lowered; we are made to feel that little is expected of us, and as a natural and almost inevitable consequence, considerably less still is got from us. We seem to acquiesce in the "*only a secular priest*" view, and to forget that a priest, whether secular or regular, stands on the highest pinnacle of God's visible creation † when viewed in respect to his office and powers, and that his state is something so great and wonderful, that religious vows and monastic observances can

\* Ad Aurel., Ep. xl., ad lxxvii. in med.

† "*Partes membrorum Christi prima.*"—S. Pet. Dam.

add little lustre to its brightness, little splendour to its beauty. If we fall so far short of the ideal, if we are so deficient in the sanctity befitting our state, let those who have spoken lightly of it recognize their own handiwork, and understand how they have been in league with poor human nature, which is always satisfied with mediocrity, to diminish a sense of obligations which undoubtedly exist.

M. Olier undoubtedly laid great stress upon the necessity of forcing attention to this point upon the seminarists of S. Sulpice. He well knew that the first condition for securing a steady and sustained struggle after perfection was to impress them with a thorough realization of the exalted nature of the state.

As nothing so insures a good and fitting preparation for offering the Sacrifice of the Mass as an intimate sense of the sublimity of the action, so nothing so ensures a good and fitting preparation for the priesthood as a thoroughly accurate conception of the grandeur and excellence of the state.

This conception M. Olier was ever striving to engraft into his pupils. "Priests," he would say,

are set in the Church to be models of sanctity to all conditions of men; consequently they ought to possess the graces and the virtues of all other states; religious as well as seculars ought to see in them all that is necessary to their own perfection. If priests who are detached from the world are said to live like religious, it is only a sign of the corruption of the age; for it ought rather to be said, in the language of the saints, that religious lead the lives of priests, seeing that priests are bound to live in such wise, and religious are bound to imitate the holiness of priests, to follow in their footsteps, and sanctify themselves by practising those rules of perfection which were originally given to the clergy.—"Life of M. Olier," pp. 444-5.

Thus he would exact as high a degree of virtue from aspirants to the priesthood as would be demanded from a novice in a monastery, and, though he laid most stress upon the mortification of the will, yet even corporal penances, such as the use of the discipline, were as frequent at S. Sulpice as in many religious houses.

He not merely considered a high degree of virtue as essential to the clerical state; he not merely put it above all else, but he regarded nothing as of any consequence at all without it (p. 279). A cleric, he said, is one who, if not already in the state of perfection, at least aspires to it, and to this end he must deny himself and die to the world (p. 445). Priests, he wrote, are like living Tabernacles, wherein Jesus Christ dwells to sanctify His Church; for to be truly priests they ought to bear Jesus Christ within them, labouring with all their might to conform themselves to Him in this mystery, both as to their exterior and their interior.

Indeed, the sublime character of the priesthood was the constant subject of his instructions to the seminarists, and one to which he was ever recurring in his writings, as may be seen in his "Treatise on Holy Orders" and in the little work entitled "*Pietas Seminariorum Sancti Sulpitii*." He deemed it of the greatest importance to inspire seminarists with the sentiments and virtues of Jesus Christ, who should be found living in each as really as in the Apostle who said, "I live—now not I—but Christ liveth in me." Hence he especially recommended the serious study of our Lord's life as recorded in the Gospels, and "to this end he directed the seminarists to read a chapter of the Gospel on their knees, with head uncovered, and therein listen to our Lord's divine teaching; then to consider some one of His acts or virtues, and lastly to examine themselves and see what their own dispositions were in performing the same act or practising the same virtue" (p. 453).

Though the sanctification of the individual was always the main subject of his thoughts, M. Olier was far too wise to undervalue the advantage of natural ability and secular learning in those whom he was preparing to combat with the world, but he would give nothing for the most powerful intellect unless it were thoroughly humble and submissive. On the contrary, he regarded intellectual gifts as positively dangerous in one deficient in virtue and piety, and likely to lead to disastrous results.

The only true knowledge is to know that we are nothing, and clearly to discern our nothingness in the midst of our endowments. Thus pride, this vanity of the intellect, is the most dangerous, the most deadly of all; it is a vanity from which a man scarcely ever recovers, for human learning goes on increasing with age and experience (p. 463).

Though he encouraged learning so long as it was unattended with pride, he was ever careful to give it its proper subordinate place. He advised those under his charge to consult their director both as to the subjects they should choose and the time they should devote to them. He particularly objected to their curtailing any of their practices of devotion in order to have more time for study, but rather urged them to increase their devotions, so as to acquire greater strength against the dangers to which such pursuits often give rise; and frequently to raise up their minds to God during the course of them, and to sigh for the full possession of the uncreated eternal wisdom of God in heaven.

In a word, personal sanctity was held out as being so essentially the one thing necessary, the *unum necessarium*, that the public opinion in the seminary accepted it as the measure of all else.



Each vied with the other in a holy struggle for virtue, and all were proud to undertake the lowest and most menial occupations. They applied themselves with the greatest assiduity to study, but from the highest of motives; for being inflamed with the love of God, they naturally yearned to render themselves the more fit to serve Him and the better able "to combat vice, to resist the torrent of human opinion, to confound heresy, and to expose its impostures and false issues."

Perfection may be said to have been the atmosphere of the whole house, and "under M. Olier's direction the seminary is described as resembling a religious community in the glow of its first fervour. Each new comer, as he entered its walls, felt as if he had been brought into the society of the early Christians; the world was so totally renounced and excluded that even to speak of it, except in terms of condemnation, occasioned a remorse of conscience, and such was the love of poverty that the inmates seemed to vie with each other who should have what was worst and meanest, and perform the lowest and most distasteful offices. Everything was virtually in common, for what each possessed was equally at the service of his brethren. Gathered from all classes, and from all parts of the country, there were no differences or preferences amongst them; and so completely did each one hold himself at the disposal of his superior that at a word he would have hastened to the further end of the earth" (p. 460).

This is certainly a beautiful picture of ecclesiastical life, and from what we can gather it is not an exaggerated or an over-drawn picture. Now, such an atmosphere of sterling piety possesses two most inestimable advantages. It not only fosters and strengthens the high aspirations and generous resolves of the youthful aspirants, and imbues them with an indefatigable longing to spend themselves, and to be spent, in the service of God and the salvation of souls; but it also exercises another valuable effect which, though too often overlooked, is scarcely less important. We refer to the effect upon students who from time to time enter a seminary with no real vocation. It renders their detection easy. They cannot thrive in such an atmosphere, but droop as hot-house plants would droop on the mountain top. The air is too rarified for them. They become conscious of an inability to keep pace with the rest. They have no heart even to make the sustained effort. The life, in effect, is sufficiently marked and *sui generis* to become positively distasteful to all but such as possess a real vocation; and just as a healthy stomach will eject any foreign substance, so will such a seminary eliminate from its midst any unsuitable subject. It is not as in some institutions which are deficient in this spirit, and differ little from

secular colleges, and where a young man may jog on in a happy-go-lucky style, and run through all the Orders, till at last, when it is impossible to retreat, he makes the appalling discovery that he never had any true vocation, and his bishop exclaims with distress, "That young man should never have been ordained."

Quality is, after all, always rated higher than quantity, and what can be so essential as to secure it among ecclesiastics? It was not the number of the apostles that converted the Pagan world to Christianity, but the fervour of their zeal, and the strength of their love, and so, too, in these days, the world will not be influenced and sanctified half so certainly by increasing the number of priests as by increasing their holiness and purity. S. Philip Neri understood this so well that he used to say, "Give me twelve priests fit for apostles, and I will convert the world."

But to return. If the sublimity of the office and the excellence of the end were the most powerful *motives* that M. Olier could put before priests to induce them to aim at a heroic degree of virtue, he did not omit to impress them with the necessity of using the *means* of arriving at it.

In addition to the ordinary means employed everywhere, he laid special stress on the necessity of a very close and continuous imitation of the example set by our Divine Lord in His earthly life. "It is this spiritual life, this hidden life, this interior disposition of the heart, which above all He desires of us" (453). "Jesus Christ must live and reign within us, there to serve and glorify His Father." They were especially to imitate this humility, obedience, and self-sacrifice. Indeed, to prevent all assumption of superiority, he permitted no distinctions in the general exercises of the seminary; and when one of them would arrogate to himself precedence on account of his better birth and position in the world, he gently rebuked him in the following words:—

If you love Jesus Christ you will always rejoice to be near Him or with Him. I would advise you, therefore, to take this place (pointing to the lowest), for it is the one He loves best, and has chosen for Himself, and where you will be certain to find Him (p. 446).

The servant of God, therefore, in honour of the adorable humiliations of our Lord, would have all perform in turn the menial offices of the house—sweep the floors, wash the dishes, wait at table, pass out bread to the poor—in all which he might have proposed himself for an example, and have said with St. Paul, "*Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ*" \* (p. 451).

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\* See, too, in the Grand Séminaire of Bruges, where the writer of this history had the great privilege of passing some years, the Seminarists away, cleaned their own knives and forks, trimmed their own lamps



As for obedience, he was most strenuous in his efforts to inculcate it at all times and in the strongest terms. "Obedience," he was accustomed to say, "is the life of the children of the Church, the compendium of all virtues, the assured way to heaven, an unfailing means for ascertaining the will of God, a fortress into which the devil has no access, one of the severest, but at the same time one of the sweetest of martyrdoms, seeing, that it makes us perfectly conformable to Jesus Christ." The result was that all the rules of the house and all the regulations of the superiors were accurately carried out, so that even silence was so admirably observed that M. de Bretonvilliers could say that, except in time of recreation, not a word was spoken, although the community consisted of more than one hundred persons (p. 450). An amusing little anecdote is told in this connection. "The young Prince de Conti, who had been destined for the ecclesiastical state, being present one day at some public function in the Church of S. Sulpice, asked the seminarist by whose side he found himself what was taught at the seminary. Receiving no answer, the Prince supposed he had not been heard, and repeated his question, but with the same result. Again for the third time he demanded, 'What are you taught at the seminary?' upon which the student made him this reply, 'My lord, we are taught to keep silence in church'" (p. 459).

This strict attention to the regulations of the house was but a means of inculcating a spirit of intense submission and obedience to all ecclesiastical authority, and above all to the Pope and the Bishops. He even went so far as to say that the very end of the seminary of S. Sulpice was "to inspire the clergy with love and reverence for their bishops, on whom they absolutely depended, as being their veritable fathers and natural heads" (p. 423).

No one on earth [he remarks in another place] is dispensed from submission, however exalted the lights with which God has favoured him; they ought always to be approved by him who holds here below the place of God. Such was our Lord's own fidelity to this rule that in His infancy He was subject to the Blessed Virgin and to St. Joseph. With this example before him, who would wish to guide himself? (pp. 449, 450).

The exhortations and instructions of M. Olier on the necessity, utility, and methods of prayer, meditation, interior mortification, practice of the presence of God, devotion to the Blessed Virgin

blackened their own boots, swept out their rooms, made their own beds, and, in a word, cheerfully undertook all the duties usually allotted to servants, except that of making their own fires. This they never did: their rooms were without grates! Indeed the spirit of the place was admirable, and most edifying and impressive throughout, and this opportunity of testifying to it must not be neglected.

Mary and to St. John and the Apostles, and all else affecting the spiritual life, we reluctantly pass by, from sheer want of space and time to devote to them, but we trust that the reader will study them for himself.

Having glanced at the great work that M. Olier undertook in remodelling the seminary life in France, let us now turn and consider some of the results of his labours. The list of illustrious names of bishops and priests who have passed through S. Sulpice, or other seminaries modelled upon it, is truly prodigious, and speaks volumes in favour of his method, embracing as it does men the most distinguished for piety and learning, as well as for prudence and zeal, that France has ever seen, and who have proved themselves true to their religion and faithful to their God, even in the darkest days of general persecution, anarchy, and revolution. But, instead of hastily referring to all, perhaps the most interesting method will be to select one among them as a specimen of the rest.

Let us take Mgr. Dupanloup, who entered S. Sulpice in October, 1821, and looked back upon it to his dying day as the most sacred place he had ever dwelt in.

There [he exclaims with warmth] I received God's best gifts . . . there I met with that great spirit of the old Church of France: those beautiful and pure traditions of virtue, of sacerdotal wisdom, of piety, of respect, of docility. It was there that I knew those great and noble souls who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were the inheritors of the past greatness of the French clergy—M. Emery, Mgr. de Quélen, M. Frayssinous, M. Borderies, M. Clausel de Coussergues, M. Clausel de Montals, M. Boyer, M. Desjardins, M. Legris-Duval, M. de Rauzan, the Duc de Rohan, the venerable M. Duclaux, M. Garnier, M. Mollevant, M. Teyssie, M. Gosselin, M. de Forbin Janson, and many others. . . . They had the ardour of men who have just come home, the zeal for the reconstruction of religion, and a kind of divine inspiration, mingled with energy and prudence, ever pushing them on to conquer back what had been lost.

This description which Mgr. Dupanloup gives of his many illustrious contemporaries is equally applicable to himself, and forms a very faithful sketch of his own character. We find combined in him, in a remarkable degree, a thorough interior spirit with a marvellous zeal for souls; incessant activity united with the profoundest recollection; constant external labours with persistent prayer and converse with God. When we view the works of his ministry, when we glance at what he has done for the vineyard committed to his charge, we wonder how any time should have been left for the study of his own interior and the securing of his own sanctification. But if, on the other hand, we contemplate his hidden life and consider the care

and solicitude he showed for his own progress in the spiritual life, our surprise is equally great that he succeeded in getting through such a prodigious amount of external work. The fact is that he realized better than we do that the work of a priest among souls, even when natural means are employed, is essentially a spiritual and a supernatural work, and that therefore personal sanctity is a most essential factor in securing its success. To be so engaged with exterior labours as to neglect the interior would be as short-sighted and as false an economy as if an engine-driver, anxious to arrive immediately at his destination, were so to occupy himself with lubricating the wheels of his engine as to let out the fire, the fundamental cause of its every movement.

This Dupanloup thoroughly understood, and therefore his first effort was to keep up a fierce flame of divine love in his own heart, so that he might inspire others with similar sentiments. Abbé Lagrange declares that "it was impossible to remain cold or unmoved before this man. Whether you would or no, he took possession of you, as it were, and made you share in the enthusiasm with which his own soul was filled." Indeed, to say that he had passed through S. Sulpice is almost the same as to say that he had learned that the first duty of a priest is the sanctification of his own soul, and that holiness is to be as much expected of a pastor as justice of a judge. The one should be the very personification of holiness, as the other is of justice. His own words beautifully express this truth—

The priest is one who must be a perfect man; he needs to be all man, and at the same time almost divine, to represent God worthily to men, and become at the same time a man of the people and a man of God (p. 129).

In fact, the thought of the sublimity of the priesthood was ever exciting him to put forth fresh efforts to render himself less unworthy of it. "Am I not a priest!" he would exclaim. "And what ought to be the life of a priest? S. Paul sums it up in these words: *Vivo, jam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus*. To live the life of Jesus Christ! Jesus! to love but Him! to think but of Him! to see but Him! to love Him passionately!" And these were no mere idle desires. He struggled hard and neglected no possible means to acquire and maintain all the virtues required in a good priest. In spite of his incessant labour, he was most faithful in the performance of the strict rules he had laid down for his interior life, and rarely if ever began his holidays but by a three days' retreat.

The following extract from some notes, found after his death in a secret drawer of his bureau, gives a fair insight into the



general view he took of what should be a priest's mode of life :—

Like Mary, we must sit at the feet of Our Saviour, and listen to His words, and after that occupy ourselves, like Martha, in our different works. The two lives go together, one sustains the other, but the contemplative life is the soul, the strength, and the light of the active one. . . . An interior life, a life of prayer, is indispensable ; it must enlighten, console, strengthen, and direct our external life. . . . The union of these two lives has made apostles and saints. They were perfectly united in our blessed Lord.

His earnest prayer and resolution was—to *increase in the interior life*. Hence, to obtain this, he came to the following determination :—

Four hours of prayer : two in the morning, two at night—hours which must be inviolable, under lock and key, as in a tower—*tranquillitas magna*—as at the Grande Chartreuse, otherwise I shall have nothing but *aruncarum telæ*. Then four hours of work in my room in the morning, which must be equally inviolable, otherwise I shall do nothing, and fail in my duty to God and the Church. . . . The rest of the day must be given to labour ; but all depends on those four hours of interior life, and next to them on the four hours of intellectual work. . . . One's "business," which is always the pretext for shortening or omitting them, will only gain by it. I shall do my works with greater facility ; or rather God will do them in me, by me, and often without me, and for me, and always better than me.—*Life*, p. 221.

How true this last sentence is, yet what faith is needed to act constantly upon it ! Perhaps if the principle of never allowing the pressure of business and missionary labours to infringe and encroach upon one's religious exercises were constantly carried out, one might witness a more lasting as well as a wider impression produced on the age and country in which we live.

The influence of Dupanloup, at all events, cannot be denied. The fuller his heart was filled with love of God, the more ardently did he burn with zeal for the sanctification and salvation of souls ; and as he was always adding to the strength of the first, so the ardour of the second visibly increased. It is traceable from his tenderest age, but breaks out into a veritable flame as soon as he entered S. Sulpice, and was entrusted with the catechetical instructions of the children. Here was a golden opportunity of influencing and moulding the unformed minds of the hundreds and thousands of children that came before him. He was wild with enthusiasm and zeal, and soon acquired a power and an influence over them which has seldom been equalled, and probably never surpassed. The fact is, he did not consider the instructing of the young as a secondary, or an unimportant work,



but quite the reverse. He regarded it as of the utmost importance, and not only set about it with generosity and love, but with all the care and preparation in his power. He felt he was occupied in the greatest of works; in the work that Christ has most at heart, and for which He died—viz., the sanctification of souls. He fully recognized the vital consequences of early training and first impressions, and the advantage of sowing the virgin soil with good seed before it had been breathed upon and contaminated by the foulness of sin or the spirit of the world. The result was that he brought to his work the most careful and laboured preparation, and threw his whole soul into it, refusing courageously everything which should take him away from it, and every invitation to preach in Paris or elsewhere.

All that he read, studied, or heard he brought to bear on his catechisms. Even during his vacations the same idea filled his thoughts; he would prepare everything beforehand for the next season, the details for each day, and the plan of the whole; it was incredible the pains he took in this preparation. And he did it all in writing, with the utmost care and minuteness, leaving himself only a margin for sudden words or movements (p. 70).

Ten thick volumes, all written in his own hand, remain to bear witness to his unflagging industry and scrupulous exactness. The result might be easily anticipated. He was eminently successful, and soon became, according to the expression of one who was to receive him, later on, at the French Academy, "an eminent catechist, the hope and ambition of all mothers."

In England we seldom find any but children of poor or artisan parents attending the ordinary parochial catechisms, but in France, where the Catholic instinct is stronger, such distinctions are justly considered odious, so that we are not surprised to find among the children listening to the earnest tones of the young Abbé some belonging to the highest and noblest families in France, and even beyond France. "They came from all parts of Paris, . . . poor, rich, even royal children; some from the most miserable quarters of the town, some from homes of the greatest luxury" (p. 70).

His success, indeed, was marvellous and striking, and we would gladly enlarge upon this subject and produce some of the many signal proofs of it, were we not anxious to devote a little space to the consideration of the great secret of his success. This we find, in his catechism classes, as well as in his little Seminary of S. Nicolas, to have been his extraordinary power of sympathy and affection for each little one as it came before him.

He succeeded in acquiring such an influence over children because he began by engaging their attention and winning their

hearts. He learned to know and to love each one separately, and for his own sake, and to treat each according to his disposition and character, and not all according to one inflexible method, or upon any predetermined and fixed plan. His one settled conviction, however, was that love must be the great motive-power throughout. Although he had recourse to many other means, although he made a most liberal use of prizes, feasts, emulation, rewards, which he declared the nature of children imperiously demands, the main-spring which kept the whole machinery in motion was his strong personal interest and attachment to each one. Indeed, he used often to say that the "one indispensable thing which implies all the rest is *love*; love which the children feel is theirs." "Children," he would say, "were the first love of my life, and will be the last. . . . I have always loved children. I know their faults as well as their good qualities, and the former make them oftener more interesting to me because they are shown without disguise. . . . What true priest does not love children? . . . I would call childhood humanity in flower. All life is contained in it, as all the fruit is in the flower."

Hence he argued that no one can find elsewhere a more worthy object of tenderest love, nor even of the loftiest ambition. "You must win the heart of the child," he would say, "but to win his heart you must love him. Be fathers, not masters, to these boys" (p. 134). So, again, he was wont to say that children should be at their ease, and frank and joyous with their masters; so that the college or school, instead of being a place of dry study and punishment, should be really felt to be a home.

My only desire is, if I may be allowed to say so, to give them an education which tends to their greatest happiness. Let us devote ourselves to give pleasure to the children; to reward their work and courageous efforts by giving them substantive enjoyments; to arrange that their lives, although laborious and serious, should at the same time be sweetened by bright and joyous hours. We should strive to give them constant recreation, so as to make them delight in their college life; and so that they may look back on the expeditions and excursions and family feasts in the house as bright spots which they will remember in all their future lives (p. 146).

In this respect, his treatment of the scholars at the college of S. Nicolas suggests to our mind the school at Woburn, recently closed. Indeed, we cannot help feeling, as we read the remarkable words of Dupanloup, how deeply in sympathy he would have been with many of Lord Petre's views. When, e.g., he speaks of the necessity of obedience, but adds that it must not be constrained and servile, nor based on fear of punishment, but free

and filial and willingly rendered, and, further, that "he was determined to abolish the whole system of material punishments and coercive means for enforcing the will," we feel that the renowned Superior of S. Nicolas and the late Warden of Woburn would have been in the closest possible agreement.

In the discussion that raged so fiercely in the *Tablet* a short time ago on the subject of corporal punishment, it would be easy to determine on what side this celebrated educationalist would have ranged himself. Indeed, we may safely assert that the large number of correspondents, who seemed positively to exult in the tortures they had to endure as boys, would have encountered a formidable antagonist in the late Bishop of Orleans, who frequently declared his conviction to be that "though rough violence and constraint are easy enough, yet that nothing is gained by it, but everything is lost" (p. 136). Such rude appliances as canes and ferulas may, of course, serve some useful purposes, and boys of a certain disposition may sometimes require to be chastised with a rod, but we regard it as self-evident that the profit a boy is likely to derive from such punishment will be in proportion to the extent in which the animal preponderates over the rational in his character. Perhaps this may account for the singularly beneficial effect certain implements of torture seem to have produced upon some of the correspondents in the *Tablet*, even according to their own account?

But this is a digression. Though we have hardly done more than glance at one or two traits in Dupanloup's character, yet we trust enough has been said to interest our readers in the history of this great man, and to induce them to read his life. It is full of the most interesting and practical details, and will unquestionably prove of immense utility to all who peruse it. Throughout his whole career, Dupanloup is always worthy of himself, and of the great reputation he bore. Whether as tutor to the Duc de Bordeaux and the Orleans princes, or as Superior of S. Nicholas, whether engaged in inaugurating the conferences of Notre Dame, or in journeying through Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, we may always recognize in him the devoted priest, the zealous pastor, and the thorough gentleman.

As bishop, he is an especially commanding figure, and rises to the full height of his exalted position. What strikes us most forcibly, whether considered as a priest or a bishop, but especially as a bishop, is his extraordinary activity and incessant occupation. He was always throwing the weight of his word and authority where it would do most good; always pursuing some important object, or accomplishing some important work; always stirring up others to do more than they were doing, and interesting and inciting them to exercise their gifts and energies on the right



side. Even as a bishop, he never had any sympathy with the practice of those who seek to retain all authority in their own hands. He had a truer appreciation of the results of division of labour and the multiplication of centres, and was only too glad to be relieved of work which another could do, in order to turn his energies in another channel. If he set a thing going which another could carry on, he would leave it in order to start something fresh. "Set every one to the work he is fit for" was the maxim on which he acted, and the resolution which he constantly renewed (p. 381). As a consequence, he was not merely an indefatigable labourer himself in the vineyard, but he set others' energies in motion too, and wrought in a few years an extraordinary change throughout the whole diocese, among priests as well as people. It is indeed amazing to contemplate the exertions he underwent in his innumerable pastoral retreats, and synods and confirmations and parochial visitations, and in preaching and writing, and counselling and directing, in rebuking and warning, in pointing out dangers and laying bare fallacies, and exposing the snares and wiles of the enemy. In sermons and discourses, in letters and in pastorals, in pamphlets and in books, in public and in private, at home and abroad, he was ever fulfilling a great mission and achieving a marked success. He never rested, but watched incessantly over his flock as a true shepherd. "Our Lord has warned us that it is in the night and during sleep that the enemy sows tares in the fields. It is for us to watch always, always. Our life is but a prolonged watching." He disclosed the existence of free-thinking schools for girls in Paris; he openly unmasked the *League for Education*; he tore the veil from the materialism of the School of Medicine in the French capital, and pointed out the immense propaganda organized for the universal dissemination of impious doctrines (p. 349). He seemed, in fact, to foresee everything, and to be ubiquitous. Nothing escaped him; nothing was suffered to pass unobserved.

Yet this great bishop, though so full of labours, led a most interior life of union with God, and attended with the most scrupulous and unremitting care to the sanctification of his own soul. His activity, in fact, was a direct consequence of his intense love of God, which would not permit him to rest a moment as long as there was anything to be accomplished for His service or glory. He was not drawn hither and thither by the natural attractiveness of external work, for the impulse sprung from within; it was the aching desire that absorbed him to give practical testimony to the greatness of his love of the Good Shepherd, by feeding His lambs and sheep. His life was, in fact, but one long responsive echo to that cry that was ever ascending from his soul to God, "*Domine quid me vis facere?*"



"A bishop," he was wont to say, "should be a virgin, a confessor, and a martyr, all in one; a virgin in purity, a confessor in patience, and a martyr in self-denial, zeal, and charity."

To understand how far he realized this ideal in his own person we have but to study the history of his life and labours.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

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### ART. III.—THE NERVES AND OVER-PRESSURE.

**A**MIDST all the marvels of this wonderful body of ours, there is nothing more interesting, and yet nothing of which we know so little, as those slender white strings and the clustering grey cells associated with them, which together we call the nerves.

The enigma of the nerve cells remains as yet unsolved by science. But it is not so with the nerve fibres, for their function has been ascertained beyond a doubt. They are discovered to be the transmitters merely of that unknown and still greater mystery we name the nerve force, or nervous agent—a power which, acting upon the nerve cells stored up in the brain, there awakens, or is translated in consciousness. How, it is probable we can never know. It is, however, a great step to know something about the nerve fibres, for they are our only means of communication with the outer world, and through them we can by gross means stir up a power into action which in its turn can arouse sensation, the highest achievement of the action of force upon matter. The structure of these nervous fibres has long been known, and corresponds with the function assigned to them. They are like submarine telegraph wires, as has often, but not the less truly, been said, and as such have a central core which appears in an insulating coating and then a protecting sheath.

But if this nervous power, which we can excite by the prick of a pin, really passes from the excited part to the brain, it must take time in its transit. The velocity of electricity and of light has been measured; can the rate of propagation of this nerve force be determined? It can; and Helmholtz, the illustrious professor of physiology in Heidelberg, has made this determination with great accuracy.

First of all, we must be convinced that there really is something travelling along the nerve. We have to conceive merely of a pulse, a transmission of motion through the nerve. What, then, is the result of the investigations of Helmholtz on the velocity of the nerve force? It is one which, at first sight, is

most astonishing; for the rate of propagation, compared with other forces, is extremely slow. The velocity of light is about 190,000 miles a second, and of electricity even more; but the velocity of nerve force is only ninety feet a second, one-twentieth of the velocity of a cannon ball, about one-thirteenth of the velocity of sound in air, and not exceeding, but about equal to, the speed of an express train.

The rate at which impressions are transmitted through the nerves is more fully compared with the velocity of other forces in the following table, the measurements throughout being in metres (3·28 feet equal one metre), as the most convenient standard:—

|                                       | Metres in one second. |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Electricity . . . . .                 | 464,000,000           |
| Light . . . . .                       | 300,000,000           |
| Sound through iron . . . . .          | 3,485                 |
| "    "    water . . . . .             | 1,435                 |
| "    "    air . . . . .               | 332                   |
| Cannon ball . . . . .                 | 552                   |
| Eagle's flight . . . . .              | 35                    |
| Nerve force . . . . .                 | 28                    |
| Greyhound or racehorse . . . . .      | 25                    |
| The arm in throwing a stone . . . . . | 22                    |
| Gale of wind . . . . .                | 20                    |
| Arterial wave . . . . .               | 9                     |
| Muscular contraction . . . . .        | 1                     |

The velocity of nervous transmission in our bodies has also been examined by inserting fine wires in the finger and toe of a living man: through these wires the nerves could be stimulated by an electric current, and the rate of propagation measured by very delicate means. No sensible difference has been found between the velocity in the nerves of a man and in those of a frog. Therefore, when the driver of an express train points to the tender, and wills to move his fingers, whilst performing the act the nerve force in the nerves of his arm remains stationary in space, or nearly so, because the velocity of the train in one direction destroys that of the nervous agent in the other. In a creature so long as the whale, the rate of nervous transmission becomes very perceptible when the extremities have to be moved. The fact of a harpoon having been thrown in the tail of a good-sized whale would not be announced in the brain of this creature till a second after it had entered; and as it would take a little more than another second before the command to move its tail would reach the appropriate muscles, a boat's crew might be far away before the animal they had pierced began to lash the sea. Similar considerations would lead us to see that we could not

move our fingers and legs, for example, beyond a certain rate; for were this rate to equal the time occupied by the transmission of nerve force from the part moved to the nerve centre, the successive stimuli sent along the motor nerves would link themselves into one, and the muscle would remain permanently contracted. A very interesting fact connected with nervous transmission is the effect of temperature on the velocity of the nerve force.

Besides the time required for the transmission of a stimulus through the nerves, the mind takes a certain period to form a conception and then to prompt the limbs to act accordingly. This time, measured by a similar method, has been found to be about one-tenth of a second. Some strange results have been deduced from this fact. The passage of a rifle-bullet through the brain would not occupy more than a thousandth of a second; a stroke of lightning would pass through the body in inconceivably less time, and thus a person killed by either of these means would die without consciousness having time to be produced. The placid aspect of those who have thus died, and the testimony of those who have recovered from a lightning stroke, go to prove that no pain was felt prior to the insensibility which followed the act.

The nerve has the property of receiving a peculiar impression, which is inducted in both directions along its course, producing contractions at its extremities and sensations somewhere at its origin in the great nervous centre, the brain and spine. Glisson was the first who gave to the phenomenon of muscular contraction, under the application of stimuli, the name Irritability; but he confounded with it under the same name the phenomenon of contraction from simple elasticity. Haller afterwards restricted it to the property of contracting briskly, inherent in the muscular fibre only. Bichat substituted for it the term Contractility. The word Sensibility was originally applied to the property peculiar to external nerves, by which we become acquainted with the presence and qualities of surrounding objects. The physiological system of Stahl (who thought that the soul governed every action in the body, voluntary and involuntary), and likewise that of Bichat, made it include "every nervous co-operation accompanied with motion, even though not attended by perception."

Farther, owing to the ambiguity of the words in ordinary language, the nerves have been too generally said to be irritable and sensible, though they are merely organs for conveying the impressions which are to call forth these properties elsewhere.

In his nervous system, man presents a combination of the structures and activities of the various forms of life below him. And yet, elaborate as is the structure provided as the condition



of our varied life, and diverse as are the results which ensue from the action of its different parts, it is all constructed on one plan. But simplicity comes with analysis. The various elements which make up the nervous activity are presented to us by nature in various classes of animals, separated and, as it were, distinctly exposed to view, while through them all there runs an identity of character which makes them easily reducible to a single law. What are the nerves wanted for? Not, in the first place, to make the body alive, or to give it the power of acting. The various structures of which it is composed, each for itself, have their own active properties, their own power of responding to stimulus. The muscle contracts when it is touched, or when it is galvanized, though no nerve be present; the gland pours forth its secretion under the like conditions. A due supply of blood alone is necessary for all these operations. But for animal life, except in its lowest grades, this kind of activity is not enough.

In man two or three thousand nerve-fibres would occupy but an inch in their largest part, and both at their origin and their termination they are much smaller. Many of them are contained in every nerve that is visible to the naked eye. But there is another kind of nervous matter besides the fibres, and that consists of cells. The nerve fibres sometimes run into them; sometimes they pass among them without appearing to communicate. Cells of this kind form a thin layer over the surface of the brain, and its fibres for the most part have their origin from or among them. They also exist in large numbers in certain spots in the substance of the brain, and they are found within the spinal cord in its whole length. They have a pale pinkish hue, and wherever they are found they go by the name of "grey matter," the nerve fibres being called the "white matter."

The fibres which constitute the nerves, strictly so called, are conductors, and they conduct to and from the cells.

What is the part played by the grey or cellular matter, so far as we can discover it? In order to gain clear ideas on this point we must consider the general plan on which the nervous system is arranged, and regard it first in its simplest forms. Omitting the lowest members of the animal series in which nerves are found (and in which precisely the same principles prevail), we find in the class of insects a pattern to which all the higher forms may be referred. The nervous system of the centipede consists of a series of little groups of nervous cells, arranged on each side of the middle line, a pair in every segment of the body, and additional ones in the head, connected with the organs of sight, smell, touch, &c. These are all united to each other by bands of fibres, and each one sends out nerves to the



organs contained in the segment in which it is placed. The nervous system of the highest animals is but a repetition, in an enlarged and condensed form, of this simple type. The masses of cells we perceive in the brain and spinal cord of man are joined together, and constitute, not a series of double knots, but a continuous column of varying size; and those in the head are enormously developed. But the parallel between the two structures remains, in spite of these changes. The spinal cord of man is a series of groups of cells, giving off nerves on each side, and connected by communicating fibres with each other, and with the larger groups in the brain, which also give off nerves to the nose and eyes, the skin and muscles of the face, and other parts. Thus in man and all animals alike, masses of grey matter, or cells, are placed at the centre, and nerve fibres connect them with the organs of the body. It has been proved, also, by the beautiful experiments of Sir Charles Bell, that the nerve fibres are of two kinds: some conveying an influence from the organs to the centres where the nerve cells are placed, and others carrying back an influence from them to the organs. So these groups of cells evidently answer to the *stations* of the electric telegraph. They are the points at which the messages are received from one line and passed on along another.\* But besides this, the cells are the generators of the nervous power. For the living telegraph flashes along its wires not only messages, but the force also which ensures their fulfilment. A nerve bears inwards, say from the hand or foot, an impression, it may be, of the slightest kind; but the cells (richly bathed as they are by air-containing blood) are thrown into active change by this slight stimulus, and are thus able to send out a force along the nerves leading to large groups of muscles, and excite them all to vigorous motion. Just so a message from one line may, by its stimulus to human wills, be transmitted from a station in twenty new directions.

In its simplest form this is called the "reflex function"—a name given to it by Dr. Marshall Hall, to whose investigations we owe much of our knowledge respecting the law of nervous action.

The lower portion of the nervous system, controlling as it does the functions of chief necessity to life, is of paramount importance to health. Derangements of its action are seen in the paroxysms of asthma and the seizures of epilepsy, in both

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\* They are called "ganglia" in scientific language; but this word has no deep meaning; it signifies a knot, and was applied to them simply with reference to the form they present at some places. Where a nerve passes through a small group of cells, the latter looks something like a knot tied in it.

of which affections the muscles are thrown into excessive contraction through a morbid condition induced in the spinal cord. Of a different order are that languor and feeling of utter disability for muscular exertion which creep over us at times. These feelings show that the nerve-centres which preside over muscular exertion have become oppressed and sluggish, perhaps through being badly nourished for want of proper exercise. Of a different kind, again, are tremblings of the muscles, or involuntary jerks and twitchings, and, in brief, all that condition known by the expressive name of "fidgets;" and which will sometimes affect the best-meaning people at the most unbecoming times. This affection is capable of a sufficiently simple explanation. The nervous centres which control the muscular activity (that "reflex" or involuntary activity which has been mentioned) are then in a state of undue excitement, and yielding to stimuli too slight, or without any external stimulus at all, they call the muscles into irregular and spasmodic contraction. Cramps and a tendency to involuntary sighing are often due to a similar condition; the muscles themselves, however, sometimes sharing with the spinal cord in an increased excitability.

What is the source of this irritability which renders it impossible to keep the muscles still? We can answer, in general, that irritability means weakness—it is a tendency to too easy an overthrow of the balance in which the living textures exist; the excessive action arises from too rapid a decay. A philosophical physician compares it to the whirling movements of the hands of a watch of which the mainspring is broken; and the eminent French experimentalist, M. Claude Bernard, has thrown a light on this condition by pointing out that an unnatural proneness to activity exists in every organ of a living animal, at a period immediately preceding the death of the part. In our physical as in our moral nature, strength is calm, patient, orderly; weakness hurries, cannot be at rest, attempts too much. The first external condition of the normal vigour of the nervous circle are freedom from all that irritates or impedes its functions. Among these stimuli, fresh air and pure water hold the first place; sufficient warmth is second.

With regard to the habitual and excessive use of alcoholic liquors, amounting to intemperance, the gravity of the effects admits of no question. Digestion is interfered with, the physical strength is undermined, and the nervous system becomes seriously impaired. The result of this nervous exhaustion is manifested by the tremulousness of the hands, the twitching of muscles, and, above all, by the enfeebled will, which, in many cases, becomes powerless to resist the craving for drink which is ultimately induced. Moreover, the perversion of the nutritive processes

leads to fatty degeneration of the heart and blood-vessels, of the kidneys, liver, and other parts ; and side by side with this diseased condition of body there is gradual loss of self-control, with perversion of the moral sense, so that, in many instances, the habitual drunkard becomes eventually a veritable dipsomaniac, whose only chance of cure is restraint in an asylum. But these effects, grave though they be, do not end with the individual, for the law of heredity brands the offspring as victims of a diseased organization, manifesting itself especially in a vitiated nervous system. For example, the craving for drink may itself be inherited, or the thieving and cunning propensities developed in the parent to obtain stimulants at all hazards, may become so intensified in the offspring as to render him a born thief and vagabond. Or, again, the parents' loss of mental power and moral discrimination may become displayed in the child as hopeless idiocy, or some other form of insanity. Obviously, it is not easy to collect accurate statistics in support of these statements, but the following will suffice for illustration :—Out of 300 idiots in the State of Massachusetts, whose histories were carefully investigated by Dr. Stowe, as many as 145 were the offspring of intemperate parents. Further, speaking in general terms, M. Morel, than whom no higher authority can be quoted, says, "I constantly find the sad victims of the intoxication of their parents in their favourite resorts—the asylums for the insane, prisons, and houses of correction. I as constantly observe amongst them deviations from the normal type of humanity, manifesting themselves not only by arrests of development and anomalies of constitution, but also by those vicious dispositions of the intellectual order which seem to be deeply rooted in the organization of these unfortunates, and which are the unmistakable indices of their double fecundation in respect of both physical and moral evil."

A picture of the savage state as compared with modern times shows that man living in all the simplicity of nature is exempt from those bodily ailments and mental disquietudes which are produced by the excesses and dissipations of civilized life. The inheritance of the untutored savage is health and vigour of body, with insensibility and passive content of mind. The inhabitants of a large town may be divided into the following classes :—Literary men ; the idle and dissipated ; the artificer and manufacturer ; those employed in drudgery ; persons returned from the colonies ; the female sex, consisting of the higher, the middle, and lower orders of women. From a survey of the employments and modes of life of each of these classes, and of the vices and preposterous customs of society, the various sources of physical degradation and of disease are made



apparent; and from these the remote causes of nervous disorders are deduced.

There can be no doubt about the fact that there is a very widespread impression that primary education as at present conducted is pressing injuriously, and with a constantly increasing force, upon the health and nervous system of children, and still more seriously upon the health and nervous system of teachers and pupil-teachers in primary schools, spending thereby most wastefully much of the teaching power in the country. On the other hand, we are told by persons in authority—whose province it is to defend the system which they are working, and working with the highest motives, with anxious watchfulness, and with enthusiasm for the great national work in which they are bearing a part—that such breakdowns of health occur but seldom, or that they occur only in underfed children, or in children already of feeble constitution, on the verge of illness, and that such disasters to individuals are no more than must be expected in the severe battle of life. We are told by those who have access to scientific analysis of statistics that the death-rate of children of school age is diminishing, and not increasing, as would be the case were the outcry against “over-pressure in education” founded on fact. They point to the fact—a most valuable one for the nation—that many children taken from squalid, ill-regulated, ill-ventilated homes, where they formerly wasted an undisciplined, untaught childhood, spend with advantage to their bodily, mental, and moral vigour several hours of each day in wholesome discipline and training in a carefully constructed schoolroom. As evidence of this, Sir Lyon Playfair quoted in a speech some little while back in the House of Commons the tables published by the Statistical Society. Two periods are compared together—1838 to 1854, and 1876 to 1880:—

In the latter period, among children from five to ten years of age, there had been a diminution of mortality of nearly 35 per cent., of which but 6 per cent. could be accounted for as the effect of hygiene. And what diseases have come down? All but one. In the ten years before the Education Act, brain disease killed 1 in 2,000; in the ten years after it killed 1 in 2,000. There was undoubtedly a large increase in the number of suicides, showing that there was something wrong in our social system; that the struggle for life and the keenness of competition were too severe. It was to be observed also that the educated people committed more suicides than the uneducated, and therefore to that extent education had something to do with it.

The statistics quoted by Sir Lyon Playfair end with 1880. What will be the tale of 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, the years in which it is said that the educational pressure has been increasing,



and during which, more especially, the outcry throughout the country has taken shape and made itself heard?

Statistics, in truth, hardly touch as yet the fringe of the question, and at the best give the verdict "not proven."

It is a curious fact that since the recent spread of education the increase of deaths from hydrocephalus has not been among infants, but among children over five years of age. And what shall we say of those who are carried off by consumption and other wasting diseases in which overwork has been a leading factor in the failure of health?

Mr. Mundella has stated that "the school life of English children is the shortest in Europe, and the requirements of the English educational code are the lightest." This defence is open to a double reply. First, the fact that on the Continent educational codes prevail of greater severity than the English code is no proof whatever that the English is not injurious in its effects upon the health of teachers and pupils in this country. Second, if it be proved that the foreign codes are more severe than the English, and it can be further proved that they produce no harm to health, then the conclusion is not unreasonable that on the Continent the science by which educational requirements are brought into harmony with growth, development, and health has attained a point of perfection from which the English educational system is separated by a long interval.

On the other hand, what evidence have we that in this respect of national health something is wrong in the educational machinery? In the first place, the subject has been often discussed in Parliament, and the Education Department has been many times placed in an attitude of defence. Such questions would hardly have been raised by our responsible legislators were there not a very strong under-current of dissatisfaction and a presumption that there were grounds for this dissatisfaction. In the second place, facts have been collected—one-sided facts, perhaps—by persons not themselves engaged in tuition, and have been published in pamphlets which reflect a widespread feeling of unrest.

A current of public thought finds vent in the daily journals, in leading articles, and in correspondence. In the correspondence a letter now and then in defence of the system appears, but the bulk of the evidence, much of it from experienced and competent persons, is condemnatory of "results." Of articles written in the journals it is rare indeed to find a sentence in palliation of the present system.

The medical profession are nearly all agreed that the education, so called or miscalled, at the present day, from the highest to the lowest, is doing injury to the health and nervous system of

very many of the rising generation. As to elementary education, the nation can hardly realize what is the life of female pupil-teachers. Apprenticed to their calling at the age of thirteen or fourteen, they spend five and a-half hours a day in the fatiguing work of drilling little children in their lessons, and in trying to maintain their attention. They then have to spend the rest of the day, commencing at eight o'clock in the morning, until eight, nine, ten, and, before examinations, even eleven o'clock at night, "ay, and even twelve, many a one," as said a schoolmaster, with scanty time for meals, and almost none for recreation, grinding away at their miserable treadmill, in order, not to improve their minds, not to develop their faculties, but to meet the demands of an inexorable examination. This, bad as it may be in the case of boys, is more acutely wrong in the case of girls, coinciding with that critical period of their physical development which intervenes between girlhood and womanhood, when the *physique* is most sensitive to conditions affecting health and growth, and when the foundation of a healthy or a weakly womanhood is laid.

Let us now turn our thoughts to the higher education of the country. Some thirty-seven years ago higher education in this country meant a classical and mathematical training brought to the highest perfection, and had its most complete representation in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. That education, the result and the wisdom and experience of many generations of the ablest and most cultivated men in the kingdom, had a clear object in view, and as a rule succeeded in attaining that object, which was so to train the intellectual faculties as to prepare men for entering upon their professional studies, whether in divinity, law, medicine, or statesmanship, with sharpened wit, a cultivated power of mental concentration, undiminished freshness of mind, and undamaged *physique*; a preparation and nursing up for the work of life. In those days, examinations were few, "cramming" and "coaching" were little heard of, breakdown of health and nervous system was exceptional. A two-fold change, however, was coming over national requirements. The marvellous opening out of the field of natural science compelled the universities, hesitatingly at first, to widen their borders and give the younger science a place beside the elder sisters. In the attempt to combine the old and the new by accretion rather than by amalgamation and consolidation, there resulted for a time a great unsettling of the educational forces and processes, at least in the older university.

The second change has proved more serious—shall I say disastrous?—to true education. The awakening of the national conscience to the injustice of the system by which appointments in the public services were distributed by private patronage rendered

some measure necessary which should be fair to everybody, and should pick out for the service of the nation the most competent by education, ability, and acquirements. What method could be more convenient or more obvious than examination, which as a rule had hitherto worked well, both in influencing education and in selecting the fittest in the universities? But the element of competition, at first, apparently, a wholesome factor and a useful spur, became shortly a plague spot, which has grown and spread and infected the whole system of higher education in the country. We have competition for the Indian appointments, for our Army, our Civil Service.

And what shall we say of the public schools? Here also the "running has been forced," and it is still being forced by competition. Foundation scholarships and entrance scholarships are distributed to boys little above childhood, after severe competition which implies hard study and grinding almost from babyhood. Not content with the forcing of the foundation scholars, of recent years school authorities have caused a further tightening of the educational screw to take effect on non-foundation boys by "superannuation," a scheme devised at first to enable a headmaster to get rid of idle boys who lagged behind among the younger at the bottom of the school, and were doing no good to themselves and harm to their class-fellows. Soon, when the idle and most backward boys have been weeded out, the rule takes effect on boys less idle and less dull, until at last even the lower parts of a school become a continual competition in order to escape superannuation. Verily the school motto ought to be *Extremum rapiat scabies*.

Are we not in the matter of higher education living in a fool's paradise? Are we not in the name of Education destroying the very objects she aims at, and missing her goal? Are we not sacrificing the tree in order to obtain its early fruit? Are we not passing through an era of unscientific education? Education, in its truest, widest, most scientific sense, should aim at the development of the "whole nature"—the intellectual, the physical, the moral, and the spiritual; and should take cognizance of, and be guided by, all the various factors in the complicated problem. Can any one maintain that she takes cognizance of the physical side? Is she not bound hand and foot to the thralldom of competition from childhood to manhood? Does she not say to a child in the nursery, You must begin your grammar and your Latin, or you will not be able at eleven years of age to try for a scholarship which has been your passport to a public-school education?—often, in the case of children of the less wealthy clergy and professional men, the only chance of obtaining such a privilege. Such entrance scholarships being open to all, the



candidates are many, the prizes are few, the competition is severe, and the poor little brain is driven to work more fitted for boys two or three years older; to do it under the pressure of competitive strain, and with its future success in life apparently depending upon the result. And this may happen at eleven years of age, or even earlier. If successful, the boy takes a high place in the school, two or three years in advance of the average boys, and continues to rise—unless, indeed, Nature, resenting the strain, reasserts her authority, and the boy becomes for a time dull and idle, to the disappointment of his teachers, the discredit of himself, and the salvation of his brain. Successful, he rises in the school and wins a scholarship at the university. Here, again, competition dogs his footsteps. He must read for honours, and must win honours, or his scholarship, perhaps the only means of completing his university education, may be forfeited. His university career ended, he then may have to begin the work of life an exhausted man, to study and cram, it may be, for a competitive examination for a public appointment, or to sit down and reckon with the work of preparing for the profession by which he has to gain a living.

Surely this is unscientific education, imposing burthens upon young, growing brains without taking thought how much the nervous system ought to bear, pushing them, urging them, tempting them on by prizes and honours, reckless of the result to vigour or intellect. Can this all go on with impunity? Are the disasters attributed to competitive pressure in education imaginary? Certainly not.

Have we not heard a note of warning from India, that the intense competition for its Civil Service appointments—the present and model of modern competition—is telling its tale and bearing its natural fruit in premature failure of health, exhausted faculties, and shattered nervous system? Sir Andrew Clark, in his presidential address to the Clinical Society of London (January 1883), passed a severe medical condemnation on this particular competition. He says: "Of the young men who win appointments in the Indian Civil Service competition, I have ascertained that more than a tenth become albuminuric." In other words, some of the great organs of the body become diseased; temporarily, perhaps, yet in not a few instances, they have received such a shock that the impress of the damage remains, ready to reappear when the wear and tear of life has lately set in and tries the mettle of every organ of the body; and have we not had warnings from men eminent in psycho-logical medicine—from Dr. Tuke, Dr. Langdon Down, Dr. Gouston Browne? In the "*Book of Health*" there is an article by Dr. Browne on "*Education and the Nervous System*," one of



the most forcible expositions yet written by medical authority of the physiological laws which should guide education, and one of the strongest arguments yet put forth for the necessity that educators "should work in harmony with the laws which medical science teaches." It is a book to be studied by parents, by medical men, and by all who have the welfare of true education at heart. Speaking of precocity and of early brain-forcing, he says: "A regard for the future of the race must therefore, constrain all medical men to preach emphatically and constantly in the midst of the indiscriminate educational fervour which prevails, the wisdom of caution and the danger of brain-forcing. It cannot be too often or too earnestly impressed on parents and teachers that to overwork the immature brain is to enfeeble it, and that the early talent which they seek to evoke is not a thing to be desired." Again, in Germany, Dr. Treichler has called the attention of physicians to the great increase of habitual headaches amongst boys and girls, which he attributes to the exhaustive effort of excessive and ill-directed brain-work in schools. In America, the late Dr. Edward H. Clarke collected a large amount of testimony bearing on the effects on health of the higher education of women in America, where it is often pushed with a remorseless eagerness as yet but little known in this country. And all the testimony collected by Dr. Clarke is in favour of one conclusion: that severe brain work for girls, kept up continuously, is most injurious to health, and that its disastrous consequences are most frequently and ostensibly exhibited in the nervous system. Professor Loomis, of Yale College, looking at the increasing physical deterioration of American girls, says: "The cry to our older colleges and time-honoured universities is, Open your doors that the fairer part of Creation may enter and join in the mental toil and tournament! God save our American people from such a *misfortune!*"

Dr. C. R. Mills, of the University Hospital, Philadelphia, who, it may be remembered, examined the brain of Guiteau after his execution, delivered a lecture a little over a year ago at the National Museum at Washington upon "Premature Diseases among Men in Public and Private Life, brought on by Over-mental Strain." Members of Congress and senators were constantly giving way, so Dr. Mills said, under the strain of unusual nervous excitement and mental strain brought on from various causes. Statistics showed the average age, taking all classes of men in the United States, to be about fifty years, and this shortening of life is due almost entirely to over-mental activity or irregularities in life. Taking the average age of a few of the most eminent English and American statesmen, that of the English was found

to be 72 years, and that of the American 70 years. The English Chief Justices have averaged a life of 68 years, while the Americans only reached 60 years. He said that, taking 116 representatives and 59 senators of the American Congress, and 121 members of the British Parliament who had died during the period from 1861 to 1883, he found the average age attained by the members of the British Parliament was 68, while the American representatives only reached 53, and the senators 61 years. These deaths were caused by a general breaking up of the system and debility, brought on by overwork, nervousness, mental worry, and irregular habits. The most marked symptoms preceding this wrecking of the nervous system were peculiar head troubles, pains in the back of the neck and head, vertiginous attacks, and, in addition, great weariness after but slight exertion; palpitation of the heart, dyspeptic symptoms, and an unnatural hunger shortly after meals. This premature decay, Dr. Mills thinks, was more common in America than elsewhere, on account of the liberties and opportunities there. It began in the schools; all the children having equal chances, equal incentives, and equal solutions, they arrive at equal mental attainments.

Professor Huxley, in his essay on "Technical Education," says:—

The educational abomination of desolation of the present day is the stimulation of young people to work at high pressure by incessant competitive examinations. . . . The vigour and freshness, which should have been stored up for the purposes of the hard struggle for existence in practical life, have been washed out of them by precocious mental debauchery, by book gluttony and lesson-bibbing. . . . I have no compassion for sloth; but youth has more need for intellectual rest than age; and the cheerfulness, the tenacity of purpose, the power of work which make many a successful man what he is, must often be placed to the credit, not of his hours of industry, but to that of his hours of idleness in boyhood.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his work, "Education: Intellectual, Moral, Physical," pleads warmly for a true balance of the educational forces, and pithily condemns the exaggerations of modern systems. "For nature," he says, "is a strict accountant, and if you demand of her in one direction more than she is prepared to lay out, she balances the account by making a deduction elsewhere." Again, he says, "Those who, in eagerness to cultivate their pupils' minds, are reckless of their bodies, do not remember that success in the world depends more on energy than on information, and that a policy which, in cramming with information, undermines energy is self-defeating." Dr. John Brown, in an article on Education of the Senses, in "How Subseivie," says:

"One of the chief sins of our time is hurry: it is helter-skelter, and devil take the hindmost."

Should the nation become convinced that the present system of competitive examinations is a mighty evil, a counterfeit, it will demand and seek for a remedy. It will ask whether it be not impossible to retain the advantages and strike out the evils which beset examinations. It will study out more scientifically what the aim and method of an examination should be, and how it may become possible to select from a large number of candidates all those who will give evidence of good ability and good training *under whatever system they may have been trained*. Finally, when the grain has been picked out from the chaff, if the number of the grain outnumbers the appointments to be won, how shall the final selection be made? Surely not as now, by an exhausting race for marks, which fails, except by chance, to select the most competent, which damages the health of those who succeed, and probably many more of those who fail, and develops the educational crammer, reintroducing thereby "purchase under an alias." May we not find a possible solution of this difficulty of final selection amongst competent candidates, fair to all and damaging to none, in drawing of lots? Have we not in drawing of lots also a means of distributing entrance scholarships in public schools which will not violate the laws of physiology, nor impose upon young children and young developing boys the fatal temptation to overwork? The foundation scholarships were intended by the founder to help poor scholars, but they have been made educational engines of mischief. Hundreds of little boys from twelve to fourteen or fifteen, clever, perhaps, and worked up often at great expense in money, generally at great expense of mental effort and continuous application, prostrate themselves every year before the eleemosynary Juggernaut. The great schools with their seventy foundation scholarships get the "first growth" of the rising generation, and thus secure for themselves a promising stock for winning the great prizes in the university competitions. Other public schools, less fortunate in their foundation, in order to hold their own, offer scholarships which are more openly used as bribes and advertisements. I have been told that the aggregate winnings of boys educated in some of these schools amounted to £450.

With the exception, of course, of art, there is, perhaps, no subject on which Mr. Ruskin has spoken at once more rationally and charmingly than on education. He fully recognizes the truth: the end of education should be to love all beauty and one's neighbour as one's self. Education would be, not a laborious, but a very joyful discipline, if Mr. Ruskin's programme were adopted. Here is his new code: "Every parish school to have a



garden, playground, and cultivable land round it, spacious enough to employ the scholars in fine weather mostly out of doors. Attached to the building, a children's library, in which the scholars who care to read may learn that art as deftly as they like by *themselves*; a sufficient laboratory, where simple chemical, optical, and pneumatic experiments may be shown, and, according to the size and importance of the school, attached, workshops—always a carpenter's—and in the better schools a potter's. In the school itself the things taught will be music, geometry, astronomy, botany, zoology, to all; drawing and history to children who have gift for either; and, finally, to all children the laws of honour, the habit of truth, the virtue of humility, and the happiness of love."

Mr. Ruskin has given us an amusing instance of his own experience of the rising system of elementary instruction. Going the other day into the parish school at Coniston, he seated himself on the nearest bench and learned with the rest of the class how much seven-and-twenty pounds of bacon would come to at ninepence three farthings a pound, "with sundry the like marvellous consequences of the laws of number."

Feeling a little uneasy at being always at the bottom of the class, he at length ventured to request the master to give a little respite. During this welcome interval Mr. Ruskin, taking a sovereign from his pocket, asked the children if they had ever been shown the Queen's arms upon it. None of them seemed to know what the Queen's arms meant. "Suppose," says Mr. Ruskin, "the children were to be told all about the Queen's arms—what the Irish harp meant, and what a bard was and ought to be; what the Scottish lion meant, and how he got caged by the treasure of the Charlemagne; and who Charlemagne was; what the English leopards meant, and who the Black Prince was, and how he reigned in Aquitaine—would not all this be more useful to the children than being able, in two seconds quicker than children outside, to say how much seven-and-twenty pounds of bacon would come to at ninepence three farthings a pound?" As a teacher of men, Mr. Ruskin has few living equals, but it is evident that he might have established a great reputation as a teacher of children had he adopted the scholastic profession as the business of his life.

By no means the least of the advantages that would result from the practical application of Mr. Ruskin's educational theories would be the removal of all danger of overpressure. The delicate structure of the juvenile brain would not suffer if the studies of childhood were made as fascinating as Mr. Ruskin wishes to make them. The prominence which is at present given in our elementary schools to instruction in the theory of numbers is un-



doubtedly the cause of the overpressure of which dull children are the victims.

We are of those who believe that work never injured any man, or child either, if it is made pleasant to the worker and suitable to his capacity. It is *worry* that kills. The stimulus of healthful work, whether of muscle or brain, will make the organ grow. It is against the *character of the work* in our schools that we protest, as unphysiological, useless, and injurious.

Let us endeavour to sketch a plan of education which will commend itself to the common-sense of every thinking man. Let us begin with the girls. These are to be our future wives and mothers, and the end of education must be to fit them for fulfilling the duties which belong to such. How to nurse children, how to cook food, how to keep a house tidy, are matters of infinitely greater moment for a girl to know than the populations of the principal cities in Europe, or the latitude and longitude of Japan; yet the latter are carefully taught and the former are utterly neglected, unless through semi-scientific lessons on the composition of food and the chemistry of cooking. There are thousands of infants in London needing to be nursed, and thousands of school girls needing to be taught how to do it; why not bring these two classes together in the public schools? Why not light the top stories of these buildings from the roof? Furnish them with wide verandahs full of plants, and accessible through glass doors; convert these rooms into crèches for the infants of the neighbourhood, and let the girls of the school take their turn in washing, dressing, and nursing these infants, cooking their food, and feeding them. Two hours a day spent by each girl in such work, amidst the bright and pleasant surroundings we have sketched, would be more true education for her than any we know of being given at present in public schools. One hour for sewing, two hours at separate times for acquiring the "three R's," and one or two hours in the playground, would make six or seven hours of "schooling." At present, we believe, about ten minutes at a time is all that children are allowed to be in the playground! Yet it is in the playground that the emotions are developed, and where children can be taught to regulate and control them; and a teacher has not half learnt his work until he knows how to turn the playground to account as a moral educator. We have devoted so much of our space to the education of girls that we have none to devote to boys; but the same principles will apply.

Professor Humphry, of Cambridge, as President of the Sanitary Institute; Dr. Theodore Williams, in the annual oration before the Medical Society of London; Dr. Rabagliati, of Bradford, in a paper read before the Conference of Elementary

Teachers; Dr. Williamson, of Ventnor, in a letter to the *Lancet*; Dr. Clouston, in lectures at Edinburgh, and others, all touch upon the relation of modern education to health, and point out the dangers that are being incurred from the want of proper adjustment of the two. Dr. Thorburn, in his introductory lecture to the course of obstetric medicine at Owens College, sounds a note of warning in the education of women, and quotes opinions of many of the leading American physicians as to the ill effects of excessive educational work on American girls.

Before concluding, I may here mention that the state of general vigour which we call "Tone" depends upon the healthy action of the nervous centres. It consists in an habitual moderate contraction of the muscles, due to a constant stimulus exerted on them by the spinal cord, and is valuable less for itself than as a sign of a sound nervous balance. Tone is maintained partly by healthful impressions radiated upon the spinal cord, through the nerves, from all parts of the body, and partly by the stimulus poured down upon it from the brain. So it is disturbed by whatever conveys irritating or depressing influences in either direction. A single injudicious meal, a single sleepless night, a single passion or piece of bad news, will destroy it. On the other hand, a vivid hope, a cheerful resolve, an absorbing interest, will restore it as if by magic. For in man these lower officers in the nervous hierarchy draw their very breath according to the biddings of the higher powers. But the dependence of the higher on the lower is no less direct. The mutual action takes place in each line. A chief condition of keeping the brain healthy is to keep these unconscious nervous functions in full vigour, and in natural alternations of activity and repose. Thus it is that (besides its effect in increasing the breathing and the general vigour of the vital processes) muscular exercise has so manifest a beneficial influence on a depressed or irritable state of mind. The bodily movement, by affording an outlet to the activity of the spinal cord, withdraws a source of irritation from the brain; or it may relieve excitement of that organ by carrying off its energy into a safe channel.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

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## ART. IV.—THE CHURCH AND LIBERALISM.

IT may be remembered by those who have read the works of Father Huc, which excited so much interest about twenty-five or thirty years ago, that that zealous missionary and charming writer relates an occurrence that once took place in a house where he was received while travelling in China. The good father, as any other Frenchman might have done, started a conversation with his host on public matters, asked what was the probable policy of the Emperor, with various questions of a similar character. At last his Chinese entertainer, after listening patiently for a time, replied to the following effect: "My good friend, what is all this to us? What have you and I to do with politics? Do let us mind our own affairs, and leave these things to the Mandarins, who are paid for attending to them."

Asiatic maxims are not always applicable to our widely different usages and circumstances; and it must be admitted that what might be perfect prudence in China would be culpable negligence in England. But it has always appeared to me that the answer of the Chinese to Father Huc contained a volume of good, sound sense; and I think we may pay a tribute of respect to a people who calmly pursue the business incident to their state of life, instead of plunging themselves into that fever of political excitement which threatens to be the curse of modern Europe.

Reflections such as these are naturally forced upon one at a moment like the present,\* when rival candidates are wearying us with the incessant din of their stump oratory. A witty Anglican prelate, who had heard that he ought to have "unlimited trust in the wisdom of the English people," has recently said: "If I listen to one set of politicians and their followers, I hear that their opponents are utterly without patriotism, principle, or common sense; and if I turn to those so described, they tell me precisely the same things of their accusers; and if I put both these declarations together, I am driven to the conclusion that there is not an ounce of sense, or patriotism, or honesty in the whole electorate, and yet I am to have implicit trust in this electorate." So that in the midst of this reign of confusion and un wisdom, one is tempted to wish that, among the various goods brought from distant lands, a cargo of plain common sense could be imported from China.

Before my readers can peruse these words the General Election, with all its tumult, will be a thing of the past; and even were

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\* This was written shortly before the General Election.



it not so, I should not desire to discuss it, or to raise the question as to how Catholics ought to vote. This last-named point has been treated in the pages of the *National Review* a short time since, and still more recently by high Ecclesiastical authority in the October number of the *DUBLIN REVIEW*—the former article being written rather from a political, the latter from a religious standpoint. Besides which there have been other Episcopal monitions which it would be presumptuous to disregard.

There are, of course, grave motives which must weigh with Catholics (as with other men) in determining for whom they should vote—the great question of education being prominent among them; while other examples may be found in the land question, the selection of statesmen who can be trusted to conduct the foreign affairs of the country, the Irish problem, with its apparently insoluble difficulties, and by these in various degrees we are naturally influenced. Still, when one considers the complete break-up of the old political combinations, and the new phases of political faith, it must, I think, be admitted that it is difficult to feel any intense or unqualified enthusiasm for either party.

There must, however, be a time when (the excitement of electioneering struggles being over) we shall turn away from ephemeral discussion and partisan warfare, in order to search for some real principles to guide us; and then it is not merely reasonable but our bounden duty to inquire, in the first place, whether the Church does not give us some instruction, or at least some caution against the more rampant errors of the day.

In the region of pure politics it is evident that great latitude is allowed to Catholics; the Church does not profess to furnish her sons with good practical sense and experience in secular matters. Catholics may be in favour of a restricted or an extensive franchise, or even universal suffrage; they may hold in theory that a Republican form of government is best, or, on the other hand, that an absolute Monarchy is the true ideal; they may hold what opinion they please as to the benefits of a subdivision of land among the peasantry (providing always that no injustice is done to any one); they may be in favour of Free Trade or Protection; of one financial system or another. On the other hand, I think it may safely be laid down that no good Catholic can, in the face of the strong declaration of the present Pope, be what is commonly known as a Socialist. Nor, again, can he be a revolutionist; he cannot, that is, be a party to the destruction by force of a legitimate and established government on the ground that he believes some other form of government to be better. He could neither take up arms, on such a ground as



this, against the Monarchy in England, or the Republic in America.

This last point is especially to be noted, for many wrong deeds have been perpetrated (I do not mean by English Catholics, but in other countries) from ignoring it; yet it seems to me to be a principle of natural religion as well as of Christianity.

Now I have shown that a man may hold a great variety of political opinions, and yet be a loyal Catholic; there is one thing, however, that I doubt whether he can be—namely, a real consistent *Liberal*. He may, it is true, vote with the English Liberal party; he may support their candidate at an election, and, if in the House of Commons, he may sit on the same side with them; acts like these do not commit a man to all the opinions of his associates; a vote may merely imply the choice of a lesser evil, and a temporary alliance between men of divergent principles is sometimes permissible. But can a sound Catholic call himself a Liberal without making considerable qualifications and reservations? This is the point I now proceed to discuss. If there are any opinions in the world which are the watchwords of Liberalism, they are such as these: "Civil and Religious Liberty;" "Toleration for all religions *as of right*;" entire freedom of the Press without any limit, excepting what is necessary for public peace and decency, and excepting, of course, libels on private character; and a Liberal would surely be in a most anomalous position who repudiated these standard articles of his creed, or who held them to represent an evil or imperfect state of things, suitable perhaps to the conditions of modern society, but *contrary to the true Christian ideal*. Yet this I believe to be exactly what the Catholic Church holds about them.

In order to prove this I shall have to refer to certain pronouncements of the Holy See, which the present generation may have forgotten. In this unquiet age there is a perpetual tendency to take a fleeting interest in the news of the day, letting many weightier matters drop into oblivion. We are like the Athenians in the time of St. Paul, always rushing hither and thither to hear of some new thing; and good Christians are carried along with the stream, and do in this respect much as others do.

Now in the year 1832 there was issued by the then reigning Pope, Gregory XVI., an Encyclical, addressed in the usual way to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops, and known generally as the Encyclical "*Mirari Vos*." It seems to have been intended primarily as an address to the Catholic *Episcopate* on the occasion of the Pope's election to the chair of

St. Peter, but it also included a condemnation of certain politico-religious opinions then brought prominently into notice in France, and specially associated with the name of the Abbé de Lamennais, who may almost be considered as the founder of Catholic Liberalism.

Certainly he was at that date the most vigorous defender of that phase of thought, then comparatively new to the Catholic mind; and he conducted a paper, called the *Avenir*, in which he maintained the errors (for such we are bound to hold them) that brought him under the censure of the Holy See. There were two points he particularly insisted upon: Liberty of conscience, in the sense that no Government had the right in any case to restrain religious error; and the unlimited freedom of the Press.

"What have Catholics to desire," he said, "except the effective and full enjoyment of all those liberties which may not legitimately be refused to any—religious liberty, the liberty of education, together with liberty of the Press, which is the most guarantee of all the rest."\*

Again, "That which most retards the triumph of truth is the support which material force attempts to lend her—the very appearance of constraint in the essentially free domain of conscience and reason."

Let us see, then, how Gregory XVI. deals with these theories. After condemning that principle of religious indifferentism which teaches that the salvation of the soul may be secured by "any profession of faith," irrespective of its truth, the Pope says: "And from this most corrupt source of indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather insanity, that liberty of conscience is to be asserted and vindicated for every man." He quotes St. Augustine, who says, "What worse death is there of the soul than liberty of error?" And he thus continues, "It has been known by experience from the earliest antiquity, that nations which flourished in wealth, power, and glory, have fallen by this one evil—unrestrained liberty of opinion, license of speech, desire of change." These last words should be a lesson to us in England, since our modern political leaders and writers are incessantly dwelling on the desirability of change.

Then as regards the liberty of the Press, the Encyclical thus speaks: "To this may be referred that liberty—most foul and

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\* My quotations, both from the *Avenir*, and from the Encyclical *Unanimes Vos*, are not taken from the original documents, which I have not before me, but the source from which I have drawn them leaves no doubt on my mind as to their accuracy.

never sufficiently to be execrated and detested—that liberty of the bookselling trade to publish any kind of writings which some men dare to demand and promote with so much violence.” And after noticing the opinion of those who fancy that evil publications are compensated by some good books, the Pope adds these important words: “It is sinful in truth and condemned by every law, that a certain and greater evil should be purposely inflicted, because there is hope that a certain amount of good will be thence obtained. Would any one in his senses say that poisons should be freely circulated and publicly sold, because something of a remedy is possessed, which is such that it sometimes happens that those who use it are delivered from destruction?”

It appears that a letter from Cardinal Pacca, written by the Pope's orders, was sent to the Abbé de Lamennais, together with a copy of the Encyclical. This letter throws some light on the meaning of the stringent language employed in condemning the unsound opinions referred to; and it shows, what I suppose we might have otherwise discovered, that it was not intended to censure the practice of allowing diversity of religious worship and liberty of the press in all countries and under all circumstances, but to teach Catholics that a state of things where such freedom existed was by no means an ideal to be aimed at, but rather an abnormal condition, to be tolerated for the sake of prudence or for any legitimate reason, but not to be treated as intrinsically desirable. Thus Cardinal Pacca says: “The doctrines of the *Avenir* on the liberty of worship and the liberty of the press, which have been treated by the editors with so much exaggeration and pushed so far, are also very reprehensible, and are in opposition to the Church's teaching, maxims, and practice. They have greatly astonished and afflicted the Holy Father; for if, under certain circumstances, prudence requires to endure them as a less evil, they may never be represented by a Catholic as a good or a desirable thing.” It is of course to be remembered that since the days of Gregory XVI. a great part of Europe has undergone a complete moral revolution, and that the rising stream of error, which the Pontiff then combated, has since then swept like a flood over the face of Christendom. Had Pope Gregory been writing half-a-century later, he might have modified his language; yet the Church's principles remain now what they were then. In the letter above mentioned, some further opinions of the Abbé de Lamennais relating to the lawfulness of rebellion against the civil government and to the union between Church and State are censured, but I do not propose to dwell on these.

The unhappy priest whose errors were here condemned, made



a partial and temporary act of submission to the Papal authority, but not very long afterwards revolted against it completely and finally.

Events which occurred fifty years ago have naturally faded away in great measure from the minds of Catholics of the present generation, but it is most important that the principles then associated by the Holy See should not fall into oblivion.

The Pope who succeeded Gregory XVI.—Pius IX.—certainly did not allow contemporary Catholics to remain in ignorance or forgetfulness of the teaching of the Church as regards the popular theories and fallacies of his day. The Encyclical "*Quanta Cura*" with the Syllabus of Errors that accompanied it, issued on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1864, bore abundant testimony to the Pontiff's zeal for the instruction and enlightenment of his spiritual children, while, on the other hand, it raised a storm of furious opposition and resentment such as modern Europe had not for some time witnessed. Unbelievers, and Protestants, worldly and weak Catholics, joined in the outcry. But the teaching of the Church remains; and let us briefly examine what it is. We find here that the Pope warns the bishops against men who, "applying to civil society the impious and absurd principle of *naturalism*, as they call it, dare to teach that the best constitution of public society and civil progress altogether require that human society be conducted and governed without regard being had to religion any more than if it did not exist, or at least without any distinction being made between the true religion and false ones." Also that, "That is the best condition of society in which no duty is recognized, as attached to the civil power, of restraining by enacted penalties offenders against the Catholic religion, except so far as public peace may require." Again, the Pope quotes the word "*insanity*," applied by his predecessor Gregory XVI. to the opinion that "*liberty of conscience and worship is each man's personal right, which ought to be legally proclaimed and asserted in every rightly constituted society; and that a right resides in the citizens to an absolute liberty, which should be restrained by no authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, whereby they may be able openly and publicly to manifest and declare any of their ideas whatever, either by word of mouth, by the press, or in any other way.*" "But," continues the Encyclical, "*while they rashly affirm this, they do not think and consider that they are preaching the liberty of passion.*"

Pius IX. in this same Encyclical condemns various other false opinions, but space does not permit me to cite them *in extenso*; some of them would be repudiated by moderate Liberals; but the following deserve attention:—"That the Church can decree



nothing which binds the consciences of the faithful in regard to their use of temporal things;" and "that the Church has no right of restraining by temporal punishments those who violate her laws."

The "*Syllabus complectens præcipuos nostræ ætatis errores*," &c. which accompanied the Encyclical, has one special heading for "Errors which have reference to the Liberalism of the day," and another for "Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Clerico-Liberal Societies," as to which it says, "Pests of this kind are often reprobated, and in the most severe terms," mentioning at the same time the previous Encyclicals and Allocutions in which the Papal censures are to be found. The last error alluded to in the *Syllabus* is as follows:—"The Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile and harmonize himself with progress, with *Liberalism*, and with modern civilization."

I may here observe that I have abstained from any argument in favour of the infallibility of the Papal Encyclicals, not because I have any doubt on the subject, but because it is a matter more properly left to theologians; it is enough for a lay writer to remark that what is sometimes termed the "*pietas fidei*" requires that we should fully assent to all the teaching of the Vicar of Christ, put forth in his capacity as Pope, whether we believe it to be, strictly speaking, infallible or not.

I had proceeded so far in my argument previously to the publication of the recent Encyclical letter, "*Immortale Dei*;" it now became necessary to ascertain whether the inferences I had drawn were in accordance with the teaching of the reigning Pontiff. No sooner had the Encyclical appeared than its contents were reported with exaggeration and misstatement. Let us, however, see what lessons are really to be learnt from it. Since it is printed *in extenso* in another part of this REVIEW, I invite the reader to study it carefully in order to ascertain whether I am correctly representing its substance.

The following are the principal points which the Pope lays down for our guidance: It is the natural condition of man that he should live in civil society, and this implies a civil authority; but the authority comes from God: "Whoever possesses the right of governing can receive that from no other source than from that supreme chief of all—God." If the rulers of a State act unjustly or injuriously towards the people, to God they must render an account. The citizens should pay to their rulers something of the same respect and affection that children should do towards their parents; popular violence inciting to sedition is treason not only against man but against God.

The State is bound to satisfy, by the public profession of religion, the many and great duties which bring it into relation

with God ; and it must not act as though God did not exist, nor may it out of several kinds of religion adopt indifferently which it pleases. God has divided the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil ; each is the greatest in its own kind, each has certain limits within which it is restricted. Whatever in human affairs is in any way sacred is subject to the Church ; but things political to the civil authority. Concordats between the Roman Pontiff and civil princes are sometimes advantageous ; and in these cases the Church usually exhibits the highest possible degree of generosity and indulgence.

Certain modern principles are out of harmony, not only with Christian, but in some respects with natural law—such as that all men, being alike by birth and nature, are equal in their relations of life ; each is master of himself and in no way comes under the authority of another ; he can think freely on whatever subject he likes, and act as he pleases, for no one has a right of ruling over others. In a society founded on these principles, *government is only the will of the people*, which is alone its own proper sovereign, choosing indeed to whom it may entrust itself, but in such a way that it transfers not so much the right as the function of the government which is to be exercised in its name ; God is passed over in silence ; it is held that no religion should be publicly professed, nor any one preferred to the rest ; every one may follow what religion he prefers, or none at all ; consequently free opinions are expressed concerning worshipping or not worshipping God, and there is *unbounded license of thinking and publishing*. States founded on such principles as these do an injury to the Church ; and even natural religion can show us the falsity of opinions of this character.

The Pope, not content with himself condemning the errors he is denouncing, appeals to the teaching of his immediate predecessors, and reminds us that Gregory XVI., in the Encyclical "Mirari Vos," inveighed with weighty words against the supposed right of individuals to judge of religion according to their present preferences, and the lawfulness of promulgating what each man might think (making thereby a revolution in the State) ; also against those who desire the separation of the Church from the State. Pius IX., too, as opportunity offered, noted many false opinions, and afterwards ordered them to be collected together for the guidance of Catholics—an obvious allusion to the well-known Syllabus. "From these decisions of the Popes, it is clearly to be understood that the origin of public power is to be sought from God Himself, and not from the multitude ; that free play for sedition is repugnant to reason ; that it is a crime for private individuals and a crime for States to make no account of the duties of religion, or to treat different kinds of

religion in the same way ; that the uncontrolled power of thinking and publicly proclaiming one's thoughts has no place among the rights of citizens, and cannot in any way be reckoned among those things which are worthy of favour or defence."

But no form of government is *per se* condemned ; nor is it *per se* to be condemned that the people should have a greater or less share in the government, it being sometimes not only useful but a part of their duty so to participate ; again, though the Church judges it not to be lawful that the various kinds of worship should have the same right as the true religion, she does not condemn that kind of toleration which, for the sake of gaining some great good or avoiding some great evil, permits each religion to have its place in the State. No one should be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic faith : "*Credere non potest homo, nisi volens*" (quoted from St. Augustine).

The Church will steadily encourage and promote those studies which are concerned with the investigation of nature ; and, being a foe to inertness and sloth, she wishes that the talents of men, being cultivated and exercised, should bear still richer fruits ; and she offers inducements to every sort of art and craft.

The Holy Father lets it be understood that he is not speaking merely by way of exhortation or counsel, for he states that whatever things the Roman Pontiffs have handed down, or shall hereafter hand down, Catholics must hold in their own judgment, and, when occasion demands, profess them openly.

Catholics should, as a general rule, and allowing for exceptional circumstances, take a part in public affairs.

In matters purely political, questions concerning the best form of government and civil regulations, there is room for harmless disagreement ; and pious men, ready to accept the decrees of the Apostolic See, are not to be accounted evil, or charged with violating the Catholic Faith, because they differ on such subjects.

Such, then, are the lessons inculcated in this noble Encyclical. I question whether any one will deny that it confirms the teaching I had already gathered from the pronouncements of the two former Popes, and adds something besides no less pointed and forcible. It is not difficult to see how the exaggerations arose to which I alluded above. It was reported that the Pope had condemned Liberalism and universal suffrage. The word Liberalism does not appear to be used, however, though the principles that are censured are those which the word generally implies. But universal suffrage is plainly not condemned, nor indeed any other kind of suffrage, provided it be in accordance with the constitution of the particular country. Still, when one finds such expressions employed as that the origin of public power is to be sought



from God himself, and not from the multitude; when one notices that even the opinion, so commonly held by Catholic theologians, that civil authority, though coming ultimately from God, is derived *mediately* through the people, is not even once mentioned, one understands how it may have happened that careless or superficial readers misapprehended the Pontiff's meaning. It is evident too that the Pope is mainly thinking throughout of Catholic countries, though he nowhere expressly says so; it must be remembered that he is dealing with certain false principles, and not with the special cases of particular nations.

After making a deduction for distortion and exaggeration, it nevertheless remains a fact that opinions generally held to be vitally connected with modern Liberalism are denounced with no uncertain voice; for example, antagonism to an established Church as such, indifference on the part of the State to religious truth, the unlimited right to publish or even to think what you please, the making an idol of the people by imagining them to be the sole source of all legitimate authority.

I disclaim the use of the words "Liberal" and "Liberalism" in their narrow party sense (as they are used, for instance, at the English elections); but suppose we take a philosophical Liberal who thinks out his principles, or a modern Radical of the advanced school, and put the Encyclical before him? I confess I should be surprised if, after reading it, he did not feel that the Pope was his natural enemy.

I am aware that it may be argued that, although Liberalism is incontestably condemned by the Holy See in one sense, it is not so in others. I entirely admit this, and I only say that I leave it to the judgment of my readers whether the vital and essential principles of Liberalism are involved, or are not involved, in such condemnation as we have been considering.

It is quite true that certain opinions generally associated with advanced Liberalism are free for all Catholics to hold or reject as they please; as, for instance, that a Democratic Republic is the best form of government. This may seem strange, but it is well known that the Church does not so much concern herself with *forms* of Government, as with the principles on which government is conducted; and there are doubtless men (particularly in America) who hold that it is better that the rulers of a State should owe their position to popular election than to hereditary succession, but that when once elected they should be implicitly obeyed. The Christian law of submission to authority is in this case secured, and the matter resolves itself into one of human judgment and prudence. At the same time, I question whether a man who thoroughly accepted the teaching of the Papal Encyclicals, who was in favour of the temporal principedom



of the Pontiff, who repudiated the theory that the State ought neither to encourage religious truth nor repress religious error, and who detested the liberty of the press—I question very much whether such a man would probably be in practice an ardent Republican.

I desire once again to repeat that I have avoided using the word “Liberal” in the popular sense, as commonly understood in England, for I do not believe that the line of demarcation (such as it is) which separates the two English parties, is by any means an available criterion. I think among those who call themselves Liberals there are some good Christians, who would subscribe *ex animo* to all that the Popes have laid down; and I am sure there are many Conservatives who hold the errors that Gregory XVI., Pius IX., and Leo XIII. have severally condemned, and probably others besides.

There are symptoms indicating that this country is advancing towards a state of political decrepitude—one such symptom being the restless, ceaseless, desire for change;—may we not hope that there exist means of arriving at truth apart from the rivalries of contending factions?

And in any case, if we seek to form a sound judgment, the first important step is to disentangle the mind from erroneous principles and false maxims, however plausible and specious—a step which we may well take before we attach ourselves to any so-called party. I have drawn no distinction in the foregoing discussion between Continental and English Liberalism, for I am not clear that such a distinction, unless in point of degree, can be properly drawn; and I incline to the opinion of the writer in the *National Review*, already alluded to, who says:—“Happily for us there is still a wide difference between the Liberalism of the Continent and the Liberalism of England, but the first principles of both are the same, and these principles will inevitably, in course of time, lead to the same errors of practice.”

But I accept these words in the sense of being applicable generally to the principles of Liberalism considered in the abstract, and not necessarily to sects or parties calling themselves by the name; for it is notorious that in some Continental countries these latter are especially odious on account of their virulent antagonism to the Catholic Church, which seems to impress, and almost to terrify them, in a way scarcely possible in England, with the vastness of her spiritual power and the grandeur of her Imperial position.

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.

## ART. V.—THE STORY OF COWDRAY.

*Cowdray, the History of a Great English House.* By Mrs. CHARLES ROUNDELL. London: Bickers & Son. 1884.

[N the following pages I shall make abundant use of the materials which Mrs. Roundell, with great care and skill, and in a manner most courteous to Catholics, has brought together in her handsome volume. Even, therefore, where I am not expressly quoting, the reader will understand that for the most part I have Mrs. Roundell's "Cowdray" before me. The book is dedicated to Earl Spencer, as "one of the chief representatives" of the family of Montague, which no doubt he is; but its "chief representative" must be reckoned Mr. du Moulin Browne, of the line of Easebourne, whose interesting collection of documents relating to his ancestors will enable me to add particulars of which Mrs. Roundell was apparently not aware at the time of writing, as likewise to tell the story of Cowdray in a slightly different fashion, not, indeed, impugning anything that lady has set down, but sometimes shading or colouring it to another effect. And now to introduce my subject.

Hardly any part of Europe is so crowded as England with great houses the record of which is a brief epitome of the history of the nation itself. But impressive as are the names of Chatsworth, Hatfield, and Welbeck (to take instances close at hand), there is a more potent charm in the houses which, not standing like these glorious, but fallen down and in ruins, tell the same tale pathetically as in the minor key. These are fit illustrations of "the chronicle of wasted time," calling up from the past as in a ghostly procession those "ladies dead and lively knights" whose beauty and daring, whose high and heroic, or strange, criminal, and unhallowed deeds make at once the truth and the romance of bygone centuries. And this sombre hue will be indefinitely deepened if, in the story of an old family, we can admit or suspect a superhuman element to explain the catastrophe; if it should appear that a sin may be traced through all its consequences to the final disaster which, making a clean sweep of the personages moving in the drama, and at the same time bring down in ruins upon them their very homestead, and force upon every passer-by, how little soever interested, the thought of a crime and its retribution. Such a house is, or rather was, Cowdray; such a family the descendants of Sir Anthony Browne, K.G., Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., who, on the Feast of the Assumption, 1538,

received "a grant of the house and seite of the late monastery of Battle in Sussex, to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever."

Battle Abbey, as all the world knows, was founded by William the Conqueror, at a place anciently called Senlac, nine miles from Hastings, where, October 14, 1066, he overcame King Harold. "He built a new convent near Hastings," says Hume, "which he called Battle Abbey, and which, on pretence of supporting monks to pray for his own soul and for that of Harold, served as a lasting memorial of his victory."\* It is worth while to reflect that the belief in purgatory led to the establishment of almost every religious house in Europe, and always had an influence in their foundation and growth. Hume was a keen-sighted man, but nobody at this time of day would imagine William the Conqueror's alleged motive a "pretence," or that he thought more of the monument to his victory than of the monks' prayers. We have travelled a long way since Hume wrote his History. William was lavish of lands and privileges; Battle Abbey ranked in the later language of Canon Law as *nullius Dioceseos*, and few monasteries at the Reformation can have seemed better worth plundering.

The last abbot was John Hammond, and no more than three months elapsed between his surrender of the consecrated buildings and the establishment in them of Sir Anthony Browne and his family. The abbot's lodging became the homestead of the intruders; with the abbey cloisters much of the fine mediæval architecture was razed to the ground; and of the great abbey church not one stone was left on another. Where it had been Sir Anthony planted his garden, and made a double row of yew-trees to mark the nave of the minster, and perpetuate, by their very situation, the memory of a sacrilege. We need only remember that the same pulling down and building up, the same desecration of holy places and planting of new homesteads on their site, was going on all over the country, to see with our mind's eye the first act of that tremendous change which broke the old order in pieces. Among other things, it gave England a new peerage, founded, as in this case, on spoliation and profaned sanctuaries. The feeling has hardly yet died out which these events stirred up in common minds; less than half a century ago it led an illustrious convert to attempt reparation, by the building and endowing of many churches, for what he deemed the hereditary guilt of his house; and when he died, and his title passed to a remote branch, it was said that the reparation could not have been ample enough, and that the "accursed thing" had not been cast out. So tenacious are men, even in

\* "History of England," ch. iv. p. 82. (Ed. 1810.)



the nineteenth century, of their old belief that "though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small." Sir Henry Spelman wrote his "*Fate of Sacrilege*" in a time when the secret judgments of Providence, and, on occasion, the manifest interposition of God's hand in great events, were yet articles in the faith of nations. History is not composed now in accordance with such beliefs; but I am far from certain that the metaphysical law of Nemesis, the doctrine that "things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be," does not warrant our forefathers' conviction of the penalties which followed on possessing oneself, by fraud or favour, of title-deeds consecrated to religious and humane purposes.

At all events, it was long believed in Sussex, as my book tells me, that—

when Sir Anthony was holding his first great feast in the abbot's hall at Battle, a monk made his way through the crowd of guests, and striding up to the dais on which Sir Anthony sat, cursed him to his face. He foretold the doom that would befall the posterity of Sir Anthony, and prophesied that the curse would cleave to his family until it should cease to exist. He concluded with the words, "By fire and water thy line shall come to an end, and it shall perish out of the land" (p. 141).

An English clergyman, who had been vicar of the parish wherein are the ruins of Cowdray, recalling thirty years ago the tradition of the "curse of fire and water" (which he had gathered from the lips of the villagers), quotes the striking words of an observer who cannot well be deemed favourable to monasticism—Archbishop Whitgift. "Church land," wrote that prelate to Queen Elizabeth, "added to an ancient inheritance hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both; or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles and herself that stole it."<sup>o</sup>

But the story of the curse has come down to us, not without reason, in a different form. Instead of being associated with Battle, the scene of it is transferred to Cowdray Park, at the upper end of which, as may still by the careful eye be discerned, stood Easebourne Priory. This foundation was established about the middle of the thirteenth century, by John de Bohun, Lord of Midhurst, for a prioress and five nuns of the Benedictine Order. It will be remembered that it was small communities like this, of twelve and under, that were threatened at the first visitation of the monasteries, when the commissioners, not yet understanding how far Henry would go, reported, as they were

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<sup>o</sup> Taken from *Notes and Queries*, and cited p. 142.



bidden, that the large houses of monks kept good order, and only the smaller merited suppression. Easebourne had an indifferent reputation long before its end. In 1441 it appears that the prioress was severely rebuked for her extravagance by the Bishop of Chichester, who sent his commissary, Master Walter Eston, to hold a visitation in the chapter-house, and the prioress was suspended from "all administration of temporal goods." Two other inquiries were held, one by Bishop Story in 1478, the other by a commissary of Bishop Sherburne's in 1521; and at both the nuns complained bitterly of their superiors. It is clear that some change was needed; a house so ill conducted must have been reformed or suppressed, and in the dissolution of the monasteries offered a fine prey to secular greed. Accordingly, in 1535, Margaret Sackfield, the last prioress, gave up house and lands to the King's commissioners, and the few inmates of the convent went back to their homes. The year after, Easebourne was granted to Lord Southampton; Baldwin Hammet, the nun's chaplain, receiving a yearly pension of one hundred shillings. In the survey of the year 1568, the "house called Easebourne Priory" is mentioned, "wherein be granaries, and a brewhouse, all enclosed within the park of Cowdray, and subject to the deer coming in." And, three centuries after, the convent garden still remained, divided by grey stone walls and arches; while the convent parlour, part of the cloisters, and the refectory, had been turned into domestic offices. The habitable part is still a dwelling, and the chapter-house a barn. Now it was at the surrender of Easebourne, says the other story, that Dame Alicia Hill, the sub-prioress, reminded those present of the curse of fire and water invoked by the pious founders of the house on the male children and heirs of whoever should despoil it. However, Sir William Fitzwilliam, afterwards Earl of Southampton, not only accepted Easebourne from Henry in 1536, but added likewise the lands of Shulbred Abbey, four miles off, in the parish of Lynchmere, which was founded by Sir Ralph de Arderne in the reign of King John and dedicated as a priory of black Augustinian Canons to Our Lady. That, too, had been surrendered by its prior, George Waldene, in 1535, and was granted to Lord Southampton eight years after. The priory was degraded into a farmhouse, but Lord Southampton had a royal patent to enlarge Cowdray Park, and to set up there an embattled castle of stone. He built so much that, in my author's opinion, he may be looked upon as having erected Cowdray. And so, if a curse there was, he took it home with him.\*

\* The beginnings of Cowdray House are traced to the family of De Bohuns, in the reign of Edward III. It was sold by Sir David Owen, husband of Mary de Bohun, to his relative Sir W. Fitzwilliam in 1528.

Henry VIII. bestowed on this gentleman so many favours that he was reckoned with the "most eminent men of his time." He was Knight of the Garter, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Lord High Admiral. In 1537 he became Earl of Southampton. But the human interest he may still excite (for the rest is of consequence only to wyverns and griffins and lions rampant or couchant) is due to his relations with Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, and the last of the Plantagenets. Her father died in the Tower; her elder son, Lord Montacute, was beheaded on Tower Hill; and Henry had resolved that the Countess herself should undergo the punishment he was desirous, but unable, to inflict on her younger son, Reginald Pole, whose opposition to the "King's matter" had made a deep impression abroad and at home. Late in the year 1538, Lord Southampton was sent to arrest the Countess, his cousin, in her own house at Warblington, near Havant, and to take her thence to Cowdray, as the first stage of her journey to the Tower. He did as he was bidden, not without difficulty, for he wrote, November 16, from Cowdray, "We have dealed with such a one as men have not dealed withall before; we may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman." I need not repeat her familiar story. It was Southampton who discovered in her linen wardrobe a tunic of white silk, embroidered in front with the royal arms of England, and at the back with the device of the Five Wounds, borne by the Northern insurgents. This tunic Thomas Cromwell held up in the House of Lords when Lady Salisbury and divers others were, on April 28, 1539, attainted, without trial, of high treason. It is probable that, until the attainder passed, Lady Salisbury was kept in prison at Cowdray. The frightful circumstances of her execution, which took place two years later, May 27, 1541, have been described often enough; but there is a comfort to the mind which cannot quite rid itself of the thought of righteous retribution, in the fact that Cromwell, who invented the Bill of Attainder, was the first to suffer by his own contrivance, and before the Countess. *Nec lex justior illi* cannot but rise to our lips as we read of him on the scaffold. Southampton, however, gained not a little by acting gaoler to his cousin, and so carrying out his motto, *Loiaulté se prouera*. His loyalty and the way he "proved" it did him equal honour. He ordered a "new chapell" to be erected at Midhurst, as a mausoleum for himself and his wife Mabel, daughter of Lord Clifford. But he died at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the Scottish expedition of 1543. His remains were not brought home; and as he left no children, his estates, with their burden of sacrilege, passed to his half-brother, Sir Anthony Browne.

Their mother, Lady Lucy Nevill, was daughter and co-heir of

John, Marquis Montacute, and thereby niece of Richard, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker. She married, first, Sir W. Fitzwilliam, of Aldwarke, in Yorkshire, and afterwards Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer to Henry VII., and, from 1503 to 1526, Governor of Calais. In this way Lord Southampton and the second Sir Anthony—the first of the Brownes of Cowdray—were half-brothers. The Brownes are traced to Robert le Brown, who represented Cumberland in Parliament, and whose second son, Anthony, settled as a merchant in London, about the year 1350. A son of his, Sir Stephen, was Lord Mayor in 1439; and the harvest being scanty that year, he sent to the Prussian coast for cargoes of rye, which he gave away “among the poorer sort of people.” When they married into the family of the King-maker the Brownes were a thriving, prosperous house, and their fortune rose steadily with the times. The Sir Anthony who now came into Cowdray had been knighted after the taking of Morlaix, in Bretagne, in 1523. The same year he and the High Admiral, Lord Surrey, conveyed Charles V. from Southampton to Biscay. In 1524 he became Esquire of the Body. He was one of the challengers in the jousts held at Greenwich by the King during the Christmastide of that year, and drew Henry’s notice in such a way that he became one of his greatest favourites. In 1526 he was made Lieutenant of the Isle of Man for the young Edward, Earl of Derby. Two years later he invested Francis I. with the Order of the Garter; and in 1533 he accompanied the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Rochford the brother of Anne Boleyn, and Sir William Paulet, as attendant on the same King when he proceeded to Nice, to “commune with the Pope there concerning his stay in the King’s divorce.” In 1539 he was made Master of the Horse, “with the yearly fee of forty pounds for that service,” which next year, when he received the Garter, was confirmed to him for life.

It is not, therefore, surprising that he came by so magnificent a share of Church plunder as Battle Abbey and its appurtenances. But he was, moreover, the husband of Alys, daughter of Sir John Gage, and Sir John was one of the commissioners appointed to dissolve the Abbey of Battle. The men that did these things have left behind them no pleasant reputation. Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower, appears to have executed his trust with so great severity on the one hand and profit to himself on the other that at his death he possessed land in forty parishes. Part of the spoils of Battle Abbey was the Manor of Aleiston, in the Rape of Pevensey, which to this day is held by the Viscounts Gage, who recognize in Sir John a fortunate and most distinguished ancestor. When Sir Anthony Browne entered on *Cowdray*, he himself had received no more than Battle Abbey.



There now came to him Easebourne, Shulbred, the monasteries of Bayham and Calceto, and the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley, in Surrey. But even this did not suffice. In 1545, the Priory of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, which had been surrendered to the Crown six years earlier, was bestowed on him. The church, now styled St. Saviour's, was bought by the parish; and on the site of the priory its new owner built a mansion which, in the time of the second Viscount Montague, went by the name of *Montague Close*.

Sir Anthony found employment enough at the hands of his master. In 1540, he was sent to the Court of the Duke of Cleves to act as proxy in the unfortunate marriage of Henry and the Duke's sister, Anne. When he saw the lady, "so far unlike what was reported," and that Holbein had flattered her and deceived the King, he confessed himself dismayed; but it was too late, and he acted as proxy in the wedding ceremony that followed. His wife, Alys Lady Browne, who had attended Anne of Cleves on her arrival, died that year, and was buried at Battle. In 1543, Sir Anthony joined in the Duke of Norfolk's expedition to Scotland, wherein "they burnt about twenty villages." Next year, he accompanied Henry himself to France; and three of the pictures at Cowdray represented the chief events of the unsuccessful invasion—the march from Calais, the English encampment at Marquison, and the siege of Boulogne. Sir Anthony, when the surrender of that town was at hand, went from Henry to treat of a general accord with the ambassadors of the French King, and the army returned home. In 1545, he was commissioned to raise troops in the southern counties, was made Justice-in-Eyre of the royal forests beyond Trent, and standard-bearer to Henry VIII., as his father had been to Henry VII. At the height of his prosperity, being a man of sixty, he married Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the ninth Earl of Kildare, celebrated in prose and verse under the name of the "Fair Geraldine." She was only fifteen; and, surviving her husband, married Sir Edward Clinton, first Earl of Lincoln, by whose side she lies in a magnificent tomb in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

It was Sir Anthony Browne who warned Henry VIII. in his last illness of his approaching end. The circumstances of the King's death are obscure; and I shall not enter on the question whether the famous will, disowned by Mary and Elizabeth, was forged or genuine. It appointed Sir Anthony one of the sixteen executors and guardians to Edward VI., and left him a legacy of three hundred pounds. He carried the news of their father's death to Edward and Elizabeth, then at Hertford, and a few days later took part in the procession that conducted "the King's Majesty from the Tower through the city of London, in most



royal and goodly wise, to his palace of Westminster," Saturday, February 19, 1547. One of the great pictures at Cowdray represented the scene, as the procession came through Goldsmith's Row, the shops set out with golden cups and beakers, and the master of each at his door. Sir Anthony rode next the King, "leading a goodly courser of honour, very richly trapped."

He began soon to build a wing at Cowdray, for the reception (or safe custody) of the Princess Elizabeth; but it was finished by his son. At Byflete, in Surrey, there was another mansion of his building, which is now pulled down. There, when his time was come, in a year from the King's death, Sir Anthony breathed his last, May 6, 1548. He was brought from Byflete to Battle, the royal standard waving before his body; and, next day, at "the masse of the Communion," his armour and banners were with much ceremony offered to the church, and hung up *in memoriam*. Under the altar tomb he had prepared with colours and rich gilding, at Battle, they buried him, and the inscription over himself and Dame Alis ends in the old way, "On whose Sowls and'all Cristens I H U have mercy, Amen," and the requiem for Sir Anthony was sung hard by the ruins of the sanctuary he had thrown down.

One difference, however, there was between him and the multitude of those who despoiled the altar. Amid all changes he remained a Catholic. And he brought up his children in the same faith. Hence it has been observed by such as still believe in the visitation of sin even unto "the third and fourth generation" that the curse of Cowdray hung, suspended like a sword, over the heads of that family, waiting until sacrilege should be made perfect by denial of the true religion, and double-dyed, as it were, in the guilt of apostasy. All which, be the explanation what it may, came to pass. For Sir Anthony left an eldest son, who prospered like his father, and in most difficult times kept his religion intact, yet lost not the favour of the Crown. He was knighted at the coronation of Edward VI.; and in the only progress made by the sickly young King, in 1552, Cowdray was one of the houses in Sussex (Petworth and Halmaker being the others) which he visited. There is a brief but quaint description of his journey in Edward's letter to his friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick, who had been the Prince's whipping boy, and was then serving in the French army. When Mary came to the throne and married Philip of Spain, she created Sir Anthony a viscount at the coronation in 1554, "in consideration of the good and laudable service" which he, her "faithful and beloved servant, hath done, and still continues to do, as also his nobility of birth, early care, loyalty, and honour." His grandmother, Lady Lucy Nevill, had been daughter and co-heir of the Marquis Montacute. He

therefore chose that title, modernized to Montague, and diminished from a marquissate to a viscounty. The same year he was made Master of the Horse, and despatched with Sir Edward Carne and Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, to Rome, on the business of England's reconciliation with the Holy See. They had not proceeded far on their journey when Julius III. died. Cardinal Cervini, who took the name of Marcellus II., was chosen on April 9, and died twenty-one days after; and the English ambassadors reached the gates of Rome on the very day that his successor, Paul IV., was crowned. Owing to a curious circumstance, a delay of three days elapsed ere they could be presented to the new Pope.\* In the name of England they acknowledged his supreme jurisdiction, offered him a copy of the Act re-establishing his authority, and besought him to ratify the absolution pronounced over the nation and the Parliament by Cardinal Pole. No difficulties could be raised in the matter; and Lord Montague and the Bishop speedily returned home, leaving Carne as accredited ambassador to the Holy See.

In the revolution that followed Mary's demise on November 17, 1558, Lord Montague, who ceased to be Privy Councillor under Elizabeth, stood by his colours, and was one of the small minority that protested in the Upper House against breaking with Rome. The Bill in favour of the new Book of Common Prayer was carried, indeed, between April 22 and May 1, 1559, by a majority of three. But among the nine spiritual and nine temporal peers that voted against it, we find the name of Viscount Montague. His bold and manly speech is also on record, refusing, "out of a sentiment of zeal and honour," to abolish the Papal supremacy. Lord Montague insisted that "he, for his part, had, by authority of Parliament and in the name of the whole body of England, tendered obedience to the Pope, the performance of which he could by no means dispense with." He and Lord Shrewsbury, therefore, voted against the Bill. It was an "uncourtly act of sincerity;" but Viscount Montague lost so little of Elizabeth's favour that, in 1561, she entrusted him with a mission to Spain, where he was to satisfy King Philip of the "just cause she had for sending an army into Scotland," the Queen adding that she "highly esteemed" Lord Montague "for his great prudence and wisdom, though earnestly devoted to the Romish religion." By-and-by, when the sending of armies into Scotland, and of other things besides armies, had resulted in Mary Stuart's captivity, and the end was come, Elizabeth appointed Montague one of the forty-seven commissioners who, in February, 1587, went down to Fotheringay and tried the unhappy lady for her

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\* See Lingard, vol. vii. p. 186.

life. It is not on record that Lord Montague protested. Next year was the year of the Armada. Harassed by the English vessels all the way from Plymouth to Calais, and broken by winds and storms, it came to ruin, *Flavit Deus et dissipavit eos*. And when the danger was past and Elizabeth held her memorable review at Tilbury, "the first," as we read in that curious document, the "Letter to Mendoza," that showed his bands to the queen "was that noble, virtuous, honourable man, the Viscount Montague, who now came, though he was very sickly and in age, with a full resolution to live and die in defence of the queen and of his country against all invaders, whether it were Pope, King, or potentate whatsoever." His "bands" amounted to nearly two hundred horsemen—"the same being led by his own sons, and with them a young child, very comely, seated on horseback, being the heir of his house—that is, the eldest son to the son and heir; a matter much noted by many." Thus was Lord Montague singled out as the pattern of Catholic loyalty and held up by the Government itself, from whom the "Letter to Mendoza" emanated, to the admiration of Europe. He had perilled "his whole house in the expected conflict," and it must have been in recognition of such great services that Elizabeth spent nearly a week at Cowdray, in August, 1591.

"The curious and minute account of this visit," says Mrs. Roundell, "has been often quoted," and she gives it in full. I regret that I have no space to transcribe even a part of it; but those who remember what Catholics were suffering at the time, and who have gained some knowledge (not now a difficult matter) of Elizabeth's real character, will find in it fresh evidence of the hypocrisy of all concerned, and of the self-control or servility of those great Catholics who could address her with fulsome flattery, whilst their brethren were rotting in prison or suffering on the scaffold the penalty of high treason. Yet there can be no doubt that Lord Montague was, in the language of Camden, "a stiff Romanist." Among the ladies at Cowdray during Elizabeth's visit was Lord Montague's sister Mabell, wife of Lord Kildare. The Queen amused herself with killing deer in the park; and an authentic "Queen Elizabeth's Oak," against which she rested her bow, is still standing. No one else ventured to shoot except the unfortunate Lady Kildare; and as she brought down a stag, Elizabeth was so wroth at her boldness that "she did not afterwards dine at the Royal table." It is remarked by cynical persons that there is no meanness like a woman's; and the Maiden Queen was, if we may argue from many instances, one of the meanest characters in history, as she was, beyond question, one of the most profligate.

Some time before her visit Lord Montague added to Cowdray



those buildings which, in Mr. Freeman's opinion, made it "one of the greatest houses of the best house-building time." He completed the great quadrangle, and had the series of large frescoes painted which recorded the achievements of himself, his father, and Lord Southampton while serving abroad. He survived his eldest son, and died October 19, 1592. He had not only shown much kindness to Catholic priests, but had harboured many. Topelyse, the Jonathan Wild of Elizabeth's days, and "famous persecutor of Papists," has left in his own handwriting the confession on this head, drawn from Robert Gray, a priest, in August, 1593. It is far too long to transcribe, but the sum is that Lord Montague and the "old Lady" Montague had received and treated with familiarity and kindness both traitorous "seminary priests" and "Jhezewitts." There occurs in it mention of Father Garnett, in whose fate so many Catholics, and Lord Montague himself, were to be disastrously involved.

For now, despite noble alliances and great wealth, the family began to decline somewhat from its pride of place. Anthony Maria, third Viscount, who succeeded his grandfather at the age of twenty, was one of the four Catholic noblemen, esteemed the mainstay of the old religion in England, that were charged with complicity in the Gunpowder Plot. And not long after Guy Fawkes had been taken, he, Lord Mordaunt, Lord Stourton, and the Earl of Northumberland were lodged in the Tower. Lord Montague's case was by no means the least dangerous. Guy Fawkes had been a member of his household at Cowdray; and, in consequence of a hint from Sir Robert Catesby, the Viscount had resolved to absent himself from his place in Parliament on the Fifth of November. He explained, indeed, that it was the old Lord Montague who had given Guy Fawkes an appointment in his house; that he had scarcely seen the man for twelve years; and that, as to Catesby's hint, the conversation when they met in the Strand "on the Tuesday fortnight before All Saints' Day," when Lord Montague was on his way to dine at the Savoy, had turned on general matters, and was of no consequence. He admitted that it had been his intention to be in the country on November 5th if he could have got leave. The Star Chamber was not satisfied. It condemned Lord Montague to a fine of four thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure. But he compounded for his fine; and after about forty weeks' imprisonment in the Tower, was set free. There seems to be little doubt that he escaped worse things through the intercession of Lord Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, whose daughter, Lady Jane Sackville, he married, and in whose will he is mentioned in affectionate terms.

It was this Viscount that drew up the "Book of Orders and



Rules" for his household which has entitled him to a sneering criticism in Horace Walpole's list of royal and noble authors. He says of the volume (which still exists with its shield of sixteen quarterings on the title-page), "It is a ridiculous piece of mimicry of royal grandeur; an instance of ancient pride, the more remarkable as the peer who drew it up was then barely twenty-four years of age. There are no fewer than thirty-six different ranks of servants whom he calls his officers; and yet it is observable, though the whole line were rigid Catholics, that no mention is made of his chaplains or priests. His only ecclesiastic is his almoner, and *his* business, it seems, was to light the fires in his hall." This reads very amusingly, and is good Walpole; but, as Mrs. Roundell observes, the almoner was a servant, not an ecclesiastic; and we need not look far in the year 1595 for reasons why even "rigid Catholics" did not publish the names of their priests and chaplains to the world. As time went on, what with paying fines for recusancy and for non-attendance at church, such as ruined many noble estates, what with keeping up princely establishments, and lavishing money on State occasions, Lord Montague became a poorer man. He sold Waverley Abbey, and drew up a petition for help to that royal spendthrift, James I. Whether he built the fine chapel at Cowdray is not certain; but a brief of Urban VIII., dated February 17th, 1625, erecting an oratory of the Blessed Sacrament there, makes it probable. According to the account of Elizabeth's visit to Cowdray, it does not appear that any religious service was provided for that pious lady on the Sunday.

This Lord Montague died in 1629, but we must not pass on to his successor without a word about William, the third brother of the Viscount just described, whose history, taken from the annual Letters of the Jesuit College of Liège, has been published in the "Records of the English Province." William Browne was born in 1576, and spent his youth in the fashionable amusements of hunting and hawking. It happened in 1613 that he went on a pilgrimage to Loretto, and on his way paid a visit to the Jesuit Fathers of St. Omer. He had never been confirmed; but he now received that sacrament, and resolved instantly to join a religious order. Whereupon he came back to England, and "disposed of his stable, kennel, and mew." After some meditation as to his future course, he chose the humble office of a Jesuit lay-brother. "For fourteen years," we are told, "he spent almost two hours daily in the kitchen, washing the dishes, &c. He cleaned the out-offices, lit the fires, and performed other the like duties with so great a sense of inward pleasure as showed itself outwardly in his countenance." When the garden was *making* at the College of Liège, he, "with a sack or hodman's

basket on his back, which he so fastened by a double cord over his breast as to leave his hands at liberty, in which he held his *Imitation of Christ*, would carry rubbish backwards and forwards, and whilst they were filling his hod, he would sit for a little on the trunk of a tree and draw something from the book, wherewith in the meantime to feed his soul." When his mother and sister objected that such conduct was lowering the dignity of the house of Montague, he answered like a saint, "You have your delights, whilst I in the meantime, of the divine bounty, overflow with heavenly joys." A youth met him as he was carrying a bucket of hogg's wash, and spoke of his "title and family splendour." William said, "I had rather the whole bucket were poured down my back than hear such words from you." He thought no mean office beneath him, but if any spoke of reward, his answer was, "This I aspire after, that I may please God, and do His holy will. As to heaven, He will dispose of me as He sees fit." He was not by natural disposition formed for labour, "neither did long habit ease the burden;" yet he could say, "I do not remember for twenty years to have needed any spur but the love of God alone." He helped to purchase land when the English novitiate was moved from Louvain to Liège, at which latter place he lived till 1637. Then the plague broke out, and two other lay brothers and William Browne caught it during their waiting on the sick, and died martyrs of charity. On occasion of illness, earlier, he had composed an ascetical treatise, still preserved in the Stonyhurst library. Another Jesuit, who must have lived at Cowdray with William Browne, Father Henry Lauman, was converted to the faith by one of Lord Montague's Catholic retainers, and reconciled, as he tells us, by a priest named Winckfield, in 1596. It would seem there was no chaplain at the time within the walls of Cowdray.

We now come to the civil wars and Francis, Viscount Montague, "a stout Royalist," who helped Charles I. with men and arms, and suffered greatly in consequence. In Evelyn's "*Memoirs*," under date 1643, are quoted letters from Sir Richard Browne, Ambassador in Paris, and from the Secretary of State in London, which prove the zeal of Lord Montague for his master. On the other hand, the Commons' Journals contain these entries by way of reprisal: "27th June, 1643. Resolved, That the estate of the Lord Viscount Montague, a papist, shall be forthwith sequestred." "1st April, 1644. Ordered, That Captain Higgons do forthwith send up the plate, treasure, and other goods found in the Lord Montague's house." "18th May, 1644. Ordered, That the goods brought up from Cowdray House in Sussex by order of this House be forthwith stored up in the stores of Cambden House." "6th June, 1644. Ordered, That

the goods that are brought up which were seized at the Lord Montague's House in Sussex, and particularly those goods remaining at the Talbot in Southwark in Captain Higgon's custody, be carried into Cambden House, and that all the said goods be there sold at the best value." Such orders, observes Mrs. Roundell, no doubt applied to the Battle Abbey estates, then worth £1,200 a year, as well as to Cowdray. But Lord Montague had even worse to endure, for Cowdray was occupied by Royalist and Roundhead in turn. First came Sir R. Hopton, who had surprised Arundel for the King in the "exceeding hard frost" of December, 1643, and left a garrison there; and then Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary general, marching in haste to encounter the "four troops of horse and one hundred foot," which, as he had been informed, were quartered round Cowdray. But they proved "too nimble" for him, and escaped to Arundel. During the siege of Arundel which followed, Cowdray was made a stronghold and storehouse of the Parliamentarians.

Thus despoiled of goods and plate, and subject to the quartering on him of large bodies of troops, Lord Montague fell into great distress. He sold West Horsley, disparked the lands of Battle, and let the place called the "Almery or Almonry House," with the "various parcels of land belonging thereto." Yet he seems to have lived extravagantly. As a recusant, he had forfeited to the Commonwealth two-thirds of his estate. One of the most interesting papers found at Battle runs as follows:—"Certificate of the value of the two-thirds part of the estates of Francis Viscount Montague of Battle, in the several Rapes of Lewes and Pevensey, sequestered for his recusancy. The whole estate valued at £1,200 per An. William Yalden of Blackdowne, Gent., offers to rent the two-thirds at £500 per An. Exhibited to the commissioners for compounding of Sequestration, Dec. 16, 1650. Signed, Richard Sherwin, Auditor, Oct. 15, 1651." The Cowdray estates, also in the rapes of Arundel and Chichester, which were let at £1,575 per annum, in like manner were "sequestered," and £1,050 taken as its two-thirds by the Commonwealth. But even when the "joyful Restoration" came, Lord Montague had to pay subsidies to the King and hearth-money; and the estate never recovered from its losses.

The Lady Montague of this date was Elizabeth Somerset, youngest daughter of the Marquis of Worcester, and a fervent Catholic. Her eldest son, Anthony, quarrelled with his father and went to the Hague, but returned when the Civil War broke out, joined the Royal forces under Lord Newcastle, was wounded at the siege of York in 1644, and taken prisoner at *Marston Moor*. He escaped and, under the assumed name of



John Hudson, took shelter with the Eyres of Newbold, near Chesterfield, who were Catholics. He had married Bridget Maskew, of York. She was entitled, through her father, to large estates; but Charles II. granted them, with the facility of a "merry monarch," to Sir George Barlow, and refused to disturb the settlement; and so they were lost to Anthony Browne and his wife. Anthony, who had gone up to London, in the hope of recovering them, went on to Cowdray; but the old servants were dead, his father absent, and there was no one to recognize the lame and weather-beaten soldier. He returned to Newbold and died there in 1666, leaving two sons and two daughters in poverty. His eldest son, John, died unmarried. About 1689, when Anthony's younger brother was now called fourth Viscount Montague, Anthony's second son, Gervase, went to London to see his uncle, and was duly acknowledged, being promised the next succession to the title, when he "might have it without trouble or expense." He registered his claim in the Heralds' Office, but died in 1696, before his uncle. He had worked as a mason in his time, and supplied some of the marble used in building Chatsworth. His sons put forward no claim to the peerage; and although his grandson, Joseph Browne, did so in 1793, nothing came of it. Joseph Browne was too poor to collect the necessary evidence; but it is said that his descendants remain at North Wingfield, in Derbyshire, to this day.

Meanwhile, the fourth Viscount, who was made Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex, in 1687, by James II., had come and gone, leaving no children, and in 1708 his brother Henry succeeded. Of him it is recorded that he destroyed yet more of Battle Abbey. He died in June, 1717, and strange and horrible traditions about him are still rife in Midhurst and its neighbourhood, where they have been handed down with apparently little variation. In character he is described as violent and immoral; and the story ran that he killed the priest in the confessional, who refused him absolution. Thereupon it was given out that he went over the sea; but the more romantic story is that he spent the rest of his life concealed in the priest's hiding-place, which the famous Jesuit, Brother Owen, or "Little John," had contrived in the keeper's lodge at Cowdray. The secluded avenue where he is said to have met Lady Montague at night came by degrees to have an unpleasant reputation, as though haunted, and was known as the Lady's Walk. The priest's hiding-hole in the lodge still remembered by many living persons, communicated with the roof, and had a secret staircase leading up to it. Blackwell, the arch-priest, is said to have died there.

This "wicked Lord Montague" left a son Anthony, who sold Battle Abbey to Sir Thomas Webster. Though a Catholic, he

was chosen, in 1732, Grand Master of the Freemasons, I suppose when it was still imagined that a Christian might belong to them. He died in 1767, and was succeeded by Anthony Joseph, seventh Viscount, who married a Protestant, Frances, widow of Lord Halkerton. To this mixed marriage is attributed the falling away of so illustrious a Catholic from the religion of his fathers. Lady Montague was a devoted friend and follower of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. That high-born fanatic preached at Cowdray, under the great chestnut-trees, and encouraged Lady Montague to go and do likewise. It was a time when the faith of many old Catholics was growing weak, and even a Duke of Norfolk had apostatized. Recusancy, though not so galling a burden as in the days of Cromwell, pressed heavily on the shoulders of men of large estate with its double land-tax; and Lord Montague decided that he was not rich enough to remain a Catholic. He drove to the parish church at Midhurst; and the well-known story of the Catholic coachman, which has been told of the Giffords of Chillington and others, is repeated also on this occasion. The chapel at Cowdray was dismantled; but Catholics said that Lady Montague was supernaturally hindered from profaning it with her new services. The family went abroad and settled at Brussels, where, on Easter Sunday, 1787, Lord Montague died. But he died a Catholic. One account of this death-bed repentance was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1787, by the Abbé Mann, Canon of Courtray, and secretary to the Academy of Sciences at Brussels; another is preserved at St. Scholastica's Priory, Teignmouth, and has been printed in the "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus." The Abbé Mann writes that he was sent for by Lord Montague a few days before his death, who "declared his regret and remorse for having abandoned the Catholic religion, in which he had been educated. He solemnly and repeatedly protested that it had been no conviction of the truth of the Protestant religion which made him take that step; but, on the contrary, what his lordship termed the vilest of motives, to wit, libertinism both in faith and morals, ambition, and interest." After he was reconciled, he begged the Abbé to make his dying sentiments as publicly known as possible. The matter excited some attention both in Brussels and in England; and several replies were made in the *Gentleman's Magazine* to the Abbé Mann, not denying his account, but questioning its possibility on *à priori* grounds. The other story says nothing of the Abbé Mann, but introduces F. Peter Joseph Rivers, S.J., confessor of the English Benedictine nuns at Brussels, as receiving Lord Montague's recantation. Neither piece of evidence is, however, inconsistent with the other; and it cannot be doubted that Lord Montague returned

to the Church in his last moments. Lady Montague survived her husband twenty-seven years, and died in 1814.

It was during this interval that the events happened which have given Cowdray its lugubrious title to a chapter in the "Fate of Sacrilege." The apostate Viscount and his wife had two children, Elizabeth Mary and George Samuel, who succeeded his father at eighteen. They were brought up in the rigid school of Evangelicalism; but the son, who was sent to Winchester, turned out a wild young man, to whom his mother's strict government was hateful. In the summer of 1793, he determined to go abroad with Charles Burdett, brother of the well-known Sir Francis; and, as it appears, the two friends had made up their minds to shoot the Falls of the Rhine at Laufenburg, about half-way between Schaffhausen and Basle. A boat had been expressly built for this mad undertaking, from which they were dissuaded by the authorities of the district and by everyone who knew how hopeless it was that they could come out of it alive. The old servant, Dickenson, who accompanied them from Cowdray, is said to have reminded Lord Montague of the "course of water;" he even seized his master by the coat as he was embarking, but the young man wrenched himself away, leaving part of his collar and neckcloth in his servant's hand. The boat pushed off; and an old man of eighty-five, who, as a boy of eleven, had witnessed the tragedy, survived till 1867 to leave an account of it. He saw the two English gentlemen rowing past the bridge towards the rapids; at the first great surge one of them fell forward into the river, and not many moments elapsed ere the boat heeled over, and both young men were seen struggling in the wild waters. At the spot called Oelberg they disappeared in the eddies of the whirlpool, there more than a hundred feet deep, and were never seen again. The banks were crowded with spectators, but no efforts could save the swimmers in so dangerous a current. Many months after, in May, 1795, the body of Lord Montague was found, and, by direction of the English *chargé d'affaires* at Berne, received decent burial in the churchyard at Laufenburg.

On what day Lord Montague perished cannot be known. It is said to have been in October, 1793. A messenger was sent with the news of his death from Berne to England. But while one was hastening thither, another had already set out to Switzerland, bearing the intelligence that the home of the Montagues had been burnt to the ground. The story runs that the two couriers met in Calais.

It is, at any rate, certain that in the same year, and, if the tradition be followed, on the same day of the year, the great house which had been erected on the ruins of Easebourne and



Battle was made itself a ruin, and the last heir male in the direct line (the first that had been brought up a Protestant), perished in the Rhine. Cowdray was burnt September 24, 1793. The fire broke out in the north gallery, where, during the alterations that were making with a view to Lord Montague's coming marriage to Miss Coutts, the pictures, books, and plate, with the relics from Battle Abbey, had been stored; and nothing could be saved. The house became wholly a ruin. Neither was any attempt made to build Cowdray again or preserve it from decay. In a little while the walls were covered with ivy. "You may see," writes Cobbett, who visited the ruins in November, 1825, "the hour of the day or night at which the fire took place, for there still remains the brass of the face of the clock, and the hand pointing to the hour." Cobbett, by the way, is one of the three celebrated men of letters who paid a visit to Cowdray and have made mention of it. Horace Walpole was there in 1749, and wrote an account of his journey to George Montague. And, in the autumn of 1782, Johnson, who was then staying with Mr. Philip Metcalfe at Brighton, drove thither. "They went together to Chichester, and they visited Petworth and Cowdray, the venerable seat of the Lords Montacute. 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I should like to stay here four-and-twenty hours. We see here how our ancestors lived.'"\* It is to be feared, however, that the ancestors of brave old Johnson did not live quite in the style of "the Lords Montacute." Cobbett, when he set eyes on Cowdray, could only remember, characteristically, that it was the mansion "from which the Countess of Salisbury (the last of the Plantagenets) was brought by the tyrant Henry VIII., to be cruelly murdered, in revenge for the integrity and other great virtues of her son, Cardinal Pole."

The house that had thus come to a strange end was assuredly among the finest in England, with its great quadrangle enclosing a space of turf a hundred feet wide from east to west, and a hundred and forty long from north to south; its turreted gateway on the western side, flanked by wings a hundred and eighty feet in length; its two square towers breaking the façade of the south gallery; its chapel that, with tracery of windows and embattled walls, made the east front glorious as a cathedral; its grand staircase and splendid dining-room, called, from its adornments, the Buck Hall; its graceful chimney-shafts and stone buttresses, and octagonal turrets with staircases in them, all which is computed to have covered an acre of ground. The Buck Hall resembled, and in some respects more than rivalled, the halls built by Wolsey at Hampton Court, and at Christ Church, Oxford. It

\* Boswell, vol. iv. p. 107.

was sixty feet in height from the floor to the open louvre, which ascended, "a beautiful combination of tracery and pinnacles," in the form of a cupola in three stories. The magnificent open timber roof was of oak, and the windows blazed with armorial bearings—Browne, Nevill, Sackville, and the imperial crowns of France and England, as well as the shield of Henry VIII. Above the cedar wainscoting, on brackets, stood the eleven bucks, carved in oak, from which the hall was named; and the great mullioned window lighting up all these glories reached from the ground to the parapet of the eastern quadrangle. And Cowdray Park, which had been last laid out by "Capability Browne," was equal to the house; the Close Walks—four avenues of fine old yew-trees, planted at right angles, and stretching a hundred and fifty yards each way—not having their like in England. There was a "puzzle-walk," or maze, of box-trees, covering a large space; and lawns stretched eastward from the house to a moat filled by the River Rother. No traces are left of the bowling-green, or of the fine hedges of yew, box, hornbeam, and holly that once, no doubt, flourished at Cowdray. Some of the large old oaks remain, but the great trees that sheltered the Close Walks have lately been cut down, and the yews are falling into decay. In no long while it must be said of the house of the Montagues as of so much that is human, *Perierunt etiam ruinae*. But now the rest of the story is to be told.

The young Viscount Montague had left by will the whole of the Cowdray property to his sister, Elizabeth Mary, who, like himself, was brought up a Protestant. On his death she therefore came into the estates; and the title went as I shall say hereafter. This Mary Browne (there are at least three of this name, to be distinguished for various reasons) married William Stephen Poyntz, of Midgham, in Berkshire, about a year after her brother was drowned. From the shock of that frightful accident their mother, the old Lady Montague, never recovered. But not only so. She was haunted with the foreboding that a similar misfortune was still to come; and when two boys were born to Mr. and Mrs. Poyntz, their grandmother watched over them as if she knew it was their fate to die by the curse of water. It is said that when she was old and feeble, she would wander to the great stone basin in Cowdray Park and feel about with her silver-handled stick in the water, imagining that the children were lying there drowned. However, she died in 1814, before anything befell them. Next year the family were staying, in July, at Bognor. It was proposed on a certain afternoon that they and some friends should go on a little boating expedition; and Mrs. Poyntz, who had a terror of the sea, most unwillingly consented. However, the party was not made up as intended;

and whilst Mr. Poyntz and his two sons went, the mother, with her daughters, sat at the open window, watching them. There were some eight persons in the boat; for a time all went well, but suddenly a puff of wind struck the sail, the boat capsized, and the boys were seen clinging to their father in the water, whilst he endeavoured to keep his grasp of the boat. He felt the hold of the children loosening, and they sank before help could be given. Of the whole party, none, except Mr. Poyntz and the boatman, were saved. It was, they said round Midhurst, the curse of water.

The mother, who survived fifteen years, was buried at Easebourne, and a monument by Chantry was erected to her memory and that of "her two only sons, unhappily drowned in the flower of their youth, under the eyes of their parents." Mr. Poyntz lived till 1840. The Cowdray estates were then divided among his three daughters, Lady Clinton, the Countess Spencer (whose son, Lord Spencer, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Mr. Gladstone's last administration), and Lady Exeter, mother of the present Marquis of Exeter. The co-heiresses were unwilling that the estate should be broken up; and it was sold for £330,000 to Lord Egmont, whose nephew, the present Earl of Egmont, now owns it. In 1874 the keeper's lodge, haunted by dreary memories, where Lord and Lady Egmont resided, was pulled down, and a new house has since been erected on the site.

"What a melancholy story!" the reader, especially if he be a Catholic, will exclaim. Yes; it is one of the saddest chapters in the history of sacrilege. But it does not end quite where Mrs. Roundell, who has told it with great exactitude and clearness, breaks off. The Cowdray estates have gone from the descendants of Sir Anthony Browne; but the name, and what I may perhaps describe as a claim *de congruo*, or in equity, to the peerage, remains in a line that has been always Catholic. George Samuel, the eighth viscount, was not the last. Anthony Maria, second Lord Montague (1572-1629), had two brothers, John and William. William, as we may remember, was the Jesuit lay-brother at Liège. John married Anne Gifford, and their son Stanislaus became, through his wife, Lord of the Manor of Methley, near Coleshill, Warwickshire. Of the two sons of this Stanislaus, the elder, Francis, settled at Cadiz and gave Methley to his brother, Mark Browne, of Easebourne; and Mark, who was twice married, had by his second wife (daughter of Sir John Moore, of Fawley, Berkshire) several children, the eldest of whom, Mark Anthony, became a monk at Fontainebleau. All these were Catholics, and the pedigree of the Moores of Fawley, which I have before me, and which is too intricate to give here,



is connected by marriage with that of the famous Sir Matthew Hales, of the Blounts of Mapledurham, the Jerninghams of Costessy, the Carys of Torr Abbey, and the Dukes of Norfolk. Mark Anthony, born in 1744, and now a monk, was, on the death of his cousin, George Samuel, dispensed by the Holy See from his vows, and acknowledged as ninth Viscount Montague. He married, in 1797, Frances Manby, daughter of Thomas Manby, of Beads Hall, Essex. Of this marriage there was no issue. Lord Montague died in November of that same year; and the title became extinct. In like manner the three baronetcies connected with the Brownes of Betchworth, in Surrey, and of Kiddington and Caversham, in Oxfordshire, have died out; and the last male heir of the Moores of Fawley, Sir Thomas, sixth baronet, expired without issue in 1807.

Mark Anthony, however, left two sisters—Mary, who married Oliver John du Moulin, May 19, 1777, and died April 26, 1784; and Anastasia, who married Sir Thomas Mannock, and died, without children, in 1814. Mary Browne du Moulin was therefore, in her issue, heir-general to the Brownes of Easebourne, and to the last Viscount Montague. Of her three children, only one, Andrew, had issue—viz., Stanislaus, who died in infancy, and Nicholas Selby du Moulin, who, at the death of his father, in 1851, inherited the manor of Methley, and now represents the family of Mark Anthony, ninth Viscount. This branch has for the last hundred years been closely connected with France. More than one English Catholic of distinction, terrified by the Gordon Riots and the No Popery spirit they evinced, shrunk from the possibility of their repetition and settled abroad, chiefly at Paris. Among these were the family of Du Moulin. But in their case other reasons combined to keep them in exile. Through Barbara, wife of the sixth Lord Montague, and daughter of Sir John Webbe, and later through the marriage of Helen Moore, of Fawley, to another Sir John, descendant of the above, the Brownes, of Easebourne, had been brought into very close connection with the troubles of the House of Stuart. For Sir John Webbe, of Oldstock, was created baronet in 1644 by Charles I., expressly on account of his sacrifices in the Royal cause. And Helen, Lady Webbe, was mother-in-law of the famous Lord Derwentwater, who, indeed, rode to join the Pretender from Sir John Webbe's house at Canford. After the failure of the rising, Lady Webbe, like so many Jacobites, lived out of England. She died in Paris in 1771, and left to her niece, Lady Mannock, a miniature of the Pretender, given by himself, which has now passed into the hands of Mr. du Moulin Browne. Last his sister, Lady Webbe, Sir Thomas Moore, of Fawley, settled in Paris, and there, on the death of their parents, the

young Du Moulins were brought up under his guardianship. When the French Revolution came, therefore, they shared in the disasters which overtook so many ancient French houses with which they were allied. Much of their property was invested in the French public funds; and the universal bankruptcy, which neither a Turgot nor a Neckar could cure, swallowed it up as in an abyss. The *culbute générale* was come. Difference of religion between the Catholic and Protestant branches of the Montague family led also, I suppose, to their not keeping up a close acquaintance; and the ancient name of Browne, of Cowdray and Easebourne, seemed lost for good. In 1851, however, the public were reminded of its strange history by the case presented on behalf of a certain Henry Browne to the House of Lords, claiming the "title and dignity of Viscount Montague," as direct heir male of George, son of John Browne, of Easebourne or Midhurst, and of Anne Giffard, his wife. The story was not lacking in curious points, especially in the connection it suggested between Lord Montague's property at Southwark (St. Mary Overy) and Fishmonger Alley, where these humble kinsfolk, as they asserted themselves, of the great house of Cowdray had sometime dwelt. But the supposed link between Charles Browne, of Fishmonger Alley, and the Brownes of Easebourne, resting mainly on a French letter attributed to Elizabeth, third Lady Montague, in which she recognized Charles Browne as her cousin, was not made out; and the Committee of Privileges decided against Mr. Henry Browne.\* As a matter of fact, the representation of the Cowdray branch now lies between Earl Spencer and the Marquis of Exeter, both descended from the daughters of Elizabeth Mary Browne, who, as we have seen above, was only sister of the eighth Viscount; whilst the representation of the Brownes of Easebourne and the title of Montague rests with Mr. N. du Moulin, whose father was heir-general of Mary Browne du Moulin, elder sister of the ninth and last Viscount, Mark Anthony. So much has been lately declared by the Heralds' College; and a Royal licence granted to Mr. du Moulin, to bear the surname and quarter the arms of Browne.†

Thus, in spite of its many vicissitudes, this ancient Catholic family, connected by blood with the Plantagenets, and reflecting in its domestic chronicles the history of the nation, from Warwick, the King-maker, to the Reformation, the Great Rebellion, and

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\* I have taken the trouble to look through the case of this gentleman; but, except for the Montague pedigrees there given, and one or two details in the authentic history of Sir Anthony Browne, it has not repaid me for the time expended on it.

† Mr. N. du Moulin Browne has one surviving son, Charles, married to Winifred, daughter of Henry Bacchus, Esq., of Leamington.

the Gordon Riots, is still represented in its most honourable distinctions by those of the ancient faith. And since Battle and Easebourne, Waverley and Overy and Shulbred, Bayham, and Calceto, with all their wide lands, once consecrated to the Church, have passed away from Sir Anthony Browne's descendants, and the malison of fire and water, if it was ever pronounced, has been more than fulfilled in the burning of Cowdray and the untimely deaths here recorded, we may indulge the hope that at length penance has been done and the evil expiated. But, however that may turn out, there are few chapters of romance, it seems to me, so weird and curious as the story of Cowdray. Reading it, I can hardly forbear imagining, in spite of much recent philosophy, that Providence is indeed the other side of history, just as real, but not so easily authenticated. I seem to find in it a stern, yet a merciful moral; and whilst I would not rashly charge those who succeeded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the possessions of their ancestors with the guilt which clung to them in the sixteenth, it still appears to me that a retribution, accompanied with so many remarkable circumstances, may warrant us in believing that the deeds of a Henry VIII., or an Elizabeth, and of those who abetted them, cannot escape the just judgment of God, and that the words of the Psalmist will for ever hold true, "Fret not thyself because of evil-doers; neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb."

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

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#### ART. VI.—RELIGION IN THE NORTH.

THE Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, used often to visit one another, and, while mourning their losses and defeats, to confirm one another in faith and hope, and rejoice over the inestimable treasure of the covenant with God, of which no tyrant or conqueror could deprive them. "Then they that feared the Lord spoke every one with his neighbour; and the Lord gave ear and heard it; and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that fear the Lord and think on His name."\* In a similar spirit, it is well that English Catholics should sometimes hold counsel together, and, while deploring the wreck and ruin that heresy has made in their much-

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\* Mal. iii. 16.



loved country, should take note of progress made here or there, confer on possible openings, and rejoice together over the possession of covenanted graces, which only those who are within the bond of peace enjoy. A recent visit to the North of England has, in this connexion, been the occasion of a few observations, and suggested a few reflections, which may possess some interest for the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

It is singular that the county which, since the Reformation, has been noted for the tenacity with which a considerable proportion of its inhabitants clung to the old faith—Lancashire—made in early times no very illustrious figure in ecclesiastical annals. The counties farther north, Cumberland, Northumberland, and Durham, teemed with saints, but Lancashire then contributed few or no names to our hagiology. It seems as if in proportion to the height of glory to which those counties were raised by the possession of their great saints has been the degradation and completeness of their fall. Who could have believed that a population, amongst whom St. Cuthbert, with his dying breath, enjoined to his disciples the adherence to the “*pax Catholica*,” would ever fall from unity? that the men of Durham would forget St. Godrie, or the sons of “canny Cumberland” renounce St. Bega and St. Herbert? Yet so it has been; while Lancashire, in the darkest times, has always had a goodly roll of Catholic missions. The writer remembers seeing, some fifty years ago, a map of England showing the then existing Catholic chapels, at one corner of which Lancashire was exhibited on a larger scale, on account of the much greater number of stations which it possessed, compared with other counties. This distinction is still maintained, though it need hardly be said that it is now in large part due to the immigration of poor Irish Catholics, attracted by the high wages given in Lancashire cotton mills.

Crossing the border into Westmoreland, we find everything changed. The strong, kindly, straightforward race that inhabit the dales of Westmoreland and Cumberland must be admitted by their best friends to have this fault, or failing, that they are somewhat hard and unimpressionable. Wordsworth, though one of themselves,\* was quite incomprehensible to them; his giving himself up to poetry seemed to them a species of mild lunacy, a sign that he was rather soft in the head. Practical, conservative, unimaginative, the dalesmen of Westmoreland, having once lost the faith, are only with extreme difficulty brought into a posture of mind which makes possible a return to it.

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\* His family came from Dent, a place in Yorkshire just across the Westmoreland border.

About a hundred and fifty years ago a pious couple, named, if we remember right, Braithwaite or Birthwaite, endowed with an estate in land of considerable value the Catholic Mission at Dodding Green, near Kendal, in the hope, as they said, that it might serve as a centre whence to "evangelize the dales." The benefice remains, but the dales remain unevangelized; and this from no want of zeal or self-sacrifice in the excellent priests who have succeeded one another at Dodding Green, but from the stolid, unsympathetic character of the surrounding population. There is no mission at Appleby, or Kirkby Lonsdale, or Kirkby Stephen. In the Catholic Directory for 1885, only four places are mentioned where mass is said in the whole county—Ambleside, Dodding Green, Kendal, and Windermere. At Ambleside the state of things is at present worse than the Calendar represents. Two years ago Mass was regularly said on Sundays during the summer months, in a large upper room hired for the purpose, and as many as seventy or eighty persons were sometimes present. Most of these were tourists, but a certain number were persons who were born Catholics, but, partly from carelessness, partly because they were not strong enough to resist the torrent of an opposing world, had ceased to practise their religion. This last summer Mass was not said at all at Ambleside. The departure from the place of an admirable woman, the "Lydia" of the little northern town—we name her not, but many visitors to Ambleside will at once recognize her from this description—who had for many years kept the affairs of the incipient mission together, sought always to bring priests there, and served as a centre of information to Catholic visitors, is doubtless the chief cause of this temporary collapse. We are sure it will be only temporary, and we believe that the Bishop of Hexham contemplates the building of a chapel at Ambleside, and the establishment of a permanent mission, at an early date.

At Kendal, a good priest has laboured these thirty years; but the hard, unimpressionable Westmoreland nature, of which we spoke above, has been always against him; and the position of Catholicism in Kendal, over against the Protestant denominations, does not appear to be essentially different now from what it was before he came. At Windermere, or rather between Windermere and Bowness, the Bishop and Canon Currie have succeeded in erecting a suitable chapel. The young priest who laboured there last summer was an unfortunate selection; the extension of faith along the lake shore was not likely to prosper in the hands of a man, whom a recently published volume of essays shows to hold very advanced Liberal opinions indeed, and to prefer the "development" of poor Mark Pattison (once nearly a Catholic) to the perseverance in the truth of Cardinal

Newman! But we have reason to know that this matter has been set right, and we anticipate great things in the future from the Windermere mission.

At Grasmere, where the population has much increased of late years, there is no mission, and it is said that there are no permanent Catholic residents. Langdale, with its scattered farms and its sturdy quarrymen, is no better off.

From Westmoreland let us pass to Cumberland. Rounding Black Combe, and travelling on for thirty miles along the Cumberland coast, one meets with hardly a trace of Catholic life, either past or present.\* At last the traveller reaches St. Bees, and here he finds much to interest him. The name is derived from St. Bega, an Irish saint of the seventh century, of whom next to nothing is known with certainty. Imagine a warm hollow, some five miles long by half a mile broad, lying nearly north and south, between an irregularly shaped four-sided plateau on the left, of which the extreme western point is St. Bees Head, and a vast undulating country to the right, gradually rising to the base of the mountains. The land in this hollow is of excellent quality; the red soil, formed of the detritus of a Permian sandstone, seems to suit corn and root-crops equally well. Near its southern end, about half a mile from the sea, is the ancient church of St. Bega's monastery, enfolded in a grove of fine sycamores. Here, says tradition, the saint founded a little monastery, "*monasterium*," which, being sheltered by the headland west of it from the view of any passing sea-rover, and embowered in the woods which must then have covered all these lowlands, may well have lain *perdu*, screened from foreign and unfriendly eyes, for a generation or two. But the time would inevitably come when the pagan corsairs from Denmark and Norway who rode the seas, making themselves at home in the neighbouring harbours of Whitehaven and Workington, would discover the little house where Christ's servants laboured and prayed. Having discovered it, they are believed, according to their savage manner, to have destroyed it. This would be likely to happen some time in the ninth century. Anyhow, no house of religion existed here in the eleventh century, when all Copeland and the fine vale of Egremont were granted by the Conqueror to his follower, Ranulf de Meschiens. This Ranulf had a brother William, who seems also to have had large possessions in these

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\* Inland from Sellafield, however, there is a ruined monastery of singular beauty, Calder Abbey, a Cistercian house founded by monks from Furness in 1134. The Byzantine culture of the day could no more produce anything so noble, so exquisitely and delicately fair, as Calder Abbey, than it could engender a great epic poem.



parts, and who refounded the monastery of St. Bees as a cell to the great Abbey of St. Mary, at York. He arranged with the abbot that a prior and six monks should always reside at St. Bees. Grants of land were lavishly made from time to time; perhaps *too* lavishly. It was a noble error; but still this heaping of wealth and temporal responsibility upon men who had bound themselves to follow Christ in poverty and simplicity, without taking sufficient assurance that they should be well used—used, that is, for really advancing Christ's kingdom on earth—was certainly an error. At one time the convent of St. Bees possessed lands in the Isle of Man (which can be seen on a clear day forty miles across the sea), and also in Ulster; while many rich estates—Rottington, Sandwith, &c., &c.—within twenty miles from St. Bees owned the monks as landlords. The danger, of course, was, in this and so many other cases, that the spirit of landlordism would grow too strong in the community, and that the function of witnessing for Christ and the perfect life would be obscured. However, of all this, we know nothing with certainty. We only know that Mass was duly said in St. Bees Church for three hundred and fifty years; that then the Dissolution came, and the Reformation; and that, with the establishment of the Church of England, the adorable sacrifice of the altar ceased to be offered there, and has never since been offered down to this day.

The old church, though it has been violently treated, and "restored" in the usual Anglican manner—that is, with a signal lack of judgment, feeling, and taste—cannot be visited by a Catholic without emotion. Do what they may, play what pranks of restoration they will, a mysterious, inexplicable charm still hangs about places where Catholic rites were celebrated by our forefathers, even after three hundred years of Anglican intrusion. You find admission with some little difficulty, for the principal entrance is fastened up with chains, and the actual way in looks like the road leading up to a private mansion. A fine old Norman doorway, deeply recessed, is at the west end; but it has been terribly knocked about, and the sculpture is worn and defaced. The greater part of the building seems to date from the period when the Norman style was passing into the Lancet or Early English. Within, all looks cleanly, but chilly; decent, but dreary; inoffensive, but dull. It is an edifice to "protest" in, not to pray in. Where the high altar once stood is now a Protestant communion-table, decked with some kind of Anglican upholstery, and made to look as much like an altar as possible, with candles as it not meant to be lighted, like Pope's "tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw." The Lady Chapel, now entirely separated from the church, was of later architecture, as the remains of some

fine pointed arches testify. It is now used, together with a modern building adjacent, as a place for lectures for some four-score theological students, who are here trained to pass the ordination examinations of Anglican bishops. It is needless to mention that no trace of the ancient veneration of the patron saint is now discernible. Nurtured on such spiritual pabulum as Burnet's Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles, the four-score students, if they do not question the existence of St. Bega, are certainly taught to mistrust the efficacy of her intercession. Forgotten in the place where she had been honoured for nine hundred years, St. Bega has migrated to the neighbouring city,\* where a church, administered by the sons of St. Benedict, has been built under her invocation, from the tall belfry of which her sculptured form seems to look wistfully and reproachfully towards the valley and headland which she loved. Leaving, therefore, on a Sunday morning, the four-score students, the clergymen who swarm about the place, the tourists and the natives, to hold communion in the desecrated church with Henry VIII., Thomas Cromwell, Cranmer, Parker, Queen Elizabeth, and other founders of their institute, the Catholic visitor to St. Bees follows the blessed patroness to Whitehaven. There, in communion with all saints living and dead, and with the Church universal, he offers up to the Eternal the same spotless sacrifice which was St. Bega's strength and joy, and which will continue to be offered on the Cumberland shore, ages after the now dominant Anglicanism has been shattered into fragments and come to nothing.

In presence of the memorials of the past in which St. Bees abounds, the mind involuntarily ascends the stream of time, and tries to picture to itself the life led in and about the village seven hundred years ago. There were six or seven black-robed Benedictine monks in the monastery, who, with their prior, were the owners of most of the country round about. These men, if they resembled the average run of members of their Order in the days before relaxation had set in, were possessed of some learning, and, by copying books or writing them, or following studies connected with the ecclesiastical calendar, did their best to diffuse and extend that learning. Like other Benedictine houses, they must have kept open a school for boys. They sang the praises of God publicly in their church seven times a day. Perhaps there was a hermit living in a cave on St. Bees' Head, and an enclosed nun or two, in cells near the monastery, following paths of perfection under the surveillance of the bishop. There would be a fisherman or two living near the beach; inland would be a few colliers and miners. In the little village that had grown up near the

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\* Whitehaven.

monastery, artisans of the more common sort would be found, and hucksters, male and female, would help to distribute food and common wares and implements. The main part of the population of the district would be the agricultural tenants of the monastery. Among them there would be all gradations, from the knight and franklin down to the villein and cottier. Across the hill, three miles off, was the castle of Egremont, where a great baron, the governor of West Cumberland, kept order for the king, watched the frontiers, and had the power of life and death in his hands. He might be a just, God-fearing man, or a cruel tyrant, or anything between these two; but whatever he was, he was sure to have, among the military retainers forming the garrison of the castle, some of the greatest scoundrels in the universe. These ruffians were usually foreigners—Normans, Flemings, Poitevins, Angevins, Genoese, &c. They loved fighting better than work, and a pampered idleness better than either; and they would stick at no crime in order to get money. If their master did not keep them well in hand, the poor cultivators or traders for miles round the castle were never safe from depredation, nor from torture if depredation gave slender returns. Here was the weak spot of the civilization of those days. The reign of law was not fully established; the country was insufficiently *policed*. The peace, honour, and prosperity of families were frequently dependent, in great measure, on the character of one man, who might be weak, or a fool, or malevolent.

Passing in thought through seven centuries, we come to the present scene. The monks are gone; the hermit is no more on the hill, nor the *inclusa* in her cell. Protestant clergymen and ministers, of many creeds and systems, have taken their place. No one leads an ascetic life or aspires after perfection; but decent, respectable lives are more generally led than was the case then. Art has dwindled; not a soul in the district could now carve the lovely mouldings which still resist the weather at Calder Abbey; but all industrial dexterities and inventions are enormously advanced. Instead of the scanty Catholic population of those days—a few very good, more very bad, most neither one nor the other—an endless supply of average Byzantines—people who live for the world, are guided by the newspapers, and kept in order by the law—swarms in the towns, and exploits the mineral riches of the plains. The ideals of the two periods were wholly different, or, rather, the English of the twelfth century had an ideal, and those of the nineteenth century have none. To the former it appeared certain that they were created for the glory and service of God, and destined, unless through their own fault, to enjoy Him for ever. Their ideal, therefore, was to extend that glory on earth, or—the same thing in different words—to obey,



uphold, and propagate with all their might the Catholic Church. Whatever knowledge, whatever art or skill, whatever improvements in law or government, whatever growth of empire might be won and realized in their time, all easily fitted into the ideal in the light of which they lived. The English of to-day cannot have an ideal, because that common spiritual ground on which it should be based was cut away by the convulsions of the sixteenth century. They have no common aims except such as are intellectual and material. We all wish that the Baconian philosophy prevailing among us may help us to subdue nature more and more to the needs of man; and we all, or the immense majority of us, wish to live in comfort, and to make money that we may do so. But here the agreement between us stops.

We have tried to draw—feebly enough, as we are conscious—the two pictures, but we will not attempt to decide which was, or is, the more hopeful and desirable state of things. That law has triumphed, that feudal arbitrariness is no more, that Egremont Castle is a ruin, and its garrison of ruffians without modern representatives—all this is surely matter for unalloyed thankfulness. But that religion in its loftier aspects, its deeper and more mysterious meanings, hallows the land no more; that counsels of perfection are undreamed of; that Christian philosophy, made impossible by the victory of the sects, is no longer studied; that art has suffered a debasement parallel with the degradation of theology; all this seems to some persons a very real loss. Civilized man will prefer the Cumberland of the nineteenth century; possibly the angels might give sentence for the Cumberland of the twelfth.

The Benedictines have a firm hold at Whitehaven, where the congregation seems to be predominantly English. But, after all, it cannot exceed a thousand souls out of a population twenty times that number. From Whitehaven, which is the oldest mission in West Cumberland, the Benedictines, following the great influx of Irish Catholic working-men into the district in recent times, when the iron trade was good, have gradually extended their missions all through the mining country. They are at Cleator, Cleator Moor, Egremont, Frizington, Harrington, Maryport, and Workington. Very different was the state of things in the last century, when, according to local tradition, the priest at Whitehaven was once obliged, no one else being procurable, to cross to the Isle of Man on a sick call in an open boat. The writer visited the mission at Cleator, which is in charge of the Rev. Fr. Burchall and two colleagues. Fr. Burchall came here from Douay seventeen years ago, the mission having been founded thirteen years before that by Fr. Holden, *from Whitehaven*. The population on the moor is about ten

thousand; half of these are Irish Catholics. Fr. Burchall has absolutely no English in his congregation. These poor people have supported their church since they settled here with a self-denial and an open-handed zeal which it is touching to hear of. Within the last twenty years they have raised £25,000 for building and fitting up churches and schools. Now a cloud of sadness rests upon the district, owing to the long depression in the iron trade. More than a hundred families in his congregation—those chiefly who had the means of going—have emigrated; and Fr. Burchall was endeavouring to induce the guardians to consider with favour a scheme for sending to Canada or Australia a still larger number, at the expense of the rates. Two-thirds of the Irish population on the moor, he said, were in a state of semi-starvation.

The riots which happened on the moor two years ago have left, Fr. Burchall stated, but little trace. At first the "gaffers" (by this name are meant the foremen standing between the masters and the men, in mine or furnace; they are generally Scotchmen) showed a disposition, whenever the working hands were thinned, to get rid of Irish Catholics. Fr. Burchall, hearing of this, went to Mr. Lindo, and one or two other great employers, and pleaded his people's cause so effectually that the invidious practice complained of was stopped, and has never been repeated.

Religion is certainly not dead in West Cumberland; yet it must be remembered that, so far as it thrives at all, it is more through Irish than through English help. In other parts of the county things are not satisfactory. There are no missions at Keswick, Penrith, and Silloth. In the purely rural districts Catholicism is probably as nearly extinct, as little of an efficacious influence in the people's life, as in any part of England that could be named.

Such facts as these are sometimes put to use by the extreme High Church party, when they wish to impress upon their supporters the feebleness and sterility of any movements made in the country towards Rome. They say that the system of Rome is something old-fashioned, unelastic, un-English; they collect statistics of marriages by which they allege the stationariness, or even retrogression, of the Romeward movement to be demonstrated; they exult in the diffusion of Ritualism; they triumph in the failure of the prosecutions; and are never tired of asserting that the Catholic-minded individual can find amongst them whatever good and beautiful customs Rome retains, and these without admixture of error. No doubt they prove all this much to their satisfaction; but whom do they convince of their Catholicity except themselves? Foreigners universally regard them as

Protestants; even their own countrymen of the Low Church and the Broad Church do not, for all their posturing and asseveration, look on them as Catholics, but as bad or inconsistent Protestants. As to the real English Catholic, he admits with great sorrow that the eager hopes formed forty years ago of the speedy re-attachment of the nation, or a large part of it, to the See of Peter neither have been fulfilled nor seem to be in the way of fulfilment. But who is to be compassionated for this? Not he only, or indeed chiefly; for being hemmed round about by the bond of peace, and united to the Eternal by covenant, he possesses all that for himself he can possibly desire. Whatever St. Austin, or St. Bernard, or St. Teresa had in their days is his also, or may be, if he will. As Dryden says:—

God hath left nothing for each age undone,  
From this to that in which He sent His Son.

The persons who deserve pity on account of the state of things over which the Ritualists exult are those who, in defiance of warnings and demonstrations addressed more directly and tellingly to them than to any other class of Englishmen, have shut their eyes and confused their understandings, and rejected the great gift that was within their reach. Some fifty-five years ago Providence raised up within the Church of England a man in whom intellectual gifts of the highest order were coupled with a strict conscientiousness and a fervent piety. By early training and family connection he was attached to the (so-called) Evangelical party. All that Charles Simeon or Rowland Hill or Robert Cecil had to teach, this man had learned; he had thought out their thoughts, and traversed the ground of their spiritual experience. Finding their presentation of religion to be without a rational basis, he turned to the theologians of the High Church school, and laboured for many years, in concert with and continuation of their efforts, to construct a tenable system which should let in all the doctrines of the primitive Church, but shut out the authority of Rome. Whatever Thorndike could say on the sacraments, or Field and Beveridge on ecclesiastical unity—all the “dissuasives” of Taylor and Bull, and the polemic rants of Baxter—the subtle, captious pleadings of Chillingworth and the dry argumentation of Barrow—he knew all this—all had passed through and been measured by that capacious brain. And yet the end of all was that, after years of patient, prayerful inquiry, he found the Anglican position indefensible! In 1815 he submitted himself to the authority of the Holy See, and became what Anglicans call a “Roman Catholic.” Now, in an honoured old age, he awaits the reward which God has promised *to fidelity and perseverance*. We maintain that it is a matter of



most serious consideration for Anglicans whether the fact of the conversion of this man—pre-eminently gifted as he was, and as they must themselves admit, with all the faculties and aptitudes which qualify men for carrying on a difficult theological argument to a sound conclusion—does not of itself render their position markedly different from that which their predecessors held before 1845. Have they not just reason to apprehend that pre-Newmanite Anglicanism is one thing, and post-Newmanite Anglicanism, that, namely, of the last forty years, quite a different thing? God does not give such a mind to a nation without a purpose; and if the deliberate conclusions of that mind condemn by implication the adherents to the system of religion which arose in the sixteenth century, surely their responsibility in still adhering to it is of a different nature from that of those who could honestly believe that the Anglican case against Rome had never been answered. The force of this consideration, it need hardly be said, applies much more closely to the High Church party, especially the Ritualists, than to any other Anglican school; yet it is, perhaps, in some degree applicable to them all.

It will perhaps be replied that "one swallow does not make a summer." The genius of Newman, some will say, may be as towering and unique as you describe it, still no one man can fill the mighty round of studies and arguments which are required to induce men to unlearn a system that has struck such deep roots in English life and history as the Church of England has. There are subordinate inquiries, there are subsidiary and graded labours, to be pursued through a hundred different channels, in default of which the English mind can never be expected to be rudely shaken in a belief and an aversion to which it has been wedded for three centuries. This is most true; but our contention regarding the heavy responsibility resting on the High Church party, and especially the advanced section of it, is only strengthened by such considerations. For they are precisely the men from whose ranks competent prosecutors of such inquiries might have been furnished in any number; it is they who might have filled up the gaps of the Catholic argument as effectually for England, as has been done of late years for France and Germany by Continental theologians. "This was looked for at your hand, and this was balked." Newman raised the standard of return from captivity; but the general body of the High Church party shrank from facing those deserts of severance and desolation which must be crossed before a man can win to "the new firm lands of faith beyond;"\* though those lands are truly such, and far unlike the quaking Serbonian bog, beset by mirage and vain-glorious

\* Carlyle's "Life of Sterling."

illusion, on which the unhappy writer of these words tried to rest in his old age, but could not. It would be safe to promise one and all of them abundant work for fifty years merely in demolishing the Anglican platform piece by piece, and adjusting the Catholic theory to the modern conditions of English life. To meet so engaged the cry of "disestablishment" would be shorn of nearly all its terrors.

On the state of Catholic interests in Durham and Northumberland we may perhaps have something to say on a future occasion.

#### ART. VII.—THE SLAV STATES OF THE BALKANS.

1. *The Historical Geography of Europe.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.
2. *The Races of European Turkey.* By EDSON L. CLARK. New York. 1878.
3. *La Bulgarie Danubienne.* Par F. KANITZ. Paris: Hachette. 1882.
4. *En deçà et au delà du Danube.* Par EMILE DE LAVERLEYE. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Juin 15–Novembre 1, 1885.)
5. *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina.* By ARTHUR J. EVANS. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1877.
6. *Twelve Years' Study of the Eastern Question in Bulgaria.* By S. G. B. ST. CLAIR and CHARLES BROPHY. London: Chapman & Hall. 1877.

A NATION, like a poet, is born not made. The electric spark of corporate as of individual vitality must be of Promethean fire, and protocols are powerless to call it down from heaven. The artificial hatching of a brood of States on the Balkan slopes has been one of the boasts of modern diplomacy, and these nurslings of Europe were carefully provided with all the latest improvements in the machinery of national existence. Yet the result is a dismal failure, and the fledgling nationalities, regardless of the remonstrances of the brood-mother, seem disposed to exercise their callow powers of beak and claw in attempts at reciprocal destruction. Nor is the barn-yard metaphor a whit too exalted to illustrate the motives of the strife; for there, too, the seizure of extra booty by one member

of the amiable fraternity is an unpardonable crime against the rest, who immediately fall on and peck to pieces the offending favourite of fortune. Yet the rival States, at whose duel we have been assisting, are bound together, not only by the closest ties of kindred, but by a community of memory and tradition, reaching back to the dawn of modern history.

In that "breaking up of the fountains of the great deep" which let loose the deluge of barbarism to submerge the classical world, we can discern three main tides of migration pre-eminent over all counter influences in determining the destinies of Europe. First and farthest reaching is the great Teutonic wave of yellow-haired Northmen—Goths, Franks, Vandals, Lombards, early dispersed from their original home by the Baltic to wander through adjacent lands. Their final surge to the south and west carried them across Europe, from the shores of the Euxine to the Atlantic seaboard and round both coasts of the Mediterranean, which they fringed with a chain of powerful barbarian kingdoms. Though ultimately restricted within narrower bounds, they left in all lands where they had sojourned—save in Africa alone—abiding traces of their presence, in the creation of a feudal aristocracy, and a profound modification of the whole structure of society.

Next in importance was the more sluggish migration of the Slavs, a people known to the ancients under the name of Sarmatians, who had replaced the Scythians on the vast steppes north of the Euxine between the Volga and the Vistula. Drawn gradually southward to fill the void created by barbarian forays among the Mæso-Thracian peoples, they colonized the whole Balkan peninsula outside Greece, and later formed a solid wedge across Central Europe, from the Baltic to the Illyrian shores of the Adriatic, limiting with comparative definiteness the easterly range of the Teuton.

The slow tide of Slavonian advance was partially overwhelmed and thrust aside by the portentous havoc-crested billow of Tatarian invasion, launched in successive breakers of barbarism on the frontiers of civilization from the heart of the Asiatic deserts. Huns and Tartars, Avars and Alans, a promiscuous horde of savage semi-Centaurs of the Steppe, rolled westward to form, under Attila, a brief empire of rapine from the Danube to the Loire, and from the Oder to the Alps. Rapidly ebbing eastward from this high-water level of devastation, the great surge of Tartary left no abiding mark in history, but subsequent invaders from the same quarter have added two foreign members to the modern European family. The Hungarian Magyars and the Ottoman Turks, though hereditary foemen, are brethren in



race, and have no other kinsmen among their continental neighbours.

The Western Empire became the prey of the Teuton, while squalid Slav and Hun disputed the inheritance of the gorgeous Cæsars of Byzantium. To the efforts of the latter to ward off their fate, and make barbarism itself a breakwater against barbarism, was due the introduction of two extraneous elements among the Southern Slavs on the Byzantine border, resulting in their division into as many strongly marked nationalities. It was the Emperor Heraclius, who, seeing his very capital threatened by the predatory hosts of the Avars, brought two Slavonic tribes from the slopes of the Carpathians to settle among their tamer race-brethren in Dalmatia and Illyria. Croatia, Slavonia, and Northern Bosnia were thus occupied in 630, A.D., by the Croats from White Croatia in Pannonia, and ten years later these military colonists were followed by their old neighbours the Serbs, who, after exterminating the Avars, transfused their barbarian blood into the earlier Slavonic peoples of Serbia, Southern Bosnia, Montenegro, and Dalmatia.

It is in the capacity of protectors of the Empire, a rôle soon to be exchanged for that of its executioners, that the Bulgarians, too, make their début in history. The name first occurs in or about 479 A.D., as that of a people called in by the Emperor Zeno to repel the two Theodories, a pair of Ostrogothic chieftains, one destined to earn later a nobler fame, but both then vying with each other in the devastation of Thrace. The allies of Zeno were not, however, like those of Heraclius, a Slav people to be grafted on the older Slav stock, but a Hunnish or Ugrian tribe, originally, it is plausibly conjectured, followers on the skirts of Attila's great raid on the West. If so, they are the sole fragment of that dread host who have preserved an abiding place in Europe. Their Asiatic home was in the region of the Araxes, where territory had been allotted them by Persia in the reign of Arsaces I. about 120 B.C., but this they had exchanged for a European settlement on the banks of the Volga in a district termed "White Bulgaria," in contradistinction to the "Black Bulgaria," later founded by them on the Danube. Their early history consists of a series of hideous raids on the blood-drenched valleys of the Balkans, where similar horrors have been recently re-enacted by their descendants following in the wake of the Russian columns in the campaign of 1877. Constantinople itself was only saved from destruction at the hands of the early Bulgarians by the fertile genius of Belisarius, and 200,000 prisoners are estimated to have been annually deported by them into slavery beyond the Danube.

*It was in 681 A.D. that the Bulgarians permanently established*

themselves in Mœsia, on the southern or right bank of that river, where they rapidly merged their language, and to some extent their nationality, in those of the conquered people. Their intrusion has, nevertheless, caused the broad line of demarcation existing to the present day between Serb and Bulgar, the types respectively of the western and eastern branches of the southern Slavonians. The latter, who may perhaps be ethnologically defined as Ugro-Slavs, have shown a wonderful tenacity in retaining their national cohesion and identity, surviving almost unchanged on their ancient territory after several terms of subjugation by the two great empires successively seated on the Bosphorus. Indeed, Bulgaria herself has more than once expanded to proportions justifying her in pretending to the Imperial style and title. Her shadowy glories culminated thrice in a brief hour of empire, and three short-lived Bulgarian kingdoms are enumerated by historians. The first, which had its capital at Peristhlava, owed its greatness to the conquests of Simeon, a youth educated in Greek learning as taught at Byzantium, and designed for the cloister, but fitted by nature to play the part of a warrior king. Raised to the throne in 893, he extended his dominions, during a reign of over forty years, across the whole breadth of the Balkan Peninsula, and ruled in Ochrida, Philippopolis, and Serdica (Sofia). Among his triumphs were the depopulation of Serbia, where fifty wandering hunters are said to have been the sole remnant of inhabitants left by him; and the humiliation of the Emperor Romanus, compelled to appear as a suppliant for peace in the Bulgarian camp under the walls of Constantinople. But with the death of Simeon, the Great Bulgaria founded by him lost her self-sustaining power, and a temporary Russian conquest from 968 to 971, by a prince named Sviatoslav, prepared the way for reabsorption in the Imperial dominions. The revival of the Byzantine power in the tenth century crushed out the independence of all the adjacent States, and the Danube, under John Zimiscees, became once more the frontier of the Empire.

Cut off from the Euxine seaboard, the Bulgarian nationality was reconstituted farther to the west, and the second kingdom, with Samuel as its founder, had Ochrida, now in Albania, for its capital. This new Bulgaria was annihilated in 1018 by Basil II., who owes his by-name of Bulgaroktonos, "The Bulgar Slayer," to one of the most savage actions recorded in history. Having captured 15,000 Bulgarian prisoners, he ordered their eyes to be put out, and in this miserable condition restored them to their country, to every hundredth man one eye being spared, that he might act as guide to the rest. The Bulgarian Prince

died of the grief and horror of the spectacle, and Bulgaria, with this tragedy, is temporarily effaced from history.

A third revival was, however, in store for her, and in 1187 the Bulgaro-Wallachian kingdom of the Asanides was founded by two brothers, Peter and Asan. This third Bulgaria, with Tirnovo as its royal city, took in nearly the whole of Servia, Macedonia, and Thrace, and while it included the mouths of the Danube, was cut off from the Egean and Adriatic only by a narrow fringe of coast territory still claimed by the empire. Under the Tsar Joannice it attained its maximum expansion, and was from 1218 to 1241 the leading Power in south-eastern Europe. But once again the loss of its animating spirit left it a prey to foreign conquest. In 1280, a Tatar dynasty was seated on the throne of Tirnovo, and the disruption of the kingdom quickly followed. Three separate Bulgarias, a central kingdom of Tirnovo, the Euxine province of the Dobruja, and a north-western State at Widdin, fell an easy prey to the arms of Bajazet in 1393, when national identity was submerged for centuries under the tide of Ottoman conquest.

In the kaleidoscopic transformations of the Balkan countries, where empires at one moment are dissolved into States, and States again combine into empires, Serbia too had her meteor-blaze of glory and dominion. Her early history is, however, more modest than that of her neighbour, as she remained to a later date subject to the Empire and gradually developed national independence from the humble germ of rural communism. The *Župa*, a word signifying association, was her first political organization, and as these village commonwealths combined by degrees into federated systems, a group of separate States was evolved from the organic social unit of Slavonian peoples. The Grand *Župans* or *Bans*, as the chiefs of these confederations were called, at one time numbered thirteen, and at another seven; but the principal Banates of Serbia were two, those of Desnica and of Rascia or Dioklea, now Novi Bazar. From the latter was developed the Serbian kingdom, with the House of *Némanja* as its national dynasty. The reign of Stephen Dushan of this family, from 1331 to 1355, was the golden age of Serbia, still fondly remembered by her poets and people. Crowned at Skopia as "Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks," Dushan ruled over territory extending from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth, and including great part of Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace.

His death was quickly followed by the disintegration of the Serbian empire, but a halo of legendary romance is thrown over its decline by the leading part it played in the death struggle of Trans-Danubian Christianity. Lazar, son and successor of Stephen Dushan, the last Tsar of Serbia, gave his life for a lost



cause on the fatal Kóssovo Polje, or "Field of Thrushes," famed in song and legend as the Roncevalles of Eastern Europe. The battle here fought on June 15, 1389, when a confederacy of Serbs, Croats, and Hungarians was defeated by Amurath II. decided the fate of Serbia; for though delivered once again by the successful campaign of Hunyades, her final annihilation was consummated after the fall of Constantinople by Mahomet the Victorious in 1459.

Meantime two other States, at first united, had been formed out of the fragments of her wreck. Bosnia, including Dalmatia and the territory of Zachlounia, constituted as an independent principality with the title of a kingdom by the Ban Stephen Tvartko in 1376, so survived until incorporated in the Ottoman dominions in 1463. Ere this, however, in 1440, the lord of Zachlounia had transferred his allegiance to Austria, and the title of Duke of St. Sava assumed by him, acquired for his principality the name of Herzegóvina, or the Duchy *par excellence*. This semi-independence was but short-lived, and in 1488, twenty years after the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, Herzegóvina shared its fate, and was swallowed up by the omnivorous Turk.

The kindred State of Croatia escaped a similar destiny, having long previously thrown in its fortunes with Hungary by electing the king of that country as its sovereign. Since then a dependency of the Hungarian crown, and now forming part of the federated Austrian Empire, it is represented in the Diet of Pesth, and has a local Diet in Agram for the regulation of its internal affairs. Croatia, under the guidance of the patriot prelate, Bishop Strossmayer, has been a centre of the revival of Slavonic literature, and its national aspirations take the form of intense jealousy of Magyar ascendancy.

There remains but one of the family of southern Slavonian States to be enumerated, which, though the least, is by no means the last, as it stands in the proud pre-eminence of unconquered independence. With the area of an English county, the little territory of gorge and glen, called in various languages the Black Mountain, Montenegro, Tchernagora, and Kara dagh, has the history and traditions of a powerful nation, for here, in the last fastness of the Slav race, a stubborn and indomitable fragment has for centuries held at bay all the uncounted battalions of the Turk. It was here, amid the bristling peaks whose dark forest mantle has given its name to the country, that the cause of freedom after Kóssovo found a sanctuary inviolate down to the present day.

A Prince of the House of Balsa then ruled the Black Mountain with the title of Lord of Zeta, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a series of elective spiritual rulers, vladikas, or prince-

bishops, led the turbulent Montenegrin clans. In 1697, the present dynasty acceded to power, in the person of Petrovich Nyegush, a chief of Herzégóvinian extraction. At the close of the war of 1876-78, the little State was formally declared an independent principality, under its present ruler, Nicholas Petrovich, styled Prince of Montenegro and the Berda (craggy peaks). Thus the smallest of the southern Slav nationalities is the only one that can boast a continuous history, unbroken by the lapsed consciousness of an era of servitude.

For with the Ottoman yoke a silence of centuries fell on the subjugated States, and history became oblivious of their existence. The rule of the Porte was probably not harsher than that of Christian governments, and as to Bosnia, at least, we learn from a contemporary, that it was lighter than the native sovereignty it superseded, its financial exactions being less. The *kharaj*, a tenth of the produce paid in kind, was demanded of the conquered by way of ransom, but the Christian peasants, called *rayahs*, from a word meaning flocks, were probably not otherwise directly molested. The tribute of children was indeed levied by the Porte for a time, to recruit its famous Janissary army with baby renegades, every fifth boy being conscripted for its ranks. But when the corps grew later to prize its privileges too highly to share them with any save its own descendants, the army became a hereditary caste, and the blood tax was remitted.

It was rather with the progress of time that the position of the *rayahs* grew intolerable, and that not from the tyranny of the central government, but from that of the provincial military aristocracy. The Turkish begs or beys, and agas, greater and lesser landowners, held their domains, *spahiliks* or *tehiliks*, in guerdon of service in the field, and were only legally entitled to demand a tithe of the produce from the cultivators. But from the middle of the last century, as a more pacific state of society debarred them from the resource of plundering forays on their neighbours, they increased their exactions both in the shape of rent and in that of forced labour, introducing the *corvée* system, that parent of revolutions. A sixth, a third, and even a half of the produce was required, while the law, being administered by Mussulman judges, gave no hope of remedy to the miserable Christians. The earlier sympathies of Europe were meantime claimed by the struggles of Greece, and the state of the other border provinces of Turkey remained unknown or disregarded.

It was in the opening years of the present century that the reveillé of Slav nationality was sounded by an illiterate swineherd from the forest-clad valley of the Save. George Petrovich, called *Kara* or *Tcherny* (black), from the swarthy bronze of his

skin, was one of those remarkable men whom nature sometimes gives to a people in a great crisis of its destiny. Like the great liberator of the Hebrews, he began his career as a fugitive from justice, having slain one of the oppressors of his countrymen, and his flight, which was rather a family migration, was shared by his aged father. But on reaching the Danube, the boundary of his country, the old man's heart failed him at the prospect of exile, and he declared that he would prefer to return alone to his home. "Then," said Kara George, "as the Turks will certainly torture you to death, it is better for me to kill you now," and drawing his pistol he shot him dead on the spot. On a later occasion he hanged his own brother before the door of a shop, in punishment for an act of violence perpetrated on one of its inmates. Such was the stern and savage strength of the man who in 1804 gathered to a head all the elements of brigandage and outlawry, half-predatory, half-patriotic, then lurking disorganized among the impenetrable oak-thickets of the Serbian hills.

The moment was favourable, for a mutiny among the Janisaries of Belgrade divided the Ottoman rulers amongst themselves, and it was actually the Turkish Vali who first called the Christian rayahs to arms. Even when the movement thus initiated took the form of a national rising, the Porte remained a passive spectator, while Kara George, in a series of campaigns, swept the country of its tyrants, and drove the pampered and demoralized soldiery to the shelter of their fortresses. In 1806 he defeated them in the decisive battle of Schabatz; a little later took the great Danubian stronghold of Belgrade, and in the following year was absolute master of the country. Making a virtue of necessity, Turkey in 1811 recognized George Petrovich as Prince of Serbia, but the stipulations then agreed to were not observed, and war broke out afresh in 1812. The whole military strength of the Ottoman Empire was now put forth, and troops were poured into Serbia across the Bosnian frontier. In 1813 the reconquest of the country was complete, and Kara George found himself once more a refugee in Austria. A sanguinary repression followed, 300 Christians were impaled on the glacis of Belgrade, and similar scenes of horror were enacted throughout the country.

Another national leader, Milosch Todorovich Obrenovich, now came to the front, made terms with the Porte by the betrayal of his former associates, and was recognized as ruler in 1815. Two years later he gave a further proof of his submission, by presenting the Turkish authorities with the head of Black George, who had ventured into his dominions, and in whom he doubtless feared a rival in power. The ghastly trophy was sent to Constantinople, and affixed to the gate of the Seraglio, in which grim



pre-eminence the mortal remains of no more formidable enemy of Ottoman rule have ever mouldered to decay.

The sovereignty of Serbia has since oscillated between the families of these two chieftains. In 1842 Obrenovich was deposed in favour of Alexander Kara Georgevich, son of the hero; but a counter revolution sixteen years later reversed this act. The assassination, in 1868, of the late Prince Michael, of the House of Obrenovich, was ascribed to his rival, and an Austrian Court of Inquiry having found that Kara Georgevich was privy to the crime, declared his family for ever barred from the succession by it. His son, Peter, is nevertheless still a pretender to the throne, with the powerful support of Russia, while his marriage with the daughter of the Prince of Montenegro has secured him an ally in that quarter.

Practical independence was conceded to Serbia in 1829, and the crown was declared hereditary by a firman of August 15, of the following year. In 1876, Serbia having, in combination with Montenegro, drawn the sword against Turkey, at the orders of the Russian Panslavist Committee, suffered a series of crushing defeats, in which half her army was annihilated in a few weeks. Led by the Russian general, Tcherniaieff, it contained 15,000 to 20,000 Russians in its ranks, but so hated were these foreigners that the officers were mostly killed in action by their own men. From the field of Alexinatz, of twenty-two Russian officers of one regiment who went into battle, only four returned, the remainder having been shot from behind by Serbian bullets. Serbia, nevertheless, obtained complete independence, and a slight increase of territory, under the Treaty of Berlin, the common charter of all the Balkan States. She has, as we have seen, mainly worked out her own redemption, and has thus fairly won her place among the nations.

Not so her sister principality on the Lower Danube. Bulgaria, either more apathetic or less oppressed, remained comparatively quiescent until artificially leavened with foreign revolutionary agitation. Russia, which, in furtherance of her own designs, had placed herself at the head of the great Panslavist movement, inaugurated at the Ethnographical Congress of Moscow, in 1868, became a centre of disturbance for the adjoining countries, and saw, through Bulgaria more especially, her way to the fulfilment of the mysterious prophecy, inscribed in the tenth century on the statue of Bellerephon, in the Square of Taurus, in Byzantium, "that in the last days the Russians should be masters of Constantinople."

Hence it was by Russian money and Russian agents that the Balkan insurrection of 1876 was fomented, and on Russia rests the responsibility for what followed. We will not now reopen

the hateful question whether Christian or Moslem excelled in atrocity, for though the balance of evidence seems to be that the Bulgar outdid the Bashi Bazouk, it would require a jury of fiends to decide adequately between them. Suffice it to say that the rising of the rayahs, attended by barbarous massacre and maltreatment of their Mohammedan fellow-subjects, was followed by savage repression at the hands of the Turkish soldiery, but that these preliminary horrors were eclipsed by those that succeeded, when the march of the Russian columns left the helpless Macedonian villages at the mercy of the brutal allies hanging on their rear. Pandemonium was indeed then let loose on the slopes of Rhodope, and the fragrant valleys of the attar of rose country, still redolent of their blushing harvest, were witness to scenes like those of a city given up to sack. Thus Bulgaria won her freedom, secured to her by the arms of Russia, and affirmed by the Treaty of Berlin. Restricted, however, to the space between the Balkan and the Danube, she was compelled to forfeit the more extended territory assigned to her under the original Articles of Peace, signed at San Stefano, and the district south of the Balkans, then detached from her, was organized as the separate province of Eastern Roumelia, with an independent administration under a Christian governor.

Meantime, at the other extremity of the Balkan peninsula, the two remaining border States of Bosnia and Herzegóvina have exchanged the semi-despotic, semi-anarchic rule of the Turk for the beneficent administration of Austria. Here it was that the first spark was lit which fired the whole train of events from 1875 to 1877. A local riot against the collection of taxes in August, 1875, in one of the remote valleys of the wild limestone country of Herzegóvina, swelled to a formidable insurrection, extending throughout Bosnia, and agitating Europe. For while the fighting men defended themselves in the recesses of their crags and forests, the helpless population fled in thousands and hundreds of thousands across the Save into Austrian territory, and over the Illyrian Alps to the cities of the Adriatic, thrilling the civilized world with the miseries of their exodus. The spectacle of such a protest rendered the restoration of Turkish rule in the revolted provinces an impossibility, since their helpless wretchedness had made them, as it were, the wards of Europe. The solution of constituting them into self-governing communities, as in the case of the more easterly Balkan States was equally out of the question, for here was no broadly marked line of race-division following that of religious separation, but a people homogeneous in language and descent, yet split into two hostile camps by difference of creed. The Mussulman element in Bosnia is no alien caste foreign to the soil, and tending to disappear from it under Christian rule, but

an integral section of the population, surpassing perhaps the Ottoman in overbearing insolence towards the Christian lower classes. A strong hand was needed to do equal justice between all, and Austria alone was equal to the task. Hence she entered on an armed occupation of the rebellious provinces as the mandatory of Europe, to restore order, and re-organize society on a new basis. The difficulties confronting her arose mainly out of the singular religious history of Bosnia, which has no parallel in that of any other State in Europe.

The heathen Slav colonists of the Byzantine provinces owed their conversion to Christianity to two brothers Constantine (afterwards Cyril) and Methodius, born of noble family in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica, early in the ninth century. Constantine devoted himself first to the apostolate, and Methodius, who had been originally a soldier, joining later in his labours, found, in his proficiency in the art of painting, a powerful adjunct to his preaching of the new faith. Bogoris, king of the Bulgarians, was so impressed by a picture of the Last Judgment that he accepted baptism, and the mass of his subjects followed his example. Cyril, who died in 868, had some years previously translated the Scriptures into Slavonic, inventing for that purpose the alphabet called from him the Cyrillic, still used by the south-western Slavs.

All the races, Serbs and Bulgars, converted by these apostles, as well as by other missionaries from Byzantium, followed the Greek Church in the great Eastern schism. The Croats, on the contrary, having received the Latin rite with Christianity originally conveyed to them by missionaries from Italy and Dalmatia, adhered permanently to the faith of Rome. But in Bosnia, where the dividing line between the creeds occurred, there was probably little zeal for either, and a portion of the population is declared to have been converted directly from paganism to a third sect whose tenets were peculiarly consonant to some of the Slavonic heathen beliefs.

The heresy called Manichæan, from its founder Manes, was formed by grafting the tenets of the Indo-Persian and Babylonian faiths on some of the practices and precepts of Christianity. Its fundamental dogma, of a dual principle in creation, had its counterpart in the mythology of the early Slavs, who adored a white god and a black god as the good and evil powers of nature. The latter, Tcherny Boy, had his prototype in the Manichæan Satanael, the creator of the "world of iron," or visible universe. The extension of the sect in Europe was due to the transplantation by Constantine Copronymus in the eighth century of a colony of its votaries from Armenia into Thrace, where the free state of Tsphricé formed by them became the focus of a



propaganda among the neighbouring countries. The Paulician doctrines, as they were now termed, spread so rapidly in Bulgaria that the "Bulgarian heresy" is one of the many designations later bestowed on the sect. The more ordinary name, Bogomil, is probably derived from the Bulgarian words, *Bog z' milui*, "God have mercy," a Slavonic rendering of their Syriac name Massalians, meaning "those who pray."

Introduced into Bosnia by one Jeremy, between 925 and 950, the new sect struck its root so deeply there that in the twelfth century it was among the Bosnian glens and forests that its head-quarters were found. Here it was that the chief heresiarch or Bogomil Pope resided, to whom the Albigenses, Patarenes, and Cathari, as the western branches of the sect were called, looked for instruction in the tenets of their religion. These consisted principally of a fantastic fable as to the creation of the world and man, the struggle between light and darkness, and the classification of the various forces of the universe as belonging to one or other of the opposing powers. The asceticism of the sect was founded on the dogma that all matter, including the human body, was the work of the devil, and the actions of material life consequently evil in themselves. The rigid belief that marriage, the possession of property, and the use of animal food, were necessarily sinful, was modified in practice by the concession of dispensations, in consideration of a money payment to the "perfect," or more austere of the sect, constituting its hierarchy. Among the laity a certain laxity of morals was the result of weakening the marriage tie, which was dissolved almost as easily as contracted. The Paulician creed is remarkable in one respect as a solitary instance of a heresy, non-Christian in its origin, having been propagated with success in Europe after the preaching of the Gospel. For, however modified in its later forms by diffusion among populations already imbued with Christianity, it was in its primitive conception distinctly an offshoot of early Oriental Paganism.

A war of extermination, waged in 1238 against the Bosnian heretics by Koloman, brother of the King of Hungary, resulted in only temporary repression, as did also a second crusade led eight years later by the warlike Archbishop of Colocz. Not to the ravages of the sword but to the preaching of the humble brothers of St. Francis is it due that the Latin Church has kept even a foothold in Bosnia. The Minorite Friars, dispatched thither in 1260, rapidly extended their Order throughout the country, where it has since remained the bulwark of the Catholic faith. The Bogomils nevertheless continued to flourish; many of the Bans of Bosnia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries professed the heresy, and the Council of Basil in 1433

was attended by four Bogomilian or Patarene bishops from Bosnia.

Another era of persecution was in store for them, under Stephen Thomas, who reigned from 1443 to 1461. Their churches were destroyed, their priests expelled, and they emigrated in such numbers than the Franciscans had to remonstrate with the King on his severity, which threatened to depopulate his kingdom. In Herzégovina 40,000 found a refuge, but many fled to more remote countries, and some of the strange sects found in modern Russia are believed to have originated in this migration.

The Bogomils, thus persecuted, turned in their despair to the common enemy of Christendom, and invited the Turks to enter Bosnia. The troops of Mahomet II. did so in 1463, and found an easy conquest prepared for them. The keys of the principal fortress were handed over by the Manichæan governor, and the commandants of other strong places followed his example. Within a week seventy cities had surrendered, and Bosnia, by nature rendered impregnable to an invader, was converted into an Ottoman province in the course of eight days. The Bogomil population conformed almost *en masse* to the creed of the conqueror, and became its staunchest defenders. No more bigoted Mussulmans exist in the Turkish Empire than the haughty Slavonic nobility of Bosnia, with names ending in *rich* and *ich* instead of Ali or Allah, and holding the title deeds to their lands and castles from a date long anterior to the Mussulman conquest. And nowhere have the Christian subjects of the Porte found fiercer persecutors, or more tyrannical oppressors, than in the Bosnian Beys and Kapetans, of like race with themselves.

From the date of the Turkish conquest, the Bogomils of Bosnia are no more heard of in history, but their creed still has adherents in the remote districts of the Herzégovina, and 2,000 fugitives from Popovo, who took refuge at Ragusa during the insurrection of 1875, are stated to have professed this ancient faith.

It was the influence of a Franciscan Father, Angelo Zvizdovich, head of the convent of Foinica, that won from the terrible Mahomet II. terms of toleration for the Bosnian Catholics and their priests. Visiting the conqueror in his camp on the field of Milodraz, in 1463, the humble friar obtained the firman, known as the Atnamé, the charter of his Order. The Sultan, in this document, orders that the Brothers shall not be molested in their persons or property, and affirms his will by the following oath: "And I swear by the great God, the creator of heaven and earth, by the Seven Books, by the great Prophets, by the 124,000 Prophets, and by the sabre which I wear, that no one

shall not counter to these commands, so long as these monks do my bidding and are obedient to my service."

The Franciscan Order continued to be exceptionally favoured by the Sultans, and the Bishops of Bosnia, who always belonged to it, being men of irreproachable lives, and great diplomatic address, attained to considerable political as well as social influence. Under successive persecutions of their flocks, the Franciscans were indefatigable in succouring and encouraging them, and at the close of the seventeenth century many of them were martyred while doing so. The history of Catholicity in Bosnia is thus identified with that of the Franciscan Order, which constituted a practically autonomous national church, strictly obedient indeed to the Holy See in matters of dogma, but often in conflict with the Roman Curia on questions of jurisdiction and authority. Even in the minor matter of costume the friars are tenacious of local usages, and a traveller meeting one of these sturdy warriors of the church militant, mounted on a shaggy steed, bearded like the pard, his tansured crown surmounted by a scarlet fez, and his girdle a perfect armoury of weapons, finds it hard to believe that the formidable stranger is nothing more than the curé of the parish setting out to attend a death-bed in a remote district. The semi-independence of the Franciscan Order formed an element in the complicated politico-religious question with which Austria had to deal on taking over the administration of the provinces.\*

The problem was a triple one, since it involved the interests of three rival creeds, whose local re-organization in each case touching the rights of a distant and supreme authority, could only be effected by judicious diplomacy. The religious bodies in Mussulman countries form distinct political organizations, seeking representation on all rural and municipal councils, and exercising a jealous watchfulness over their civil rights, while the established creed of Islam is an integral portion of the State itself. The relative numbers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, out of a total population of 1,336,091, scattered over an area of 27,000 square miles, are 448,613 Mohammedans, 496,761 Greek Christians, and 209,391 Roman Catholics. The two first of these bodies practically demanded local autonomy, while in regard to the third, the opposite claim for reinforcement of the central authority came from without.

The Mussulmans, having neither sacrifice nor sacrament, have, properly speaking, no sacerdotal class, and the Sultan, who as

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\* See the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1, 1885, for an instructive article by M. Gabriel Charrier: "La Question Religieuse en Bosnie et Herzégovine."



Khalif and successor of the Prophet, receives a sort of consecration, is the only priest in Islam. The muftis and ulema are teachers and interpreters of the law, acting consequently as civil and ecclesiastical judges; the imams, who read prayers in the mosques, resemble lay-clerks; the dervish orders form an exercise on the teachings of the Koran, rather than an integral part of it, and their members are religious guerillas, scarcely classed in the official hierarchy. The Sheik-ul-Islam, exercising the functions of a supreme ecclesiastical judge, is the sole authority with whom rests the ultimate decision as to all local questions connected with the disposal of funds and nomination to places of trust or dignity. This centralization of power was especially galling to the Bosniac Beys, so strong in their spirit of national independence, and their first demand from Austria was for the appointment of a reis-ul-ulema (head of the doctors), a local ecclesiastical superior with independent jurisdiction. This request was acceded to after due deliberation, and Hilmy Effendi, the mufti of Serajevo, was in 1882 appointed to the post with a State-paid salary of 8,000 florins. With him was associated a council of doctors, medjless-ul-ulema, consisting of four ulema, with a salary of 2,000 florins each, the creation of this college by Austria furnishing the first instance of the establishment of a Mohammedan Church by a Christian government.

There still remained to be settled the reorganization of the vakoufs, or endowments for charitable purposes, including nearly a third of all the available land of the country, as to the distribution of whose funds a system of proper control was wanting. The first step towards its creation was the registration of all such property, a task completed in 1884. A total of 368 foundations, with a gross income of 167,000 florins, was returned, and the considerable surplus revenue found to be available has been assigned to the formation of a fund for the establishment of Mohammedan schools and the maintenance of mosques.

The abuses connected with the supremacy of the Œcumenical Patriarch cried out still more loudly for reform, and the adherents of the Greek Church, numbering 40 per cent. of the entire population, clamoured no less unanimously for a revision of their position. The organization of the self-styled Orthodox Church may be described as a pyramidal system of simony, with the sale of the Patriarchate by the Porte at its apex. The Patriarchal election of 1864 is said to have cost 100,000 ducats, nearly £40,000, half going to the Sultan and half to the officers of his household. The money, provided in the first instance by wealthy Phanariote\* families constituting a company of shareholders, is

\* *The Phanaris* is the quarter, originally outside Constantinople, assigned as the residence of the Greek Patriarch.

refunded by the sale of Sees, while the bishops in turn traffic in the appointment of the lower clergy, the contributions of whose docks must in the last resort supply all the funds distributed through this ascending scale of corruption. The vladikas or bishops, in addition to a large sum on appointment, had to pay to the Phanar a yearly tribute of 38,000 gold piastres, or 6,000 florins, while they levied on the faithful a special tax, called vladikarina, over and above parish dues. Hence the demand of the Greek Christians for local autonomy under the rule of a national dignitary, which obtained for them by Austria under a convention with the Phanar in 1880, gave practical independence to the Bosnian Church. His Apostolic Majesty was granted the right of nominating State-paid bishops on merely communicating their names to the Patriarch, while continuing to pay the yearly tribute of the Sees as before. In April, 1881, the Archimandrite, Sava Kasanovich, was consecrated Metropolitan of Serajevo amid universal rejoicing, shared by all sections of the population alike, the Mussulmans sending a special address of thanks to the government for its judicious selection. The abolition of the vladikarina in 1881 relieved the people of a vexatious impost which brought in little to the treasury, and the establishment of a seminary for native priests completed the list of reforms.

The Bosnian Catholics on their side asked nothing from the new administration, but the Holy See, while conferring on the Austrian Emperor, by the Bull of 1881, the right to nominate bishops and archbishops for Bosnia, desired to modify the ecclesiastical organization, then exclusively in the hands of the Franciscan Order. The parishes were served by the convents, the Superior acting as curé in his own district, and the Chapter in other cases electing to the post. Dr. Joseph Adler, a secular priest, who filled the Chair of Theology at Agram, on his appointment in 1881 to the archiepiscopate of Serajevo, desired to secularize the Church of Bosnia by superseding the Franciscans in the parishes. This, however, proved impracticable, the first and insuperable difficulty being that there were no secular clergy to replace them, and a compromise was effected by a decree of the Holy See of March 14, 1883, the Franciscans, on condition of ceding thirty-seven parishes in the dioceses of Serajevo and Banjaluka, retaining the control of the remainder. All, in point of fact, continue in their hands, no other priests being available, but the establishment of an ecclesiastical seminary at Serajevo under the control of the Jesuits is intended to supply this want. Other Orders have begun to establish themselves in Bosnia; the Trappists have a flourishing agricultural colony at Maria-Stern, near Banjaluka, and in addition to the Sisters of Charity, long resident in the country, two other congregations of nuns have founded female

schools and orphanages in the two principal towns. Franciscan bishops were appointed in 1881 and 1884 to the Sees of Mostar and Banjaluka, and thus while a less exclusive character has been given to Church organization, respect has been shown for the rights of the Order which has unquestionably borne the burden and heat of the day.

The agrarian question, aggravated in Bosnia by the ascendancy of a dominant creed, has been approached by Austria in the same spirit of moderation that guided her treatment of the religious problems. Here, amongst the wooded defiles of the Western Balkan, was to be found the latest survival of a feudal aristocracy in Europe, incongruously associated with Oriental manners and Mussulman belief. Here, even in the present day, the Bosnian Kapetan or Bey might have been seen robed and turbaned like a Turk, though with hooded falcon on his wrist, riding from his castle at the head of a troop of armed retainers, to enjoy the knightly pastime of hawking. Yet this modern representative of the mediæval baron, proud of a long line of Christian ancestry, and boasting his Slavonic name, remained in feelings and prejudices more Turkish than the Turk of Stamboul. On one point, indeed, he was swayed, perhaps unconsciously, by Christian tradition—he never practised polygamy; and he preferred, if possible, to win as his bride a Nazarene maiden, forcibly captured from his Albanian or Montenegrin neighbours. Regarding themselves as the advanced guard of Islam, these warlike nobles opposed armed resistance to every attempt to curtail their privileges, and, on the destruction of the Janissaries in 1829, were ready to march on Constantinople under the leadership of Hussein Kapetan, to overthrow the "Giaour Sultan," as they called the reforming ruler, Mahmoud II. The Bosnian risings of 1836, 1837, 1843, and 1846, were due to the discontent of the Beys, a considerable number of whom were decapitated at the close of each, and it was only the strong hand of Omar Pasha in crushing out the more serious insurrection of 1849–51, that finally reduced them to sullen submission.

These were the turbulent subjects taken over by Austria, with the duty of interfering between them and the oppressed Christian peasantry. That she has done this without resorting to violent measures of confiscation, but by simply enforcing on the ruling class a due respect for the existing law, is no small tribute to the sagacity of her statesmen. The decree of the 14th Safer, 1276 A.H. (1859) was intended to redress some of the worst grievances of the rayahs, since it abolished forced labour, and fixed a maximum rent, varying from half to a sixth of the produce, according to fertility of soil and other conditions of tenure. The rising of the peasants in 1875 was due to the impossibility of enforcing



their rights under this law, the administration of justice being in Mussulman hands. Hence, the agrarian reform required to be supplemented by judicial reorganization, in Mohammedan countries always a matter requiring delicate handling.

The Mussulman law resembles the old Jewish legislation in having a religious basis, being, in fact, an application of the teaching of the Koran and of the Hadiths, or traditions of the Companions of Mohammed. This original outline is, however, amplified by the Kanoun, a mass of precedent-made law, consisting of the decisions of the Khalifs on moot points brought before them. The abrogation of this code would, therefore, be resented by a Mussulman community as a violation of all time-honoured usage and tradition, while the Koran law is ill-adapted to be the sole standard of equity in a mixed population. The reorganization of justice completed by Austria in 1883, consisted, therefore, of leaving to the Mussulmans their standing judicial system of *naibs* and *cadis*, while establishing new tribunals before which every Christian should be at liberty to have his case tried. The statesman under whose direction these various reforms have been carried out is M. de Kallay, a Hungarian by birth, at once Finance Minister of the Austrian Empire and Administrator-General of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A man of great and versatile gifts, a brilliant writer, an eloquent speaker, an accomplished linguist, versed in Oriental and European tongues, he has acquired such personal ascendancy in Bosnia that his mere presence there sufficed at one time to quell an incipient rising. The Bosnian Budget, moreover, despite the expenses of a newly organized administration, attains the financial ideal of a balance rarely reached by older States. The army of occupation, numbering 15,000 men, is not a charge in it, nor can it be reckoned as a burden to the Empire, as the maintenance of these soldiers would have to be provided for in some portion of its dominions.

The most striking proof of the success of the Austrian rule is the popularity of the conscription, enforced impartially on all sections of the inhabitants alike. Not only do the conscripts start for their destinations with bands playing and colours flying, but the quota is augmented by a large number of volunteers over and above the prescribed number. Thus Austria's achievement of her task seems to fulfil all the conditions of complete administrative success.

The neighbouring Balkan States, though in the prouder position of self-governing nationalities, are threatened with dangers which might make it a happier condition for them to be under equally safe tutelage. Each stands in the path of a great inland empire, driven by an irresistible impulse to seek an outlet towards the southern sea. Bulgaria bars the path of Russia to the

Bosphorus, Serbia that of Austria to the Egean. Hence behind each of these puppet nationalities looms the shadowy form of the colossus that guides its movements and controls its destiny. The creation of a great Yougo-Slav Confederation, extending from Constantinople to Laybach, and from the Save to the Egean, is, on the other hand, the dream of the modern Slavonic school of patriots, this ideal having in a measure superseded the earlier one of a Panslavonia, including the northern Slavs, under the headship of Russia. The internecine rivalries of the Balkan States, however, make such a combination practically impossible.

Nature would seem, nevertheless, to have adapted these countries to form a united whole, since, in addition to the great bond of race, they closely resemble each other in climate, geographical conformation, and productions. A plateau, more or less undulating, shelving downwards from the Balkan to the basin of the Danube, is the general surface plan of all, but with outline much more highly diversified, and secondary ranges increased in height in countries remote from the Black Sea. Thus, while Bulgaria rolls away from the Balkan foot in wide and heaving tracts of lowland, Serbia is traversed by deep longitudinal valleys, communicating only by difficult passes, while her central masses rise 6,000 feet above the sea, and her champaign country is confined to the Danube slope and the teeming plain of the Morava. Bosnia is still more wildly broken into ravines overhung by cliff and crag, and in both these countries vast tracts are covered by primeval forest, in some places of giant growth and impenetrable thickness, in others interspersed with open glades, recalling, with their native grace of sylvan scenery, the cultivated beauty of an English park. Uncounted herds of swine fatten on the mast of the Bosnian and Serbian oaks, and are yearly exported in droves across the Save and Danube, to furnish bacon for the Austrian markets. An immense reserve of national wealth exists in these forests, requiring only increased facilities of transport to be made available.

On crossing the frontier between Bosnia and Herzégovina, a sudden transformation takes place in the landscape; wood and vegetation disappear, while soaring ranges of skeleton peaks, pale as sheeted ghosts, with hollow flanks scooped in shell-like curves, proclaim the fact that we are in a limestone country. Desolate as the scenery is, it has an unearthly beauty of its own, in the free play of light and colour on the sculptured crags, on whose pinnacles, pure as statuary marble in the aerial distance, the effects of sunrise and sunset rival those which the Rigi shows on the spectral snows of the Bernese Oberland.

The Herzégovina is, in fact, a limestone desert, barren and beautiful, and cultivation is confined to scattered oases, where, in

high plateau basins, between the mountains, their collected drainage feeds a luxuriant vegetation. Tobacco is one of the products that thrives best, giving here returns far exceeding those of the crops raised in adjoining countries. The most singular feature of Herzegóvinian landscape is the subterranean course of its streams, belonging to the class, styled in German, *Höhlen Flüsse*, or cavern rivers. Emerging, full-sized, from a grotto, to flow through the valleys which they sometimes submerge in winter, they dive again under the rocks to pursue, untracked, their darkling courses. The river of Trebinje plunges thus beneath a range of mountains, and burrows its way to the *Vaile d'Ombra*, close to the harbour of Gravosa, on the Adriatic coast, seven miles distant as the crow flies. There, at the foot of a limestone cliff, it wells up from an unknown depth, and forms at this its second source, a pool which it takes 1,800 feet of line to fathom. Yet, despite the desolate character of the Herzegóvinian scenery, a more southern type of vegetation prevails here than in contiguous lands, and grapes, figs, and pomegranates ripening to perfection in the valleys give their inhabitants the right to look down on their Bosnian neighbours as *shvari*, or "munchers of plums."

Agriculture, in all these States, is in an equally primitive condition; the furrow is barely scratched by a rude plough drawn by a team of buffaloes, the bough of a tree is sometimes the substitute for a harrow, and the grain is trodden in Scriptural fashion on the threshing-floor. Maize is the staple crop, wheat and rye follow or alternate with it, and the soil, unrenewed by manure, is left to recover in a long interregnum of fallows. Lean, shaggy cattle roam untended over great stretches of wild pasture, and sheep and goats pick up a scanty living among the poorer tracts. Plum orchards are seen close to every homestead, since this fruit not only furnishes the national beverage, *slivovitz*, or plum brandy, but in the dried state figures as one of the principal exports of Serbia and Bosnia. Live stock, especially swine, are a still larger item of their external trade, and in 1881, 325,000 pigs were sent across the Serbian border.

Although the Balkan peoples are nominally a homogeneous race, the national type of the Serb, ethnologically including Bosnians and Montenegrins, differs essentially from that of the Bulgarian. This diversity, confirmatory of the view that the Turanian element still survives in the modern Bulgarian, corresponds to that between the Polish and Russian peasant, the Slavonic blood of the latter being also largely adulterated with a Tartar infusion. The Bulgarian is, unquestionably, the lower organization; generally apathetic, yet capable of being roused to Turkish ferocity, he is at once more patient under oppression,



and more savagely vindictive when triumphant, than his Western neighbour.

In externals there is the same superiority in favour of the purer race, for while the Ugro Slav has the low brow and irregular facial outline suggestive of the animal type, the Serbians are, as a rule, a straight-featured people, with a high average of good looks, though seldom, perhaps, passing into the finer perfection of ideal beauty. In national costume, too, diversity of origin is traceable, for while on the Lower Danube we find the sheepskin clothing, and heads close shaven save for a single lock of hair—universally distinctive of the Tartar—we meet a more picturesque style of dress, with brighter colours and greater attempt at decoration, among the dwellers by the Morava and the Save. The fez is the universal Serbian head-dress, both for men and women, while the use of coins as ornaments is so extensive among the latter, that three millions sterling are said to be withdrawn from circulation in this way. Patriotic fervour, love of legendary lore, popular memory of ancient tradition, all that feeds national life, is much more vivid in Serbia than in Bulgaria; and in the Western State, too, society is still constituted on its primitive basis of indigenous communal freedom.

No country in Europe is so purely democratic as Serbia, and nowhere is democracy so entirely unhindered in its working; for here are no conflicting class interests requiring to be safe-guarded by artificial checks. An English traveller, once asking if there were any nobles in Serbia, received the proud answer, "Every Serbian is noble." This is in a sense true, as the expropriation or extermination of the Turkish Beys during the long wars of independence swept away the class of great landowners, and left the Serbian kmet, or free cultivator, without any overlord on the ground he tills. The ideal of peasant proprietorship is here attained without that pressure of population upon soil which renders such a condition in Western Europe the *ne plus ultra* of rural misery. The spirit of Serbian independence renders the hiring of labour for farm or household work an impossibility; and even cooks and housemaids come from Hungary and Croatia. Hence the farms cultivated by a single family are necessarily small, averaging from ten to thirty acres, while at harvest time, if the cultivator requires assistance to get in his crops, it is supplied gratuitously by his neighbours, who make the occasion a rural merry-making, called *moba*.

In parts of Serbia may still be found that original germ of the Slavonian social system, the *zadruga* (association), or family community. It consists of a group of households, descendants of one family, living on a common domain, originally inalienable and indivisible, under the headship of an elective chief, the *starechina*,

or elder. The corporation thus created constitutes a legal entity, and forms a sort of rural co-operative company, sometimes numbering 300 individuals. The domestic arrangements consist of a large common dwelling-house standing in a palisaded yard, and consisting of two divisions: the dining-room, with whitewashed walls and wooden benches and tables, where all meals are eaten and public affairs discussed, and the general dormitory, a large, bare apartment, in which the whole community sleep in winter to benefit by the warmth of the stove placed in the partition wall separating it from the refectory. A long, low building behind or beside the general dwelling, contains the separate summer sleeping-rooms of the individual households, opening off a verandah in front. When a marriage takes place a fresh compartment is added on at one end for the accommodation of the newly married couple. In these summer cells is stored all personal property; wearing apparel, furniture, trinkets, and anything acquired by private industry; for while the regular labour of the individual is due to the community, anything done at chance moments or recreation hours is for his own benefit. The household economy is directed by a matron, not necessarily the wife of the *starechina*, who acts as mother of the family. Granaries and sheds for implements form a series of detached buildings round the court; but stables and shelters for cattle are oftener among the fields. In one outhouse may generally be seen great casks of plum-brandy stored to age, and representing the moneyed reserve of the association.

In many places whole villages were formed by an agglomeration of such communities, but the system is gradually dying out, as the restless ambition of the younger generation exercises its disintegrating effects on the patriarchal régime. The Austrian *Theilungs-Gesetz*, legalizing the subdivision of the common domain, has worked in the same direction; for formerly a male member forfeited all rights on leaving the collective home, though a girl received a portion on marriage. Widows and orphans, sick and infirm, were maintained by the common labour, and the absence of a proletariat class in Serbia is in great part due to the *zadruga* system. To the same result tends also the Homestead Law, rendering inalienable, even for the benefit of creditors, the peasant's dwelling, with five acres of land, an ox, and the necessary implements of culture.

Thus safe-guarded in possession of his house and field the Serbian peasant enjoys complete local self government. The mayor and council of the commune or *opština*, are chosen by the inhabitants, and the former sits as judge, with two elected assessors, to try ordinary police cases and civil causes involving not more than 200 francs. A tribunal of five members, elected every three

months, forms a court of appeal, while the communal councils also select jurors to try the criminals of their several districts at the assizes. The commune takes thought for its members in times of scarcity, and keeps a public granary, to which every family is obliged to contribute 182 kilogrammes of maize or wheat, and a reserve of sixty to seventy million kilogrammes of grain is thus constantly maintained in view of possible failure of crops.

Serbia is essentially an agricultural country; its whole urban population not exceeding 200,000, of which Belgrade contains 37,500 and Nisch 12,801, while 1,750,000 individuals are engaged in rural industry. All its principal towns contain ruinous quarters, formerly occupied by the Turks, but deserted by them during the war of 1876, and now in process of reoccupation and reconstruction by the Jews. Most of the handicrafts in Serbia, those of mason and carpenter particularly, as well as the trade of innkeeping, are exercised by an industrious and ubiquitous race of Macedonian Vlachs, called by themselves Roumeni, or Roumanians, and by others Tsintsara, from their mispronunciation of the word five as *tsints*, instead of *tchintch*.

Legislative functions in Serbia are exercised by the King, in combination with the Narodna Skupchтина, or National Assembly. This body consists of 178 members, one to every 3,000 electors, one quarter being named by the King, and the remainder elected by suffrage of all adult taxpayers. For the decision of questions of constitutional bearing or vital importance, an enlarged or extraordinary Skupchтина is summoned, with a quadruple number of delegates, all of popular election. The remainder of the constitutional machinery is composed of the Savjet, or Senate, of fifteen members, and a Privy Council of eight Ministers.

Political parties in Serbia are numerous. There are the so-called Liberals, headed by M. Ristics, pro-Russian in leanings, though less so than the Radical Panslavists. The Progressists, led by M. Garashanine, side with Austria, and are favoured by the King. Their home policy based on the rapid development of material civilization with increased expenditure and centralized government, is opposed by the rural party in the interests of local liberties and economy. The bureaucratic Conservative party is headed by M. Christies, and another group is formed of young men, who, having studied abroad, are imbued with Continental Socialism and enthusiasm for the Paris Commune.

The taxation of the country is already considerable, and it is burdened with an increasing debt. A capitation tax, graduated according to income and earnings, is the principal impost, and is assessed in the first instance *en bloc* on the communes. A working man, at the lowest end of the scale, pays under this head from 2 francs 40 cents to 3 francs 60 cents, according to



his wages. The communes have power to levy a tax on a similar basis but less in amount, the maximum in the country districts being one-fourth, in the towns one-third, and in Belgrade one-half of the national tax.

The churches in the rural districts are few and far between, sometimes only in the proportion of one to every seven or eight hamlets. Neither is there any great devotion shown in frequenting them, the principal religious observance of the population consisting in rigid abstinence on more than half the days of the year. The custom of visiting the cemeteries on Fridays, and depositing offerings of wine, bread, and other food on the graves, is unquestionably of Pagan origin.

The present area of Serbia does not include the ancient centre of its nationality, and it is round the district of Stara Serbia (Old Serbia), still under Turkish rule, that its historical memories gather. Here was Prisrend, now in Albania, its Tsargrad, or imperial city, the capital of Stephen Dushan; here Ipek, the seat of its patriarchal see; here the ill-starred Field of Thrushes, the epic battle-field of Serbian song. It was from this "Serbia Irredenta" that a great national exodus took place after the unfortunate Austrian campaign of 1689, when 37,000 Serbian families followed their Patriarch, Arsenius Tchernovitch, across the Danube into a long exile. The new immigrants were established by Austria among the soldier colonists of that military frontier where for centuries she has kept watch and ward for Christendom against the van of Islam. Here the peasant warriors, organized on the *zadruga*, or family system, formed a sturdy militia, bound to leave the plough in the furrow and the sickle in the straw when the call to arms sounded, or the beacon fires flashed for nine hundred miles along Save and Danube, from the Illyrian shore to the Carpathian slopes. Hither the Serbians brought the undying memories of their home, and building churches, called after those they had left behind, on the rocky peninsula of the Fruska Gara (Wooded Mountain), between the Danube and the Save, made it the sanctuary of their lost nationality. In one of these shrines is deposited their most venerated relic, the embalmed body of Lazar, last Knez of Serbia, slain in the tent of Amurath, after the rout of Kóssovo. And on June 15, the anniversary of the fight, thousands of Serbians flock from far and near to do homage to their dead Tsur, and kneel beside the open coffin where, after the lapse of five centuries, he still lies in state, robed in the mantle of faded embroidery he wore, as is said, on that fatal day. A sense of loyalty so long-lived and tenacious shows an earnest depth of national feeling that augurs well for the future of Serbia.

All such romantic associations are left behind in crossing the

frontier of Bulgaria, where a more squalid population amid more sordid surroundings can have but little thought for the abstract poetry of life. The ancient glories of Bulgaria can scarcely indeed be vividly present to the modern Danubian rayah, who lives by preference in a hovel without light or air, evading, when possible, the decree enjoining the construction of a window in his domicile. The unprepossessing aspect of the rayah village is described as follows by Messrs. St. Clair and Brophy, whose residence in remote parts of the country makes their book one of the most authoritative accounts of rural Bulgaria :—

A sandy ravine sloping down to the Lake of Varna, between hills covered with the remains of once magnificent forest, some three-score of mud houses, or rather huts, surrounded by irregularly shaped enclosures of hurdle work in every stage of dilapidation, two or three fountains, many wild cherry, plum, apple, and pear trees, buffaloes, pigs, and innumerable cur-dogs of every size wandering about listlessly in search of food. Such is the general appearance of our village, and, making the necessary allowance for difference of position, such is the aspect of almost every Rayah (Christian) village in the Bulgarian Balkan.

If the landscape be left out of the question, these villages are not picturesque in themselves, and the prevailing brownish tint of the houses, blending with that of the cleared land around, prevents them being easily seen at a distance; enter one of them, and if you happily succeed in avoiding the bites of all the dogs, whom the arrival of a stranger induces to pause from their usual avocations, you will see a mass of cottages apparently thrown together without order or arrangement, built of mud and rudely thatched with reeds, upon which great stones are sometimes placed, as upon the chalets of Switzerland, to prevent the roof being carried away by the wind. Each of the ruinous fences enclose a structure resembling a child's Noah's Ark immensely magnified and standing upon raised wooden legs; this is the granary, containing the small amount of wheat or Indian corn reserved by the Bulgarian peasant for the use of his family. A rude plough, unaltered in form since the earliest days of agriculture, some equally primitive tools, a heap of logs for firewood, a ladder, an *araba* or springless cart, a few melancholy turkeys and a brood of famished chickens trying to pick up their day's meal, these are the inevitable appendages of every house.

The interior is equally uninviting, as the furniture is of the scantiest and rudest, and since fear of brigands forbids any exit being left for smoke and other exhalations save through the door or accidental chinks in roof and walls, the atmosphere is not of the sweetest. The most prosperous-looking establishment in the hamlet is the *tukhan*, or shop, where the *bakal*, the village publican, sells drugged wine or fiery *raki* to his neighbours.

The farming is equally slovenly with the architecture, the rich

but neglected soil produces poor and scanty crops, and great tracts of waste land are kept for pasture, the loitering life of the *chojan* or herdsman recommending it to the rayah's listless disposition. The extreme laxity or liberality of the Turkish land laws has also encouraged this tendency, for the usage called *mera* allowed the owner of a *tchilylik* or farm, as well as municipalities and other bodies, to take up an indefinite extent of pasture, paid for only indirectly through the *beylik*, or capitation tax on animals grazed on it. The right of cutting wood and other incidental privileges of ownership were enjoyed free of charge by the occupier, and much valuable forest has been wastefully destroyed in consequence.

The terms on which arable land was held also put a premium on bad farming, since tithe was taken of the crop alone, the land in fallow escaping taxation. Every facility was granted for the acquisition of land, since any subject of the Porte was entitled to occupy such as was not already cultivated on condition of paying the taxes, merely taking out a registration paper called *tapou*, at a fee of from 9*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* an acre. Such an occupier could not be evicted, and after twenty years' possession became absolute owner, with right of sale. The Christian rayah under Turkish rule was exempt from conscription, to which every Mussulman was liable, paying since 1856 the *askeri hedele*, or military substitution tax of 25 piastres, about a pound a year. In addition to the *ashur*, or tenth of all grain, there was a personal or property tax called *vergih*, averaging 30 piastres, or 2*s.* The *beylik* on animals was on the scale of about 3*s.* 4*d.* per sheep and 2*s.* 6*d.* per pig, and there was a trifling but vexatious impost on orchards, vineyards, and market gardens. Considering that these taxes included the rent of land, they would not, if equitably collected, have been excessive, but the system of farming them led to great abuses, in which government and contributors were alike cheated.

The rayah had probably more to suffer from the exactions of his clergy, who resembled wolves much more than shepherds. Down to a comparatively recent date, they did not even speak the language of the people, all services and offices being held in Greek. The agitation against this system took the form of a religious revolt, the congregations closing the churches and driving out their foreign pastors. At last, in 1870, after nearly twenty years of this state of anarchy, a firman was granted by the Porte, establishing the Bulgarian Church on an independent basis under an Exarch, to which dignity Anthimos, Metropolitan of Widdin, was raised in February, 1872.

The native clergy are so ignorant and uncultured that Padre



Damiano, head of the Franciscan mission at Varna, "a Capuchin," says Mr. St. Clair, "of exemplary life and character," spoke to the latter of their shortcomings as forming an insuperable obstacle to the reunion, at one time under discussion, of the Bulgarian with the Roman Church. "It would," he said, "not only be impossible to admit them as priests, but I doubt whether, without previously preparing them by a course of study, I should be justified in accepting them as catechumens." If such be the condition of the pastors in regard to spiritual knowledge, the benighted state of the flock may be easily inferred, and we need not wonder at the further remark of the authority just quoted: "How could you convert to any faith a race which cannot be made to believe in the immortality of the soul?"

Devoid of this firm basis of religious belief, the nominal Christianity of the Bulgarian is largely intermingled with superstitions and observances handed down from his heathen ancestors. Among these are the sacrifice of animals in honour of certain of the saints, the offerings of food to the dead, the veneration of an icon or picture of a saint with a dog's head, and the belief in the vampire, or malignant resuscitated corpse, called in Dalmatia Vrikodlaki, by the Gagaous, or semi-Tartar population of the Black Sea region, Obour, and by the Bulgarians proper, in pure Slavonic, Upior.

Among great sins ranking with, if not before, infractions of the Decalogue, are reckoned such trivial acts as the following:—Washing a child under seven years old, giving a child a spoon to play with; letting a dog sleep on the roof of a house, which is supposed to imperil the salvation of one of its inmates, selling flour previous to making a loaf from it, omitting to incense flour brought from the mill to exorcise possible demoniacal inhabitants, or failing to spill some drops from every vessel of water fetched from the fountain, lest an elemental spirit floating on it should enter the house, or the bodies of those who drink it.

The old Lithuanian worship of Spring under the form of a serpent is commemorated by the Blagostina, the Feast of Nature and of Serpents, kept on March 25, when the Greek calendar honours Constantine the Great. Popular belief holds that the profanation of this Serpents' Sabbath by any servile work will be avenged by the bite of one of these creatures in the course of the year. The celebration of the Feast of the Kings, called Eslama Gunu, or Dipping Day, by the compulsory immersion of every man in the fountain, with the alternative of paying a forfeit in wine, has a parallel in a country as remote as Abyssinia, where all the inhabitants on the same feast undergo a similar but more solemn ceremony, described, perhaps erroneously, as an *annual baptism*.

The recourse to witchcraft, officially practised by a revered matron in every village, in case of illness or other misfortune, is common to all barbarous countries, but its sanction by the clergy, who often preside at the *séances* of these beldames, is peculiar to the East of Europe. The Bulgarian observances with regard to the dead argue belief in a material survival of some principle of life after the actual bodily decease, associated generally with malignant tendencies. At the moment of death all pots and vessels are reversed, lest the soul, finding a lurking place in them, should be a source of annoyance to the household. Death Feasts, called *Pominki*, are held on the evening of the decease, and at subsequent intervals of ten days, three months, six months, a year, and three years. On Palm Sunday, after a meal held in the cemeteries, the remains are left on the graves to be consumed by the dead during the night, and on Easter Monday an Easter egg is left on each tomb. The Bulgarian widow, moreover, is bound to sprinkle her husband's grave with water every morning for forty days, that he may not die of thirst. Some of these practices are doubtless very ancient, others may have had a ghastly cause in cases of premature interment, which takes place immediately after death.

The belief in Vilas and Samovilas, fountain and forest fairies, belongs rather to the domain of poetry than religion, like that in the elves and sprites of Northern popular mythology, while Arab and Eastern fable have supplied other fantastic elements to the Slavonic demonology. A more mischievous superstition is that which forbids the harvest to be housed for six weeks after cutting, during which the grain suffers heavily from the depredations of birds and other waste.

The observance of 183 Church Feasts is a serious check to industry, while the ordinance of 182 days of rigid abstinence on bread and vegetables, must also tend to diminish the working power of the people. The exactions of the clergy are heavy relatively to the resources of the country, and each family pays over £3 yearly in various fees to the village Pope, besides a tax of £2 for the Metropolitan. The priest goes round once a month, accompanied by his attendant, generally a Mussulman gipsy, carrying a vessel of holy water, a brush, and wallet, the houses are sprinkled, and at each a piastre, value about 10d., and an oke of flour worth an equal sum, are demanded. Spiritual ministrations, except as mere outward forms, are little regarded, and inebriety, the prevailing vice of the people, is equally common amongst the priests.

With such a state of religious organization the moral standard is naturally low, and honesty and truth are virtues that are left to the Mussulman section of the population. A remarkable

proof of this is afforded by the fact that a Turk is invariably selected for the office of guarding the ripe grapes and other crops from nocturnal depredations, no rayah being sufficiently incorruptible for a post of such trust. All travellers indeed are unanimous in lauding the fine qualities of the Turkish peasant, who, while exempt from the vices of his urban compatriots, is loyal to a bad government, and faithful to a false creed. Yet his days on European soil are numbered, for his race is dwindling, and his rule is passing away.

No picture of rural life in Bulgaria is complete without allusion to its brigands, who may be divided into three categories. The first is the Robin Hood of Eastern Europe, the gallant outlaw of popular sympathy and song, representing in his career rather a revolt against misrule than a plea for plunder, and respectfully termed Balkan Chelibi, or gentleman of the forest. A certain code of chivalry rules his war upon society; thus he never fires first or from under cover, but advancing into the open, boldly confronts his foe. Typical of this class was Solhak, lord of the mountain some years ago, who devoted the money he seized to charity or public works, such as the construction of roads and bridges. His words to Mr. St. Clair were: "Since Europe has interfered with our interior matters, justice must fly to the mountain, and truth and honour be defended by an outlaw such as I am."

The next description of marauder is the Khersis, an ordinary depredator on a small scale, generally a rayah who has assumed a Mussulman *nom de guerre*. More frequently of Greek origin is the third class of highwayman, the Haiduk, a bloodthirsty assassin as well as robber. Such was Stirion, a native of the Greek village of Akdere, near Cape Emineh, in Roumelia, said to have committed seventeen murders with his own hand. From the same locality came the still more dreaded Kara Kostia, for years the terror of the Balkans. By means of organized relays of horses he travelled with extraordinary speed, and though the head of a band of three men and a woman, committed most of his atrocities single-handed. This monster was at last slain in fair fight, by a Turk sixty years of age, Hassan of Ayajik, an ex-Balkan Chelibi, who went in chase of him for the purpose, armed with a knife and single barrelled gun. He came at last upon him and his four companions, with the result told by Mr. St. Clair in his own words: "I waited till Kara Kostia and another were well in line, brought down the two with one bullet, drew my knife, and after a fight killed the two others." The woman was also killed in the fight, but a child found in the saddle-bags was adopted by Hassan, its education as a Christian being entrusted to a Bulgarian priest, in accordance with the



supposed religion of its parents. For this feat, accomplished in 1862 or 1863 Hassan refused the Government reward, saying he had only done his duty.

As Bulgaria has not yet enjoyed an independent existence for ten years it is too soon to judge how far the evils of the old *régime* have been corrected, or in what direction modern institutions, artificially created, will really work. The democratic machinery bestowed upon her by Russia, consisting of a single Chamber triennially elected by universal suffrage under a constitutional Prince, was believed by the cynically disposed to have been specially devised to create domestic difficulties, requiring fresh intervention of the protecting Power. Bulgaria has, at any rate, already gone through some of the critical phases incident to the infancy of nations, and her constitution, abrogated by a *coup d'état* in 1881, conferring a septennial dictatorship on the Prince, was again restored by him two years later. Meantime, both Prince and people, with the growing sense of national independence, have begun to feel impatient of Muscovite tutelage, exercised in the form of the administration of the War Office by a Russian, and in the organization of the army by Russian officers.

"We are very grateful," recently said the Bulgarian Primate to an English traveller, "to the Russians for having delivered us from the Turks, but now who will deliver us from the Russians?" This revulsion of feeling in Bulgaria against her quasi-protector is part of a notable change brought about in the political aspect of South-eastern Europe, by the diminution of Russian and increase of Austrian influence among the Slavonian peoples during the last ten years.

Serbia was first to revolt against the dictatorship of St. Petersburg, the estrangement produced by the disastrous issue of the Russian-prompted war of 1876 having been widened by the undisguised sacrifice of her interests to those of Bulgaria in the negotiations of San Stefano. Serbian statesmen had then no choice left but to throw themselves into the arms of Austria, and at the price of a commercial treaty and a railway convention with the latter Power, securing the constructions of lines through Serbia towards Salonica and Constantinople, a small accession of territory was obtained, including Pirot and Vranja, important strategical points on the future Austro-Egean railway system.

This transference of allegiance necessitated not only a change of Ministers at Nisch, but also an ecclesiastical *coup d'état*, and the resignation of M. Ristic, the pro-Russian Premier, was shortly followed by the deposition of Archbishop Michael, Metropolitan of Serbia, who continued to agitate against the government, at the instigation of the Pan-Slavonic Committee.

His resistance to a tax on admission to the religious Orders was the immediate cause of his removal, which, to the disappointment of the Russian party, was calmly acquiesced in by the clergy, as was the nomination of his successor, Mgr. Mraovich, the present Metropolitan.

The overthrow of the recusant Milan himself was the next object of Russian intrigue, a rival pretender to his throne being found in the person of Peter Kara Georgevich, grandson of the hero of Serbian independence. In consideration of a marriage with a Montenegrin Princess, for whom the Czar provided a dowry of £50,000, this claimant was induced to make over his rights to his father-in-law, and a treaty was signed providing for the deposition of "the Austrian King of Serbia," and the proclamation of Nicholas of Montenegro, the pensionary and creature of Russia, by the grandiose title of "King of all Serbians." It was in 1883 that an attempt was made to give some practical effect to this document by a rising in Serbia, instigated by the partisans of Kara Georgevich, but confined entirely to the districts adjoining Bulgaria. Even here it was quickly repressed, but the cordial welcome accorded to the refugees by the latter State was one of the local irritants tending to inflame the hostile feeling recently displayed by its neighbour.

While the influence of the rival Empire was thus becoming paramount in the Western Balkans, the restless shuttle of Russian intrigue was weaving its tangled web over the eastern half of the Peninsula. Here, as our readers will remember, the Muscovite designs were baffled by the manner in which the Great Bulgaria of San Stefano was halved by the Treaty of Berlin. Thus, while the Danubian State was constituted as a separate principality, under the nominal suzerainty of the Porte, the province south of the Balkans, termed Eastern Roumelia, was created into an autonomous or self-governing dependency of Turkey, under a Christian governor, nominated by the Porte and approved by the Powers. The majority of the inhabitants are, however, Bulgarians, and the spectacle of the severance of race was intolerable to the tender susceptibilities of the Power which had partitioned Poland without a pang. Hence, when the five years' term of office of Aleko Pasha, the first Governor of Roumelia, expired in 1884, Russia opposed his reappointment, and secured that of Gabriel Chrestovich, a creature of her own, better known to recent history as Gavril Pasha. Under his complaisant rule an active revolutionary movement was set on foot, and the secret organization of Panslavist Committees fully perfected throughout the country. The deposition of Prince Alexander by a popular demonstration in Sofia, though part of the Russian programme,

was frustrated, through its betrayal to the young ruler by one of the confederates. His adherents, already sullenly resentful of foreign dictation, organized a counter-conspiracy, plot within plot, and by the action of an inner circle of the associates, who obtained the direction of the revolutionary machinery, were able to guide it to their own ends, and anticipate the appointed time for setting it in motion.

On the morning of Friday, September 18, a number of insurgent bands, converging on the capital of Roumelia from the adjoining districts, appeared in the streets, surrounded the Konak, or palace, and having made prisoners the Governor and Commandant of the militia, proclaimed the union with Bulgaria, and summoned Prince Alexander to Philippopolis. The latter, who was suspiciously ready for the invitation, acceded to it without delay. He entered Roumelia on Sunday the 20th, amid the wildest enthusiasm on the part of the inhabitants, and thus was accomplished the first act of a bloodless revolution.

Its ulterior consequences have yet to be seen, for the brief but sanguinary struggle between the Balkan sister States is but the prelude to the deeper and perhaps more sanguinary game yet to be played. The pawns have made the first move on the political chess-board, clearing the way for the larger pieces to come into action. The slightest shock to the nice equilibrium of interests in the Balkan peninsula brings Europe at once face to face with the great unsolved problem of modern diplomacy, and opens up all the dread possibilities of future complications implied in the very name of the Eastern Question.

E. M. CLERKE.

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#### ART VIII.—CATHOLIC UNION AND CATHOLIC PARTIES.

*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Div. Prom. PAPÆ XIII. Epistola Encyclica "De Civitatum Constitutione Christianâ."* (Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. "On the Christian Constitution of the State.")

**T**HE Encyclical "Immortale Dei" affects Catholic life and action in every quarter of the world. But its interest will probably be greatest in France, and least in England and the United States. The reason is a very simple one. The Encyclical is a forcible and eloquent statement of the supreme principles of Christian politics and their application to modern civilization.



The ethical truths which the Sovereign Pontiff here re-affirms are held unanimously and firmly by all Catholics at the present moment. At the period of the "*Mirari vos*," and even in the earlier days of Pius IX., there might have been—nay, there was—a considerable minority who were not satisfactory in their views as to the absolute lawfulness of certain "liberal" ways of thinking. But Papal pronouncements, episcopal comments, and the Catholic press have spread sound doctrine through the whole mass of the faithful, and there is little need at this time of day to insist on what had to be insisted upon in 1864. It is rather the application of orthodox principles which is now in question. As one of the French bishops said the other day, the Pope has, for the first time, placed side by side, in the same document, the principles and their interpretation. It is understood that the word "interpretation" here means softening or toning down. The predecessors of Leo XIII. had warned the flocks of the danger of any "transaction" (to use the French phrase) between Catholic teaching and liberalistic error; and they had not omitted, on the other hand, to check certain too fiery zealots for exaggerating the practical application of their pronouncements. The present Encyclical does both these things in one and the same Letter; and the novelty and the chief interest of the Letter lie (if we may venture to say so) as much in the rebuke which it gives to exaggeration as in its statement of Catholic orthodoxy. Now we who are citizens of English-speaking States have had little or no difficulty, all along, in understanding the real limits, or the real meaning, of the strong and most true conservative doctrines of the "*Mirari vos*," and the Syllabus. We have never considered that the Chair of Peter, in anything which it has uttered, has condemned either republican institutions, representative government, equality of classes before the law, the toleration of religious liberty, or the permission of wide freedom to the press. A few amongst us—brought up on old Tory traditions in the nursery, or made light-headed in middle-age by the assimilation of French Legitimist articles—have stood out against the "modern" spirit, and refused to bend the knee. These have denounced, in every variety of season, the whole machinery of modern politics—the vote, the Chamber, the Minister, and the Sovereign. The people should obey, not vote; Parliaments were the revolution embodied; Ministers should be Ministers, and not masters; and the King should govern as well as reign. As for republics, they were only Freemasonry triumphant, and a Republican President could never be other than the particular tool which the Lodges had agreed upon for the moment. There is quite enough *unhappy truth* in these views to lift them out of the self-contradiction.

dictory and the absurd. But, on the whole, English-speaking Catholics, whilst accepting with full loyalty the teachings of the Syllabus, have used without much questioning or heartburning a reasonable liberty of interpretation.

But in other countries, and especially in France, the circumstances have been very different. It need not be said that the French Catholic people, the French Church, and the French clergy must be of greater importance in the eyes of the Sovereign Pontiff than any other Church or people in the world taken singly. Their numbers, their faith, their devotedness to the Holy See, their literary power, their grand traditions, and their political capabilities—all these and many other qualities go to make them the foremost Catholic influence in the world, next to that of Rome itself. Whatever, therefore, divides, estranges, or weakens the Catholics of France is a calamity to the universal Church. The whole world knows that French Catholics have been divided in opinion, ever since the Restoration, on questions of the gravest importance. It was not so much that some loved the Bourbon, some the Empire, and others the constitutional monarchy or the republic, but, what was far more serious, those who held to Legitimism denounced as bad Catholics those who tolerated the new *régime*, and those who pretended to march with the times upbraided the more conservative party as men who placed dynastic interests before those of the Catholic Church. Both parties, or all parties, have been to blame each in its turn. There were extreme men among the bishops, among the journalists, among the statesmen, whom no one could doubt to be actuated by sincere love of the Church and the Holy See. The wide influence of the school of Montalembert made it absolutely necessary at one time for the Holy See to formulate certain views on modern "liberties." But it has been evident, at least since the death of the Comte de Chambord, that it was the extremists of the opposite party who were now doing the greatest amount of harm. M. Louis Veuillot did one service to the Catholic cause: he taught her champions not to be afraid of her enemies. In a country like France, where the public are so apt to think a cause lost if it is silent and depressed, a man who spoke out boldly, contemptuously, bitterly, and in perfect French, was likely to do as much good to Catholicism as a Catholic Minister in the Cabinet. This much good Louis Veuillot did. But even the most conservative of Catholics can hardly help seeing that he did a great deal of harm. It is always a thing to be watched with suspicion when vehement politicians begin to speak in the name of the Catholic Church. The Church is never merely political, and she is never violent. The best of Catholic laymen, whether journalists or orators, are without that tender

solicitude for the salvation of souls which the Catholic pastorate can never put off. One's race, one's country, one's king, and even one's party are lawful objects of devotion. But before the Church can consider country or dynasty she has to think of the souls for which Christ died; and, in spite of an occasional mistake by a priest or a bishop, she always does. When, therefore, a considerable party among the French Catholics claimed to be the only Catholic party, readers of history saw how it would end. Luckily, the life of the Church is so strong that divisions which would split or kill other organizations are constantly being healed in her. An unseemly wrangle, which even the Archbishop of Paris was unable to put a stop to, has not for a week survived the Letter of the Pope. The present Encyclical may be looked upon as the full and formal statement of the grounds of the decisions given in the letter to Cardinal Guibert.

As the Encyclical is long, somewhat technical, and very closely reasoned, it may be useful to many of our readers to give an abstract of it, which will not only place the substance of it at once before the eye, but will enable any one to follow it with ease from beginning to end :—\*

#### PREAMBLE.

The Church, though her primary object is the salvation of souls, nevertheless is the principal civilizing force of the world. Modern principles—called by the Pope the "*Novum Jus*," or the "new system of Law"—represent the Church as a reactionary power, inimical to progress and liberty. The object of the Encyclical is to compare the new system with real Christian doctrine, and thus to bring out the truth on this subject.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### *The Constitution and Character of States which accept the Christian Philosophy.*

1. All public authority (*publica potestas*) is from God; because to live in society is necessary and natural to man, and no society is possible without a head.
2. Governing authority (*jus imperii*) is not necessarily bound up with any particular form of State.
3. But of whatever kind the rulers are, they should rule as God rules—justly, not like masters, but like fathers, and not for their own benefit, or for the benefit of a few, but of the whole community.

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\* The original text of the Encyclical is given in our present number, p. 153.



4. On the other hand, the people are bound to reverence and obey their rulers; to condemn lawful authority, in whomsoever it is placed, is no more allowable than to resist God's own will.

5. It is clear that the State is bound to have a public religion; for the same obligation of worship and service of God which lies upon individual human beings lies upon a community. The rulers of a State, therefore, as it is their duty to provide for the welfare of the community, are bound to honour the name of God, and to maintain in all its sanctity and integrity the religion which unites men to God.

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Church in the Christian State.*

1. It is easy to recognize which is the true religion. Christ has instituted a certain Society called the Church, over which He has appointed rulers, and one especially, as supreme ruler—the Roman Pontiff.

2. The Church is a perfect Society, complete and independent; and, as its end and object is the most elevated and excellent which can be, it ranks first among Societies, and therefore above the State; though neither can it in any way injure the State.

3. The Church has always claimed and exercised this absolute and rightful authority of hers; and it was clearly a providential disposition of God that she was endowed with "civil principedom," the letter to guard her freedom.

4. Thus the Church and the State are each limited, and each supreme within its own circle. But since the same human beings and communities are the subjects of both, and since the same matters may be the objects of both, there must be some orderly and fixed relation between the two. That is to say, the Church must be supreme in all sacred things, in all that regards the salvation of souls and the worship of God; the rest is the domain of the State.

5. This co-ordination of the two powers in the Christian State not only does not injure the dignity and the rights of the rulers of the State, but gives to them an augustness and a stability which nothing else can give. In such a State the family is guarded by Christian marriage, by the securing of due authority for the husband and due honour to the wife, by the regulating of the mutual relation of parents and children. In such a State the laws are made for the common good, not by the acclamation of an ignorant mob, but by just and prudent men; the authority of the rulers acquires a more than human sanctity; the obedience of the people becomes more dignified, because they obey as to God Himself; mutual charity, kindness, and liberality are duties; the

citizen and the Christian is not puzzled by having to reconcile conflicting commands; and civil society shares in the good things which Christianity has brought upon the earth. (This paragraph is illustrated by a magnificent passage from the "City of God" of St. Augustine.)

### CHAPTER III.

#### *The "New System."*

1. There was once a time when the Philosophy of the Gospel really governed States; a happy time, when many grand things were done through this concord between the Kingdom and the Priesthood.

2. The sixteenth century brought a change; first, religion was corrupted, then philosophy, and finally civil society. The four principles of the New System are Equality; personal Freedom from authority; the right to think as one pleases, to act as one likes; and the denial of all right to command. That is, the mob is sovereign; the ruler is only a delegate at will; the authority of God is ignored; no public religion is possible; all religion may be called in question.

3. Under such a system the Church is naturally most improperly treated. The State encroaches on the Church's domain, as, for instance, in regard to marriage and the property of the clergy; in fact, the Church is treated just like any other inferior society. Laws are made, administration is directed, the young are deprived of Christian training, religious Orders are robbed, the civil primedom of the Popes is taken away—all for one end, to weaken and embarrass the Church.

4. These modern principles are against natural reason. Authority is from God; the mob sovereignty, which makes rulers mere puppets, and which legitimizes rebellion, is devoid of all reasonable grounds. The theory that all religious forms are equal is really equivalent to Atheism. Freedom of thought and of speech is not true liberty, for liberty is the right to do good and to be good, and not evil. To make the Church subject to the State is unjust to the Church and injurious to the State.

### CHAPTER IV.

#### *The Real Doctrine of the Church on the "Liberties" of the New System.*

1. This doctrine may be gathered from the "Mirari vos" of Gregory XVI. and "Syllabus" of Pius IX.: public power is from God; rebellion is not lawful; indifference in religion is *wrong*; complete freedom of thought and speech is against reason;

and so on. But in matters of mixed jurisdiction the Church always tries to come to an agreement with the State.

2. No form of government is condemned in itself. It is not wrong, in itself, that the people should have a greater or less share in the government; such a participation may be at times a duty. The Church does not condemn those governors of States who, for a good reason, tolerate the custom of giving each kind of religion its place in the State. She is solicitous that no one be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic faith.

3. Unbridled licence she cannot tolerate. But true Liberty she promotes—the Liberty which removes errors and scandals, rules the State on wise principles, unshackles trade and commerce, and defends the country from foreign domination; the Liberty which opposes the licence of selfish princes, which forbids the intervention of the supreme authority in municipal or domestic affairs; which protects a man's dignity, personal rights and equality before the law; any liberty, in fact, which really tends to temporal prosperity as a means to man's eternal welfare.

4. The Church recognizes, as part of God's own truth, every truth which research or investigation brings forth; all scientific progress she welcomes; she has no objection to novelty, or to whatever makes life brighter or more comfortable; she promotes the exercise of human talent and ingenuity, the cultivation of the arts, and enterprise of every kind.

## CHAPTER V.

### *The Duties of Catholics at the present moment.*

1. A Catholic must conform his judgment, especially as to "modern liberties," to the pronouncements of the Holy See.

2. As to his action, he must personally conform his life to the Gospel precepts, and be firm; he must love the Church, and strive to make her laws respected by all.

3. In public, he should take part in the administration of his city or town, and should especially try to secure religious education for the young.

4. He should also enter the wider field of political life—that is to say, except in certain special circumstances. A Catholic takes his share in civil administration, not because he approves of what is wrong in the modern way of conducting public affairs, but in order that he may, as far as possible, turn what is wrong to what is right and really profitable to the public good, and intending to infuse into the State, like salutary blood and sap, the wisdom and virtue of Catholicism.



## CHAPTER VI.

*The Special Duty of Union.*

1. A first duty of Catholics is union of will and united action. This they will secure by obedience to the Holy See and the bishops.

2. Catholicism is inconsistent with the holding of opinions approaching Naturalism or Rationalism.

3. It is not allowable to disobey the Church in public matters, even whilst professing to be a good Catholic in private life.

4. In merely political matters, such as the form of government, or the constitution of a State, Catholics may differ without blame. No one—and this is especially addressed to newspaper writers—must say a man is a bad Catholic on grounds such as these.

## CONCLUSION.

By taking to heart the doctrines here laid down, Catholics will be able to attain two most important objects: first, to render assistance to the Church in promoting Christianity; secondly, to benefit civil society, now gravely imperilled by evil doctrine and evil aspirations.

Such is the substance, and indeed the most important words and expressions, of a Pontifical document which, it is safe to predict, will be referred to and appealed to in the course of the next fifty years as constantly as the "*Mirari vos*" or the "*Syllabus*" have been during the last. Looking at it as a whole, there can be no mistaking what has been the aim and the purpose of Leo XIII. in giving it to the world. Ever since his elevation, the present Pontiff has kept steadily before the eyes of the Catholic flock one grand and supreme design. This is nothing less than to form, by moral means, a *Catholic party over the whole civilized world*. As we are convinced that this is a most vital matter, and as it is very desirable that no misconception should exist as to what it means, it is worth while to make a few explanations.

A Catholic "*party*" was once unnecessary; that it is necessary now is owing to the changed conditions of society. For a Catholic party is by no means synonymous with the Catholic Church. A "*party*" means, first of all, only a part, and it leaves to be interred the existence of opposing parties; it means, next, an organization which seeks to impress its particular views on social, civil, and political life; not hiding its head in meekness and silence; not going out into deserts to exist; but claiming to *live and act* in the full society of other men, with its own theories

in complete operation, and a more or less aggressive disposition to draw others to accept them. As long as the conservative forces which are collectively known as "the Christian State or nation" were the rule in the greater part of the Christian world, no Catholic party was needful, or possible. The sanction of law, the weight of custom, the force of social authority, and the power of venerable tradition, all united to make men profess Christianity, and act, on the whole, as Christians. Christianity was the only theory, the only "philosophy," as Pope Leo calls it; and it was also the only allowable way of living. It is very possible that no one can point to a century, or even to a decade, when this has been true of any State in all the history of Christianity. But, looking at our own times and at the times gone by, it is perfectly undeniable that a broad view of this kind is justifiable by the facts. And it is because the conservative forces of the past system have one by one been dissipated and have disappeared, that a Catholic "party" becomes necessary. The Church neither in Catholic States nor in Protestant has any longer a voice in the making and enforcing of laws. The machinery of public police no longer enforces the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Gospel itself, with the old dogmas and the venerable morality, lies torn and undecipherable on the ground where rival philosophies war and destroy each other. If Catholicism is to preserve its hold upon men or on society, in the family, the town, or the State, it must no longer depend on king or kaiser, on soldier or policeman, on magistrate or on square, but simply on its own inherent power and force, embodied in the lives and words of individuals. It is needless to say that we here abstract altogether from the supernatural promise of Christ; that promise in no sense excuses men from doing their best for the Church according to the time in which they live.

Conservative forces, then, at the present moment are so dead that Catholicism, as far as public or official recognition goes, is only an opinion—like Calvinism, Comtism, or even Vegetarianism. If Catholicism is to continue to hold its own in the world, Catholics must believe in their own principles and set about impressing them upon mankind. This duty, no doubt, falls heaviest upon the clergy, upon the bishops, and upon the Pontiff himself. But the clergy, however united and zealous, can never be considered, in any adequate sense, a Catholic "party." First of all, they are not one-tenth or one-hundredth part of the mass of men who are, or who ought to be, exponents of Catholic principle. Secondly, they are officials—that is, they are bound by obligations other and more special than those which bind them as men, and as Christians, to live up to the Gospel philosophy. Now the essential "note" of a Catholic "party" is that without going

outside of the family, or the profession, or the social circle, or the political arena—that is, as men associating with other men—they should profess and act up to the Catholic profession.

It is to form such a Catholic "party" that the Pontiff has now crowned, by an Encyclical which, in spite of its length, is weighty in every word, the utterances of five years. It is for this that he has stirred up to activity the bishops in every European nation and in the United States; that he has received deputations of clergy and bade them go home and make good Catholics of their people; that he has encouraged the laity, urged the formation of societies and clubs among working-men, countenanced the quiet but uncompromising asceticism of the Third Order of St. Francis, recommended the printing-press, and last, but not least, so repeatedly expressed his anxiety on the vital question of education.

Now it is easy to read, in the pages of this Encyclical, what are the Holy Father's ideas on the essential character of a Catholic party. In a single word, it must be a party united in Catholic principles, but with the fullest liberty to differ on every other principle. That it must be united in Catholic principle and Catholic action is self-evident; there is no other *differentia* possible; it is this which gives it its essence and its name. By Catholic principle is meant, as the Pope explains, the doctrines of the Gospel as interpreted by the Church, and (to come down to practical and actual considerations) the application of those doctrines by the Holy See to the circumstances of the present day. The chief instruments in which such pronouncements have, in recent times, been made by the Popes are the "*Mirari vos*" of Gregory XVI. and the "*Quantà curà*," with its syllabus of errors, by Pius IX. Under chapter iv. of our analysis will be found Pope Leo's summary of those erroneous teachings on authority, on rebellion, on free-thought, and on religious indifference which are usually classed collectively under the name of the "modern liberties." The Pope expresses the same thing from a different point of view when he says, as quoted in chapter vi. 2 of the foregoing summary, that Catholicism is inconsistent with opinions approaching Naturalism or Rationalism; by which he does not mean to lay down that a man always ceases technically to be a "Catholic" by holding errors connected with these two false systems, but that such a man is not a Catholic in any adequate and complete sense of the word. These Catholic principles are to be acted upon openly, boldly, and prudently, under every circumstance. They are, above all, to be carried into public life. A Catholic who lives up to his duties in private, and yet in his public capacity, as a voter, a member, a magistrate, or a Minister, neglects the Church's teachings and disobeys the Sovereign Pontiff is, in our present view, no Catholic at all.



But just as it is essential that there should be unity in Catholic principle, so, in order that a Catholic party may exist at all, there must be liberty in every other respect. There is only one binding ratio in the hands of the Church. She can only unite men by the bonds of religion. She has no power, apart from accidental circumstances, to hold them to any doctrine or theory on matters outside of religion; such as science, politics,\* or trade. Any attempt, therefore, to insert in the constitution of a Catholic party views on matters not religious must result in one of two sorts of disaster: either coalition does not take place, and no "party" is formed, or else, when it is formed, it has no claim whatever to the name of Catholic. Thus, for instance, when the excellent Comte de Mun—for whose splendid exertions in the good cause no praise can be too great—in a recent manifesto which was intended to form the programme of a party, pronounced for certain economic views which may or may not be mistaken, it was felt at once that, whatever effect the address might have, it could never result in the formation of a Catholic party. Catholics are not wanted to agree on financial questions; and, if they did agree, they would agree in some other capacity than as Catholics.†

The application of this most important doctrine to politics is, we are aware, full of delicacy and of difficulty. Although all forms of government are *per se* equally acceptable to the Church, yet a violent change of government is a moral wrong, and we are often bound not only not to approve, but even to fight against, a moral wrong. To decide how far, and under what circumstances, change is lawful, or at what period resistance may cease or ought to cease, is not within the province of any individual. It is the prerogative of the Sovereign Pontiff. We cannot read the present Encyclical without mentally applying the Pope's words to two very different cases—to France on the one hand, and to Italy on the other. As for France, there was no question of rebellion or of violent change of rulers. Whatever wrong was done by Frenchmen in the matter of violence or sedition was done a century ago. Ever since the Revolution the "modern liberties" in their political bearings have been the creed of the majority of the French nation. The changes from republic to empire, from empire to monarchy, from one monarchy to another, then to empire again, and finally to republic once more, have all come

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\* But questions of science and politics are often intimately connected with religion.

† It is hardly necessary to say, for our readers must be aware of it, that M. de Mun withdrew, with the greatest humility and self-abnegation, the manifesto to which we refer as an illustration.

about under the invocation of popular suffrage: Whatever, therefore, has been done by legal and peaceful methods one has no right to object to. It may not be easy to fix on the precise year when obedience to the Bourbons ceased to be a duty; but, whenever the date was, it is now long gone by, and it seems true to say that any change of government which has since been brought about or accepted by the representatives of the masses of the country is a valid and a legal change. Doubtless, the doctrine that sovereignty resides in the people is a false and condemned doctrine. But no such doctrine is here implied. In France the head of the State is not, and has not been for generations, the sole governing power. Call him king, emperor, or president, he has been, and is, only a president after all. The governing power has been the elected chamber or chambers. The regular way of instituting the chambers has been the popular vote. Now it is perfectly clear that a supreme elective chamber can call upon its chief officers to resign. This is very far from that mob-sovereignty which the Popes have rightly denounced. The people govern, but not the mob; which means that the people govern indirectly, by more or less stable institutions, with due and proper forms, checks, and balances, and altogether without any right to rise in passion or caprice and overthrow the institutions they themselves have chosen. The governing or legislative body are by no means the mere delegates of the multitude. Once constituted, their power is their own; their power is from God; the multitude must obey them; and they only cease to have authority when they cease by regular and legal means to exist. There can be no doubt that the practical danger in every form of popular government is that the mob will influence both the making of laws and the administration of the State. Yet we must not be hurried by apprehensions of this kind into a condemnation of the thing itself. "It is not to be condemned *per se*," says Pope Leo, "that the people have a greater or less share in the government." \*

As to France, then, one main object of the Holy Father's Letter is to eliminate from the programme of any Catholic party all views, or pledges, as to the form of the civil government of the country. The present form, which is as "popular" as a government can well be, is valid, lawful, and (with whatever drawbacks) sufficient. Had the Pontiff been writing when Louis XVI. was in prison, or even in 1830, he might, we can conceive, have been called upon to pronounce a decision as to

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\* It cannot be anything but an accident that a page or so of the Latin text of the Encyclical, embodying this passage and others like it, is bodily omitted from the version printed in the *Annales Catholiques*, Dec. 12, 1885.

whether the *de facto* ruler or rulers of France ruled also *de jure*. At this moment, all he has to do is to remind his flock that the ruler, whoever he is, is to be obeyed. That this reminder was necessary is admitted on all hands. We may illustrate this by translating a few sentences from a letter, dated December 12, 1885, which has been addressed to the Holy Father by the eminent and learned Bishop of Autun, Mgr. Perraud:—

It has too frequently happened, especially during the last thirty years, that there have been painful differences amongst us in regard to the extent, the limits, and the mutual relations of authority and of liberty, as well as on the application to human government of those ideal and perfect theories of law and justice which cannot suffer prescription either from revolutions of the past, or from the passions of men, or from the arguments of a philosophy which too plainly exaggerates earthly power, and strives to build upon it a political system alien or hostile to God. It was time that a serene and sovereign voice should be heard, and that we should be taught, on the one hand, that certain truths, stated in the abstract, can never become the subjects of "transaction" or "concession;" and, on the other, how utterly we misconceive the character, the mission, the temperament, the supernatural and divine spirit of the Church of Jesus Christ when we behold in her the natural enemy of all that in these days is claimed by an age which is enamoured of science, liberty, equality, and social progress. . . . Among Catholics, some perhaps held too cheap the principles of absolute truth; whilst others did not sufficiently take into account the difficulties which reasonably authorize what we may call an imitation of divine Providence, which is so full of indulgence to human slowness of heart. . . . With what supernatural and apostolic independence you soar above the strife of men, and set free our beliefs and our consciences from the compromising alliances into which men of party would fain drag us—declaring solemnly that the Church neither adopts nor proscribes this or that political system; that she is the sincere ally of all governments which sincerely respect her rights and her liberties; that she encourages and blesses the accomplishment of all duties imposed on good citizens, and all that devotion to public interests which may prove so advantageous to the advance of the Kingdom of God.

Another French prelate has commented upon the Encyclical in a somewhat different tone. Mgr. Thomas, Archbishop of Rouen, is uncontestedly one of the most eloquent bishops of France; and his eloquence is singularly free from that excess of sentiment and that verbiage which one meets occasionally in the best oratory of his countrymen. He is very outspoken. In an address delivered before the Catholic Congress of Normandy, held at Rouen at the beginning of this last month (December), the Archbishop declares that the principles of Lacordaire, of Dupauloup, and of Cardinal Guibert are found to be "covered with the majesty of the Supreme



Pontificate in the Encyclical *Immortale Dei*." Lacordaire said, in 1860, that certain principles of 1789—civil equality, political liberty, and liberty of conscience—had been universally accepted in France, and from France had spread over two-thirds of Europe. Three years later, seven bishops, amongst whom were prominent Mgr. Guibert and Mgr. Dupanloup, declared that "public authority must be respected, but that it must also be controlled, and that at the present day the great and only means of such control is that public liberty which is exercised by election and representation." And, whilst urging on Catholics to accept and use the political rights offered to them, they add that public liberty is the best guarantee of religious liberty. Now, it is both true and false (as it seems to us) to assert that this is the teaching of the Encyclical. Pope Leo *admits* in practice all that these prelates contended for; but then he first of all states most carefully the true and essential principles by which the admission is coloured and qualified. To say that France and Europe have accepted civil equality and religious liberty is, in the mouths of some people, only a rhetorical way of asserting that these are the principles they hold themselves. To preface the admission of them by such statements as are given in the Encyclical is to protest that they are not an adequate expression of the complete truth, but only working arrangements rendered necessary by a very untoward set of circumstances. And therefore it is quite possible that, if not Lacordaire, or Dupanloup, at least some of their school meant a good deal more than is laid down by Leo XIII. Be this as it may, Mgr. Thomas is quite right when he says that not only the enemies of the Church, but a good many of her friends also, have been in the habit of representing Catholics as "bound by their faith and their conscience to the political forms of the past." Henceforth, he says, no one can without disloyalty address this reproach to the Church; henceforth the name of "liberal Catholic" must disappear.\* We should be very glad if it did. The Holy Father's Letter to the Archbishop of Paris has already proved the grand Catholic discipline of the French people. That Letter and the present Encyclical are doing two things. They are not only schooling the fiery tongues of the chivalrous Legitimists and Monarchists to treat with forbearance those who differ from them politically, but they are shaming the half-hearted

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\* It appears, from the French papers, that Mgr. Freppel, Bishop of Angers, has interdicted in his diocese the reproduction of the discourse of Mgr. Thomas. But this action seems intended, not to censure the eminent prelate's views, but to prevent a hot polemic in the diocese of Angers itself.

"liberalistic" friends of "transaction" and compromise into a more sturdy profession of those sound and sterling ethical views which alone can save States and society from drifting into anarchy.

The situation of Italy is very different from that of France. It is not necessary to say anything of the Austrian or the Bourbon. They are out; the Church, if she got anything from them, had to pay for it dearly enough; and, apart from the question of morality and of law, there is no particular reason to be sorry that they have gone. But the cause of Italian unity is complicated by another and a really serious question. As long as Italy refuses to acknowledge the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, the Church cannot come to terms with her. The temporal principedom of the Popes is on a very different footing from that of any other Sovereign whatever. Ordinary princes may lose their dominions by bad behaviour, by misfortune, by revolution, by abdication, by breaking their compacts with their people, and although the fact that they are dispossessed in one or other of these ways by no means necessarily releases their subjects from their duty, yet still, even in the worst cases of violence, a time may come when the accomplished fact has to be accepted by all parties, because the past cannot possibly be brought back. But the sovereignty of the Popes over some (indeterminate) portion of the earth has been declared again and again to be morally necessary for the good government of the Church. No revolution, no pretended popular rights, no fancied iniquities on the part of the Popes themselves, can take away this right of the Vicar of Christ. Fifteen years have now elapsed since the Sovereign Pontiff was shut up in the Vatican, but the Pope and the Church are as far as ever from accepting the situation, from condoning the violence or from consenting to the eleemosynary offers of the Italian Government. And if it came to fifty or five hundred years instead of fifteen, it would make no difference, though no one doubts but that, in God's good time, a solution of the difficulty, through the triumph of the Church and the Holy See, will somehow or other be found. In the meantime, though neither Italy nor any country is mentioned in the Encyclical by name, yet there is one significant sentence which undoubtedly refers to it. Catholics, says Leo XIII., should take part in the life and work of the State; this is useful and right, *generally speaking*. "Our words," he says, "affect all nations, and therefore we say, *generally*; for it may happen that in this or that particular State there are grave and just reasons for not participating in the business of the Republic, or taking any part in politics." How long the Italian Catholics will have to refrain from voting or acting in the

larger concerns of the Italian political system no one can at present say. In spite of the prognostications of pamphleteers and the oracular utterances of the European press, no one can decide this but the Pope himself. And, as it would seem, even he can never allow Catholics to vote or be voted for in that particular circle which he considers to be necessary to constitute the civil principedom of the Holy See as long as it is in hostile hands. But one prophecy may be made. There is certainly one way out of the dead-lock. To form in Italy a Catholic population, thoroughly imbued with Catholic feeling and living up to Catholic principle—understanding the Church of God, and loving her, acquainted with their religion and its glorious traditions, and filled with a well-grounded contempt for the wild talk of Socialists and Atheists—this is the secret which will loose the complicated knot. And it is precisely this which the present Pope has been quietly doing ever since he ascended the Chair of St. Peter.\*

Turning now to ourselves, it is not uninteresting to endeavour to see what light the present Encyclical throws upon certain questions which have lately been raised amongst us. And, first of all, how far, and in what sense, is it possible to form a "Catholic party"? The answer to this seems clear enough. The only sense in which a Catholic party is possible is in the adoption by Catholics of a strictly Catholic programme. As we have already said, the programme of a Catholic party must include all that the Holy See declares to be essential or expedient, and exclude all that it pronounces to be free or indifferent. In this country, therefore, a Catholic party practically means identical views and united action on such subjects as Rationalism, Naturalism, the rights of the Church, the independence of the Holy See, education, religious facilities for the poor and for soldiers and sailors, and others of a similar nature. To think alike on questions like these is the bounden duty of English-speaking Catholics, and doubly so since the new Encyclical. But they are by no means to confine themselves to thinking. There must be outward and visible union as well. "*Voluntatum concordia—agendorum similitudo.*" This is the watchword of Pope Leo XIII., and it might well be adopted as the motto for a Catholic Union. It is true that the Holy Father, in his present address to the Catholic world, does not lay any stress on unions, societies, guilds, or congresses among Catholics themselves. It would have led him away from his subject, and his subject is sufficiently wide as it is. But his words imply the duty—which he has insisted on with great emphasis many times already—of external Catholic organ-

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\* See our article in April, 1882, on the Letter, "*Etsi Nos*;" article on "*The Pope*."



ization. "*Voluntatum concordia*"—union in views—might possibly be had without meetings or conferences, though it would not be easy; but "*agendorum similitudo*"—a united policy—cannot possibly be carried out unless there is discussion and organization. What the Pope most insists upon, however, in regard to Catholic action, is that Catholics should, first, place their services at the disposal of the public; and, secondly, use the opportunities thus obtained in order to make Catholic principles prevail. No Pope has ever spoken so strongly to the "lazy" Catholics.\* It is their *duty*,† he says, to serve their town and their country. If they hang back, the reins of power will be seized by men who will damage both the country and the cause of religion. But the Holy Father's views as to the policy and behaviour of Catholics in posts of public dignity or power deserve to be seriously weighed. A man, if he is a public servant, must be faithful to the public service. No one is morally justified in accepting an office and then falsifying his explicit or implicit pledges. Yet the Holy Father says that it is the duty of Catholics, as far as possible, to "turn the public system to real and true public good, and to make it their deliberate purpose to infuse into the veins of the State, as salutary sap and blood, the wise and righteous principles of the Catholic religion."‡ This means, among other things, that Catholics are bound to use their influence as public men to neutralize the effect of unchristian or anti-religious laws and institutions in the administration of which they share. There is no doubt that considerable difficulty exists in carrying this into practice. Deceit, lying, and injustice are as wrong in this matter as in any other; and if a Catholic cannot honestly and openly, as a citizen of a constitutional country, carry his convictions into practice, he had better have nothing to say in that particular department of the State or the municipality. But the Holy Father's words will certainly bear reflecting upon, for in these times, when the State is more and more drifting in the direction of Atheism and Secularism, it ought to be remembered that a true Catholic cannot be content with passive resistance to what is wrong, but must, in proportion to his opportunities, take a more or less active part in opposing it.

\* *Ipsi (Catholici) otiosis, facile habenas accepturi sunt ii quorum operibus spem salutis haud sane magnam afferant.*

† *Utile est atque honestum . . . Nullam velle rerum publicarum partem attingere tam esset in vitio quam nihil ad communem utilitatem afferre studii, nihil operis.*

‡ . . . Ut has ipsas rationes, quoad fieri potest, in bonum publicum transferant sincerum atque verum, destinatum animo habentes, sapientiam virtutemque Catholicæ religionis, tanquam saluberrimum succum ac argenteum, in omnes reipublice venas inducere.

The Pope refers to the most significant example of the early Christians. Their character and principles, as he rapidly sketches them, may well be a model for ourselves. "Of exemplary loyalty to rulers, obedient, as far as it was right, to the laws, they shed abroad on all sides the wondrous lustre of their holiness; they were solicitous to help the brethren and to call others to the wisdom of Christ, but were prepared to resign their posts and bravely to die when they could not retain their honour, their magistracies, or their commands without the sacrifice of their virtue." Here are five notes or qualities which a Catholic should be proud to make his own: Loyalty, obedience to the law, the lustre of a holy life, solicitude for fellow-Catholics, and zeal for conversions; and with them all a readiness to give up any public post or dignity which is incompatible with one's Catholic profession. It is the union of men of this stamp, to carry out the teaching of the Holy See and the bishops, and to use such external means as may, without imprudence, help to make this teaching influence municipal and political life, that constitutes a Catholic party.

But, as it seems to us, a Catholic party must necessarily be neither the servant nor the enemy of any political party in the State, in the merely political capacity of that party. On the one hand, it cannot unite itself with such a party or serve it, because then there would necessarily enter into its programme certain watchwords or cries which, whether useful or the opposite, would be outside of what is distinctively Catholic, and which therefore could not bind a Catholic as such. But, next, the Catholic party could not profess hostility to a political party; because here again, if it did so, it would import into its constitution ends and purposes not necessarily Catholic—ends and purposes in regard to which Catholics may differ and yet remain true to their profession. And this leads to the consequence that a Catholic must be left free to ally himself with any political party whose programme is purely political. The simple reason is that, if you forbid him this, you must invoke other than Catholic principles; and this you have no right to do.

We are aware that it will be answered at once that no political party, whether in this country or on the Continent, is purely political; that every party includes among its professed aims certain things which belong to the domain of religion; and that therefore a Catholic in choosing a party commits himself to some view of religion, either for or against. This is so far true that, in order to make the foregoing remarks scientifically accurate, the words "political programme" ought to be substituted for "political party." As parties are actually constituted in France, for instance, or in Germany, a Catholic could hardly unite himself *with them except to carry out a definite political programme*

specially announced and agreed upon. But, on the whole, this is not the case in England. The two, or the three, great English parties—if we consider the Radicals as one—do not, as far as we are aware, require any pledge from their members as to any anti-religious project or doctrine. And although the bias of certain sections of politicians is well known to be in an undesirable direction, yet the main purpose and *raison d'être* of the party, as such, is purely political; so much so that it is quite understood and expected that any man whose religious convictions are offended will at once withdraw from party co-operation in that particular; and no one questions his right to do so. Aristotle has said that you may consider a thing to be that which is principal in it. An English political party is almost wholly political; religious questions are foreign and “accidental” to its being; and therefore it is true to say that a Catholic must be free to join such a party or oppose it as his political feelings lead him.

For the same reason it is necessary to say that the Catholic party, as such, cannot be expected to unite with the party of Mr. Parnell, or of Home Rule under any aspect whatever. Let it be carefully observed that this is not to say that an English Catholic may not be doing what is right and wise if he joins the Nationalist movement, or gives in his adhesion to the National party. The merits of the Home Rule movement are quite outside of this question; and we say nothing except that personally we wish the Irish people may obtain, and speedily obtain, all that the true and enlightened patriotism and statesmanship of their bishops and leaders, as distinct from the vague aspirations of enthusiastic multitudes, may consider to be for their advantage and their glory. There is no blame to any English Catholic if the bond of the Faith, and sympathy with suffering, draw him to the side of the Irish leaders at such a moment as this. No one can doubt that English Catholics, like other Englishmen, are naturally singularly unsympathetic towards the Irish people. They take no trouble to understand them, they feel it difficult to unite with them, and they consequently seldom win their confidence. The grace of the priesthood and the relations of the pastorate have, it is true, gone a long way to counteract nature in the case of many Englishmen, and there is little difference to an Irish flock, after the first few weeks, between a good English priest and a good Irish one. But the want of common feeling which undoubtedly exists between the two races should be resolutely overcome. The things we have in common with the Irish people are more in number, and incomparably weightier in importance, than the things which divide us; and therefore it is pleasant to see that some of their ablest and most eloquent



leaders at the present moment have gone out of their way to hold out a friendly hand and make friendly promises. But to invoke Catholicism, or Catholic principle to force Catholics to join the Irish movement or to walk in its ranks, would be simply futile. It would not be possible to succeed in such an object; and, if it were, it would expose the name of "Catholic" to the hostility of every political opponent, as bound up in what Mgr. Perraud calls a "compromising solidarity" with purposes outside Catholicism altogether.

The instructions of the Popes do not at once make their full significance felt. The successors of St. Peter speak, not to one nation, but to the world, and not to a single generation, but to every age. Their words are, therefore, necessarily comprehensive and exact; they are meant to be the key which will fit a hundred locks—the door by which every variety of the human race will find its way into the fold. They seem sometimes to be a repetition of old and well-worn truth, and at others to fail in direct application to present circumstances. But as time goes on, a Papal Encyclical grows larger. As the eye recedes from it, the intellect grasps it more clearly. Nearly every sentence in this Letter would bear a commentary. Its full meaning will only come out as this century and the next run their course. The pastors of the Church, the great conservative force of the world, will come back to it, as to a mine or a quarry, for treasure and for material. The age will be moulded by it, and the spirit of the time made to go under its yoke. Whatever may be the future of the world in religion or in politics, he is a wise man who makes this solemn pronouncement his text and his oracle. Whatever fails, this word, because it is in substance the word of a Greater One, will never fail.

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# ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE CONSTITUTION OF CHRISTIAN STATES.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis: et  
Episcopis Catholici Orbis Universis Gratiam et Communionem  
cum Apostolica Sede Habentibus.*

LEO. PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

**I**MMORTALE Dei miserentis opus, quod est Ecclesia, quam-  
quam per se et natura sua salutem spectat animorum adipis-  
cendamque in caelis felicitatem, tamen in ipso etiam rerum mortalium  
genere tot ac tantas ultro parit utilitates, ut plures maioresve non  
posset, si in primis et maxime esset ad tuendam huius vitae, quae in  
terris agitur, prosperitatem institutum.—Revera quacumque Ecclesia  
vestigium posuit, continuo rerum faciem immutavit, popularesque  
mores sicut virtutibus antea ignotis, ita et nova urbanitate imbu-  
it: quam quotquot acceperere populi, mansuetudine, aequitate, rerum  
gestarum gloriâ excelluerunt.—Sed vetus tamen illa est atque  
antiqua vituperatio, quod Ecclesiam aiunt esse cum rationibus rei-  
publicae dissidentem, nec quicquam posse ad ea vel comoda vel  
ornamenta conferre, quae suo iure suaeque sponte omnis bene con-  
stitutae civitas appetit. Sub ipsis Ecclesiae primordiis non dissimili  
opinionis iniquitate agitari christianos, et in odium invidiamque  
vocari solitos hac etiam de causa accepinus, quod hostes imperii  
dicerentur: quo tempore malorum culpam, quibus esset percussa  
respublica, vulgo libebat in christianum conferre nomen, cum revera  
ultra scelorum Deus poenas a sontibus iustas exigeret. Eius atro-  
citas culmine non sine causa ingenium armavit stilumque acuit  
Augustini: qui praesertim in *Civitate Dei* virtutem christianae  
reipublicae, qua parte necessitudinem habet cum re publica, tanto in  
hunc collocavit, ut non tam pro christianis sui temporis dixisse  
causam, quam de criminibus falsis perpetuum triumphum egisse vi-  
deatur. Similium tamen querelarum atque insimulationum funesta  
libido non quievit, ac permultis sane placuit civilem vivendi dis-  
ciplinam aliunde petere, quam ex doctrinis, quas Ecclesia catholica  
probat.—Immo postremo hoc tempore *novum*, ut appellant, *ius*, quod  
aiunt esse velut quoddam adulti iam saeculi incrementum, pro-  
greffente libertate partum, valere ac dominari passim coepit.—Sed  
quantumvis multa multi periclitati sunt, constat, repertam nunquam  
esse praestantiorē constituendae temperandaeque civitatis rationem,  
quam quae ab evangelica doctrina sponte efflorescit.—Maximi  
ergo momenti atque admodum muneris Nostro apostolico con-  
sentaneum esse arbitramur, novas de re publica opiniones cum  
doctrina christiana conferre: quo modo erroris dubitationisque  
causas ereptum iri, emergente veritate, confidimus, ita ut videre

quisque facile queat summa illa praecepta vivendi, quae sequi et quibus parere debeat.

Non est magni negotii statuere, qualem sit speciem formamque habitura civitas, gubernante christiana philosophia rem publicam. — Insitum homini natura est, ut in civili societate vivat: is enim necessarium vitae cultum et paratum, itemque ingenii atque animi perfectionem cum in solitudine adipisci non possit, provisum divinitus est, ut ad coniunctionem congregationemque hominum nasceretur cum domesticam, tum etiam civilem, quae suppeditare *vitae sufficientiam perfectam* sola potest. Quoniam vero non potest societas ulla consistere, nisi si aliquis omnibus praesit, efficaci similique movens singulos ad commune propositum impulsione, efficitur, civili hominum communitati necessarium esse auctoritatem, qua regatur: quae, non secus ac societas, a natura propterea a Deo ipso oriatur auctore. — Ex quo illud consequitur, potestatem publicam per se ipsam non esse nisi a Deo. Solus enim Deus est verissimus maximusque rerum dominus, cui subesse et servire omnia, quaecumque sunt, necesse est: ita ut quicumque ius imperandi habent, non id aliunde accipiant, nisi ab illo summo omnium principe Deo. *Non est potestas nisi a Deo.*\* — Ius autem imperii per se non est cum ulla reipublicae forma necessario copulatum: aliam sibi vel aliam assumere recto potest, modo utilitatis bonique communis reapse efficientem. Sed in quolibet genere reipublicae omnino principes debent summum mundi gubernatorem Deum intueri, eumque sibi metipsis in administranda civitate tamquam exemplum legemque proponere. Deus enim, sicut in rebus, quae sunt quaeque cernuntur, causas genuit secundarias, in quibus perspicui aliqua ratione posset natura actioque divina, quaeque ad eum finem, quo haec rerum spectat universitas, conducerent: ita in societate civili voluit esse principatum, quem qui gererent, ii imaginem quandam divinae in genus humanum potestatis divinaeque providentiae referrent. Debet igitur imperium iustum esse, neque herile, sed quasi paternum, quia Dei iustissima in homines potestas est et cum paterna bonitate coniuncta: gerendum vero est ad utilitatem civium, quia qui praesunt ceteris, hac una de causa praesunt, ut civitatis utilitatem tueantur. Neque ullo pacto committendum, unius ut, vel paucorum commodo serviat civilis auctoritas, cum ad commune omnium bonum constituta sit. Quod si, qui praesunt, delabantur in dominatum iniustum, si importunitate superbiae peccaverint, si male populo consuluerint, sciant sibi rationem aliquando Deo esse reddendam, idque tanto severius, quanto vel sanctiore in munere versati sint, vel gradum dignitatis altiore obtinuerint. *Potentes potenter tormenta patientur.*† — Ita sane maiestatem imperii reverentia civium honesta et libens comitabitur. Etenim cum se in animum induxerint, pollere, qui imperant, auctoritate a Deo data, illa quidem officia iusta ac debita esse sentient, dicto audientes esse principibus, eisdemque obsequium ac fidem praestare cum quadam similitudine pietatis, quae liberorum ac erga parentes. *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit.*‡ — Spernere

\* Rom. xiii. 1.

† Sap. vi. 7.

‡ Rom. xiii. 1.



quippe potestatem legitimam, quavis eam in persona esse constiterit, non magis licet, quam divinae voluntati resistere : cui si qui resistent, in interitum ruunt voluntarium. *Qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit ; qui autem resistent, ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt.\** Quapropter obedientiam abicere, et, per viam multitudinis, rem ad seditionem vocare est crimen maiestatis, neque humanae tantum, sed etiam divinae.

Hac ratione constitutam civitatem, perspicuum est, omnino debere plurimis maximisque officiis, quae ipsam iungunt Deo, religione publica satisfacere.—Natura et ratio, quae iubet singulos sancte religioseque Deum colere, quod in eius potestate sumus, et quod ab eo profecti ad eundem reverti debemus, eadem lege adstringit, civilem communitatem. Homines enim communi societate coniuncti nihil sunt minus in Dei potestate, quam singuli : neque minorem, quam singuli, gratiam Deo societas debet, quo auctore conluit, cuius autem conservatur, cuius beneficio innumerabilem bonorum, quibus affuit, copiam accepit. Quapropter sicut nemini licet sua adversus Deum officia negligere, officiumque est maximum amplecti et animo et moribus religionem, nec quam quisque maluerit, sed quam Deus iusserit, quamque certis minimeque dubitandis indicibus unam ex multis veram esse constiterit : eodem modo civitates non possunt, extra seculum, gerere se tanquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturum abicere, aut sciscitare de pluribus generibus indifferenter quod libeat : omninoque debent eum in colendo numine morem usurpare modumque, quo eoli et Deus ipse demonstravit velle. — Sanctum igitur oportet apud principes esse Dei nomen ; ponendumque in praecipuis illorum officiis religionem gratia complecti, benevolentia tueri, auctoritate nutuque eum regere, nec quippiam instituere aut decernere, quod sit eius voluntati contrarium. Id et civibus debent, quibus praesunt. Nati enim susceptique omnes homines sumus ad summum quoddam et altissimum bonorum, quo sunt omnia consilia referenda extra hunc fragilitatem breviterque vitae in caelis collocatum. Quoniam autem hinc pendet hominum undique expleti ac perfecta felicitas, ducere assequi eum, qui commemoratus est, finem tanti interest singularum, ut plaris interesse non possit. Civilem igitur societatem, communi utilitati natam, in tuenda prosperitate reipublicae maxime est sic consulere civibus, ut obtinendo adipiscendoque summo illi atque incommutabili bono quod sponte appetunt, non tanto nihil importet unquam incommodi, sed omnes quascumque possit, opportunitates afferat. Quarum praecipuum est, ut detur opera religioni sancte inviolateque servandae, cuius officia hominem Deo coniungunt.

Vera autem religio quae sit, non difficulter videt qui indicium praevidens asperumque adhibuerit : argumentis enim per multis atque diversis, veritate mirum vaticiniorum, prodigiorum frequentia, clerrima fidei vel per medios hostes ac maxima impedimenta propagatione, martyrum testimonio, aliisque similibus liquet, eam esse

unice veram, quam Iesus Christus et instituit ipsemet et Ecclesiae suae tuendam propagandamque demandavit.

Num unigenitus Dei filius societatem in terris constituit, quae Ecclesia dicitur, cui excelsum divinumque munus in omnes saeculorum aetates continuandum transmisit, quod Ipse a Patre acceperat. *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos.\*—Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.†* Igitur sicut Iesus Christus in terras venit ut homines vitam habeant et abundantius habeant,‡ eodem modo Ecclesia propositum habet, tamquam finem, salutem animarum sempiternam: ob eamque rem talis est natura sua, ut porrigat sese ad totius complexum gentis humanae, nullis nec locorum nec temporum limitibus circumscripta. *Prædicate Evangelium omni creaturae.§*—Tam ingenti hominum multitudini Deus ipse magistratus assignavit, qui cum potestate praeessent: unumque omnium principem, et maximum certissimumque veritatis magistrum esse voluit, cui claves regni caelorum commisit. *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum.||*—*Pasce agnos. . . . pasce oves:¶*—*ego rogaui pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua.\*\**—Haec societas, quam vis ex hominibus constet, non secus ac civilis communitas, tamen propter finem sibi constitutum, atque instrumenta, quibus ad finem contendit, supernaturalis est et spiritalis: atque ideo distinguitur ac differt a societate civili: et, quod plurimum interest, societas est genere et iure perfecta, cum adiumenta ad incolumitatem actionemque suam necessariam, voluntate beneficioque conditoris sui, omnia in se et per se ipsa possideat. Sicut finis, quo tendit Ecclesia, longe nobilissimus est, ita eius potestas est omnium praestantissima, neque imperio civili potest haberi inferior, aut eidem esse ullo modo obnoxia.—Revera Iesus Christus Apostolis suis libera mandata dedit in sacra, adiuncta tum ferendarum legum veri nominis facultate, tum gemina, quae hinc consequitur, iudicandi puniendique potestate. *“Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra: cunctis ergo docete omnes gentes . . . docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis.”††* Et alibi: *“Si non audierit eos, dic Ecclesiae.”‡‡* Atque iterum: *“In promptu habentes ulcisci omnem inobedientiam.”§§* Rursus: *“durius agam secundum potestatem, quam Dominus dedit mihi in aedificationem et non in destructionem.”|||* Itaque dux hominibus esse ad caelestia, non civitas sed Ecclesia debet: eidemque hoc est munus assignatum a Deo, ut de iis, quae religionem attingunt, videat ipsa et statuatur: ut doceat omnes gentes: ut christiani nominis fines, quoad potest, late proferat; brevi, ut rem christianam libere expediteque iudicio suo administret.—Hanc vero auctoritatem in se ipsa absolutam planeque sui iuris, quae ab assentatrice principum philosophia iamdiu oppugnatur, Ecclesia sibi asserere itemque publice exercere numquam desiit, primis omnium pro ea propugnantibus Apostolis, qui cum

\* Ioan. xx. 21.

§ Marc. xvi. 15.

\*\* Luc. xxi. 32.

†† Matth. xviii. 17.

† Matth. xxviii. 20.

|| Matth. xvi. 19.

†† Matth. xxviii. 18-19-20.

§§ I. Cor. x. 6.

‡ Ioan. x. 10.

¶ Ioan. xxi. 16-17.

||| II. Cor. xiii. 10.

disseminare Evangelium a principibus Synagogae prohiberentur, constanter respondebant, *obedire oportet Deo magis, quam hominibus.*\* Eandem sancti Ecclesiae Patres rationum momenti tueri pro opportunitate studuerunt: romanique Pontifices invicta animi constantia adversus oppugnatores vindicare nunquam praetermiserunt. — Quin etiam et opinione et re eandem probarunt ipsi viri principes rerumque publicarum gubernatores, ut qui paciscendo, transigendis negotiis, mittendis vicissimque accipiendis legatis, atque aliorum mutatione officiorum, agere cum Ecclesia tamquam cum suprema potestate legitima consueverunt. — Neque profecto sine singulari providentis Dei consilio factum esse consendum est, ut haec ipsa potestas principatu civili, velut optima libertatis suae tutela, mutaretur.

Itaque Deus humani generis procurationem inter duas potestates partitus est, scilicet ecclesiasticam et civilem, alteram quidem divinis, alteram humanis rebus praepositam. Utraque est in suo genere maxima: habet utraque certos, quibus contineatur, terminos, eosque sui cuiusque naturae causaeque proxima definitos; unde aliquis velut oculus circumscribitur, in quo sua cuiusque actio iure proprio versetur. Sed quia utriusque imperium est in eisdem, cum usuvenire possit, ut res una atque eadem, quamquam aliter atque aliter, sed tamen eadem res ad utriusque ius iudiciumque pertineat, debet providentissimus Deus, a quo sunt ambae constitutae, utriusque itinera recte atque ordine composuisse. *Quae autem sunt a Deo ordinatae sunt.*† Quod si ita esset, funestorum saepe contentionum concertationumque canescere nascerentur; nec raro sollicitus animi, velut in via ancipiti, haerere homo deberet, anxius quid facto opus esset, contraria iuben-  
tibus binis potestatibus, quarum recusare imperium, salvo officio, non potest. Atqui maxime istud repugnat de sapientia cogitare et bonitate Dei, qui vel in rebus physicis, quamquam sunt longe inferioris ordinis, tamen naturales vires causasque invicem concitavit moderata ratione et quodam velut concentu mirabili, ita ut nulla earum impediunt ceteras, cunctaeque simul illuc, quo mundus spectat convenienter aptissimeque conspirent. — Itaque inter utramque potestatem quaedam intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio: quae quidem coniunctioni non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homine copulantur. Qualis autem et quanta ea sit, aliter iudicari non potest, nisi respiciendo, uti diximus, ad utriusque naturam, habendaeque ratione excellentiae et nobilitatis causarum: cum alteri proxime maximeque propositum sit rerum mortalium curare commoda, alteri caelestia ac sempiterna bona compariere. — Quidquid igitur est in rebus humanis quoquo modo sacrum, quidquid ad salutem animorum cultumve Dei pertinet, sive tale sit ut natura sua, sive rursus tale intelligatur propter causam ad quam refertur, id est omne in potestate arbitrioque Ecclesiae: cetera vero, quae civile et politicum genus complectitur, rectum est ac non auctoritati esse subiecta, cum Iesus Christus iusserit, quae

\* Act v. 29.

† Rom. xiii. 1.



Caesaris sint, reddi Caesari, quae Dei, Deo.—Incidunt autem quandoque tempora, cum alius quoque concordiae modus ad tranquillam libertatem valet, nimirum si qui principes rerum publicarum et Pontifex romanus de re aliqua separata in idem placitum consenserint. Quibus Ecclesia temporibus maternae pietatis eximia documenta praebet, cum facilitatis indulgentiaeque tantum adhibere soleat, quantum maxime potest.

Eiusmodi est, quam summam attigimus, civilis hominum societatis christiana temperatio, et haec non temere neque ad libidinem ficta, sed ex maximis ducta verissimisque principiis, quae ipsa naturali ratione confirmantur.

Talis autem conformatio reipublicae nihil habet, quod possit aut minus videri dignum amplitudine principum, aut parum decorum: tantumque abest, ut iura maiestatis imminuat, ut potius stabiliora atque augustiora faciat. Immo, si altius consideretur, habet illa conformatio perfectionem quamdam magnam, qua carent ceteri rerum publicarum modi: ex eaque fructus essent sane excellentes et varii consecuturi, si modo suum partes singulae gradum tenerent, atque illud integre efficerent, cui unaquaeque praeposita est, officium et munus.—Revera in ea, quam ante diximus, constitutione reipublicae, sunt quidem divina atque humana convenienti ordine partita: incolumia civium iura, eademque divinarum, naturalium, humanarumque legum patrocinio defensa: officiorum singulorum cum sapienter constituta descriptio, tum opportune sancita custodia. Singuli homines in hoc ad sempiternam illam civitatem dubio laboriosoque curriculo sibi sciunt praesto esse, quos tuto sequantur ad ingrediendum duces, ad perveniendum adiutores: pariterque intelligunt, sibi alios esse ad securitatem, ad fortunas, ad commoda cetera, quibus communis haec vita constat, vel parienda vel conservanda datos.—Societas domestica eam, quam par est, firmitudinem adipiscitur ex unius atque individui sanctitate coniugii: iura officiaque inter coniuges sapienti iustitia et aequitate reguntur: debitum conservatur mulieri decus: auctoritas viri ad exemplum est auctoritatis Dei conformata: temperata patria potestas convenienter dignitati uxoris prolisque: denique liberorum tuitioni, commodis, institutioni optime consulitur.—In genere rerum politico et civili, leges spectant commune bonum, neque voluntate iudicioque fallaci multitudinis, sed veritate iustitiaque diriguntur: auctoritas principum sanctitudinem quamdam induit humana maiorem, contineturque ne declinet a iustitia, neu modum in imperando transiliat: obedientia civium habet honestatem dignitatemque comitem, quia non est hominis ad hominem servitus, sed obtemperatio voluntati Dei, regnum per homines exercentis. Quo cognito ac persuaso, omnino ad iustitiam pertinere illa intelliguntur, vereri maiestatem principum, subesse constanter et fideliter potestati publicae, nihil seditiose facere, sanctam servare disciplinam civitatis.—Similiter ponitur in officiis caritas mutua, benignitas, liberalitas: non distrulitur in contrarias partes, pugnantibus inter se praeceptis, civis *idem* et christianus: denique amplissima bona, quibus mortalem

quoque hominum vitam christiana religio sua sponte explet, communitati societatique civili omnia quaeruntur: ita ut illud appareat verissime dictum, "pendet a religione, qua Deus colitur, rei publicae status: multaue inter hunc et illam cognatio et familiaritas intercedit." \*—Eorum vim honorum mirabiliter, uti solet, persecutus est Augustinus pluribus locis, maxime vero ubi Ecclesiam catholicam appellat his verbis: "Tu pueriliter pueros, fortiter iuvenes, quiete senes, prout cuiusque non corporis tantum, sed et animi aetas est, exerces ac doces. Tu feminas viris suis non ad explendam libidinem, sed ad propagandum prolem, et ad rei familiaris societatem, casta et fidei obedientia subicis. Tu viros coniugibus, non ad illudendum inbecilliorum sexum, sed sinceri amoris legibus praeficis. Tu parentibus filios libera quadam servitute subiungis, parentes filiis pia dominatione praeponis. . . . Tu cives civibus, tu gentes gentibus, et prorsus homines primorum parentum recordatione, non societate tantum, sed quadam etiam fraternitate coniungis. Doces reges prospicere populis, mones populos se subdere regibus. Quibus honor debeatur, quibus affectus, quibus reverentia, quibus timor, quibus consolatio, quibus admonitio, quibus cohortatio, quibus disciplina, quibus oburgatio, quibus supplicium, sedulo doces; ostendens quemadmodum et non omnibus omnia, et omnibus caritas, et nulli debentur iniuria." †—Idemque alio loco male sapientes reprehendens ponticus philosophos: "Qui doctrinam Christi adversam dicunt esse reipublicae, dent exercitum talem, quales doctrina Christi esse amicos iussit, dent tales provinciales, tales maritos, tales coniuges, tales parentes, tales filios, tales dominos, tales servos, tales reges, tales iudices, tales denique debitorum ipsius fisci redditores et exactores, quales esse praecipit doctrina christiana, et audeant eam dicere adversam esse reipublicae, immo vero non dubitent eam confiteri magnam, si obtemperetur, salutem esse reipublicae." ‡

Fuit aliquando tempus, cum evangelica philosophia gubernaret civitates: quo tempore christianae sapientiae vis illa et divina virtus in leges, instituta, mores populorum, in omnes reipublicae ordines rationesque penetraverat: cum religio per Iesum Christum instituta a ea, quo nequam erat, dignitatis gradu firmiter collocata, gratia principum legitimaeque magistratuum tutelâ ubique floreret: cum sacerdotum atque imperium concordia et amica officiorum vicissitudo auspiciato coniungeret. Eoque modo composita civitas fructus sua omni opinione maiores, quorum viget memoria et vigeat innumerationibus rerum gestarum consignata monumentis, quae nulla antiquiorum arte corrumpi aut obscurari possunt.—Quod Europa christiana barbaras gentes edomuit, easque a feritate ad mansuetudinem, a superstitione ad veritatem traduxit: quod Maomethanorum invasions victrix propulsavit: quod civilis cultus principatum

\* See Imp. ad Cyrillum Alexand. et Episcopos metrop.—Cfr. Labbeum Collect. Cap. T. 111.

† De civitate Dei, cath., cap. xxx n. 63.

‡ Epist. cxxxviii. (ab 5) ad Marcellinum, cap. ii. n. 15.

retinuit, et ad omne decus humanitatis ducem se magistramque praebere ceteris consuevit: quod germanam libertatem eamque multiplicem gratificata populis est: quod complura ad miseriarum solatium sapientissime instituit, sine controversia magnam debet gratiam religioni, quam ad tantas res suscipiendas habuit auspicem, ad perficiendas adiutricem.—Mansissent profecto eadem bona, si utriusque potestatis concordia mansisset: maioraque expectari iure poterant, si auctoritati, si magisterio, si consiliis Ecclesiae maiore esset cum fide perseverantique obtemperatum. Illud enim perpetuae legis instar habendum est, quod Ivo Carnutensis ad Paschalem 11 Pontificem maximum perscripsit, “cum regnum et sacerdotium inter se conveniunt, bene regitur mundus, floret et fructificat Ecclesia. Cum vero inter se discordant, non tantum parvae res non crescunt, sed etiam magnae res miserabiliter dilabuntur.”\*

Sed perniciosa illa ac deploranda rerum novarum studia, quae saeculo XVI excitata sunt, cum primum religionem christianam miscuissent, mox naturali quodam itinere ad philosophiam, a philosophia ad omnes civilis communitatis ordines pervenerunt. Ex hoc velut fonte repetenda illa recentiora effrenatae libertatis capita, nimirum in maximis perturbationibus superiore saeculo excogitata in medioque proposita, periude ac principia et fundamenta *novi iuris*, quod et fuit antea ignotum, et a iure non solum christiano, sed etiam naturali plus una ex parte discrepat.—Eorum principiorum illud est maximum, omnes homines, quemadmodum genere naturaeque similes intelliguntur, ita reapse esse in actione vitae inter se pares: unumquemque ita esse sui iuris, ut nullo modo sit alterius auctoritati obnoxius: cogitare de re qualibet quae velit, agere quod lubeat, libere posse: imperandi aliis ius esse in nemine. Illis informata disciplinis societate, principatus non est nisi populi voluntas, qui, ut in sui ipsius unice est potestate, ita sibi metipsi solus imperat: deligit autem, quibus se committat, ita tamen ut imperii non tam ius, quam munus in eos transferat, idque suo nomine exercendum. In silentio incet dominatio divina, non secus ac vel Deus aut nullus esset, aut humani generis societatem nihil curaret; vel homines sive singuli sive sociati nihil Deo deberent, vel principatus cogitari posset ullus, cuius non in Deo ipso causa et vis et auctoritas tota resideat. Quo modo, ut perspicitur, est respublica nihil aliud nisi magistra et gubernatrix sui multitudo: cumque populus omnium iurium omnisque potestatis fontem in se ipse continere dicatur, consequens erit, ut nulla ratione officii obligatam Deo se civitas putet; ut religionem publice profiteatur nullam; nec debeat ex pluribus quae vera sola sit, quaerere, nec unam quamdam ceteris antepone, nec uni maxime favere, sed singulis generibus aequabilitatem iuris tribuere ad eum finem, dum disciplina reipublicae ne quid ab illis detrimenti capiat. Consentaneum erit, iudicio singulorum permittere omnem de religione quaestionem; licere cuique aut sequi quam ipse malit, aut omnino nullam, si nullam probet. Hinc profecto illa

\* Ep. cccxxviii.



nascuntur; exlex uniuscuiusque conscientiae iudicium; liberrimae de Deo colendo, de non colendo, sententiae; infinita tum cogitandi, tum cogitata publicandi licentia.

Hae autem positis, quae maxime probantur hoc tempore, fundamentis reipublicae, facile apparet, quem in locum quumque iniquum compellatur Ecclesia.—Nam ubi cum eiusmodi doctrinis actio rerum consentiat, nomini catholico par cum societatibus ab eo alienis vel etiam interior locus in civitate tribuitur: legum ecclesiasticarum nulla habetur ratio: Ecclesia, quae iussu mandatoque Iesu Christi docere omnes gentes debet, publicam populi institutionem iubetur nihil attingere.—De ipsis rebus, quae sunt mixti iuris, per se statuant gubernatores rei civilis arbitratu suo, in eoque genere sanctissimas Ecclesiae leges superbe contemnunt. Quare ad iurisdictionem suam trahunt matrimonia christianorum, decernendo etiam de maritali vinculo, de unitate, de stabilitate coniugii: movent possessiones clericorum, quod res suas Ecclesiam tenere posse negant. Ad summam, sic agunt cum Ecclesia, ut societatis perfectae genere et iuribus opinione detractis, plane similem habeant ceterarum communitatum, quas respublica continet: ob eamque rem si quid illa iuris, si quid possidet facultatis ad agendum legitimae, possidere dicitur concessu beneficentiae principum civitatis.—Si qua vero in republica suum Ecclesiam ius, ipsis civilibus legibus probantibus, teneat, publiceque inter utramque potestatem puctio aliqua facta sit, principio clamant, dissenti Ecclesiae rationes a reipublicae rationibus oportere; ulque ei consilio, ut facere contra interpositam fidem impune liceat, omninoque rerum habere, remotis impedimentis, arbitrium.—Id vero cum potestati terre Ecclesia non possit, neque enim potest officia deserere augustissima et maxima, omninoque postulet, ut obligata sibi fides allegre religioseque solvatur, saepe sacram inter ac civilem potestatem collisiones nascuntur, quarum ille ferme est exitus, alteram, ut quae minus est opibus humanis valida, alteri ut validiori succum-

la Ecclesiam, in hoc rerum publicarum statu, qui nunc a plerisque constituitur, mos et voluntas est, aut prorsus de medio pellere, aut factam adstrictamque imperio tenere. Quae publice aguntur, eo magis magnam partem aguntur. Leges, administratio civitatum, cetera religionis adolescentium institutio, spoliatio exedimque sanctorum religiosorum, eversio principatus civilis Pontificum romanorum, haec spectant omnia, incidere nervos institutorum christianorum, Ecclesiaeque catholicae et libertatem in angustum deducere, et iura sua comminuer.

Eiusmodi de regenda civitate sententias ipsa naturalis ratio con-  
vincit, a veritate dissidere plurimum.—Quidquid enim potestatis  
secum est, a Deo tanquam maximo augustissimoque fonte proficisci,  
ipsa natura testatur. Imperium autem popolare, quod, nullo ad  
hunc respectu, in multitudine inesse naturā dicitur, si procelare ad  
supplantandum valet blandimenta et flammis multarum cupiditatum,  
non quidem nititur ratione probabili, neque satis habere virum  
potest ad securitatem publicam quietamque ordinis constantiam.

Revera his doctrinis res inclinavere usque eo; ut haec a pluribus tamquam lex in civili prudentia sanciantur, seditiones posse iure confuari. Valet enim opinio, nihilo principes pluris esse, quam delectos quosdam, qui voluntatem popularem exequantur: ex quo fit, quod necesse est, ut omnia sint pariter cum populi arbitrio mutabilia, et timor aliquis turbarum semper impendat.

De religione autem putare, nihil inter formas dispares et contrarias interesse, hunc plane habet exitum, nolle ullam probare iudicio, nolle usu. Atqui istud ab atheismo, si nomine aliquid differt, re nihil differt. Quibus enim Deum esse persuasum est, ii, modo constare sibi nec esse perabsurdi velint, necessario intelligunt, usitatas in cultu divino rationes, quarum tanta est differentia maximisque etiam de rebus dissimilitudo et pugna, aequae probabiles, aequae bonas, aequae Deo acceptas esse omnes non posse.

Sic illa quidlibet sentiendi litterarumque formis quidlibet exprimendi facultas, omni moderatione posthabita, non quoddam est propria vi sua bonum, quo societas humana iure laetetur: sed multorum malorum fons et origo.—Libertas, ut quae virtus est hominem perficiens, debet in eo quod verum sit, quodque bonum, versari: boni autem verique ratio mutari ad hominis arbitrium non potest, sed manet semper eadem, neque minus est, quam ipsa rerum natura, incommutabilis. Si mens adsentiat opinionibus falsis, si malum voluntas adsumat et ad id se applicet, perfectionem sui neutra consequitur, sed excidunt dignitate naturali et in corruptelam ambae delabuntur. Quaecumque sunt igitur virtuti veritatisque contraria, ea in luce atque in oculis hominum ponere non est aequum: gratia tutelae legum defendere, multo minus. Sola bene acta vita via est in caelum, quo tendimus universi: ob eamque rem aberrat civitas a regula et praescriptione naturae, si licentiam opinionum praveque factorum in tantum lascivire sinat, ut impune liceat mentes a veritate, animos a virtute deducere.—Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus ipso constituit, ab actione vitae excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error. Bene morata civitas esse, sublata religione, non potest: iamque plus fortasse, quam oporteret, est cognitum, qualis in se sit et quorsum pertineat illa de vita et moribus philosophia, quam *civilem* nominant. Vera est magistra virtutis et custos morum Ecclesia Christi: ea est, quae incolumia tuetur principia, unde officia ducuntur, propositisque causis ad honeste vivendum efficacissimis, iubet non solum fugere prave facta, sed regere motus animi rationi contrarios etiam sine effectu.—Ecclesiam vero in suorum officiorum munere potestati civili velle esse subiectam, magna quidem iniuria, magna temeritas est. Hoc facto perturbatur ordo, quia quae naturalia sunt praeponiuntur iis, quae sunt supra naturam: tollitur aut certe magnopere minuitur frequentia honorum, quibus, si nulla re impediretur, communem vitam Ecclesia compleret: praetereaque via ad inimicitias munitur et certamina, quae quantum utrique republicae perniciem afferunt, nimis saepe eventus demonstravit.

Huiusmodi doctrinas, quae nec humanae rationi probantur, et

plurimum habent in civilem disciplinam momenti, romani Pontifices decessores Nostri, cum probe intelligerent quid a se postuletet apostolicum munus, impune abire nequaquam passi sunt. Sic Gregorius XVI per Encyclicas litteras hoc initio *Mirari vos* die xv Augusti anno MDCCCXXXII, magna sententiarum gravitate ea perculit, quae intra praedicantur, in cultu divino nullum adhibere delectum oportere: integrum singulis esse, quod malint, de religione iudicare: eorum cuique suam esse conscientiam iudicem: praeterea edere quae quisque senserit, itemque res moliri novas in civitate licere. De rationibus rei sacrae rei civilis distrahendis sic idem Pontifex: "Neque laetiora et religioni et principatui ominari possemus ex eorum votis, qui Ecclesiam a regno separari, mutuaque imperii cum sacerdotio concordiam abrupti discipiunt. Constat quippe, potius ab impudentissimae libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quam semper rei et sacrae et civili fausta extitit et salutaris."—Non absimili modo Pius IX, ut sese opportunitas dedit, ex opinionibus suis, quae maxime videre coepissent, plures notavit, easdemque postea in unum cogi iussit, ut scilicet in tanta errorum colluvione haberet catholici homines, quod sine offensione sequerentur.\*

Ex his autem Pontificum praescriptis illa omnino intelligi necesse est, ortum publicae potestatis a Deo ipso, non a multitudine repeti oportere: seditionum licentiam cum ratione pugnare: officia religionis nullo loco numerare, vel uno modo esse in disparibus generibus affectos, nefas esse privatis hominibus, nefas civitatibus: moderationem sentiendi sensusque palam laetandi potestatem non esse ad civium iuribus neque in rebus gratia patrocinioque dignis ulla ratione ponendam.—Similiter intelligi debet, Ecclesiam societatem esse, non minus quam ipsam civitatem, genere et iure perfectam: unde debere, qui summam imperii teneant, committere ut sibi servire ut subesset Ecclesiam cogant, aut minus esse sinant ad suas res agendas liberam, aut quicquam de ceteris iuribus detrahant, quae in quam a Iesu Christo collata sunt.—In negotiis autem mixti iuris, maxime esse secundum naturam itemque secundum Dei consilia non actionem alterius potestatis ab altera, multoque minus contentionem, sed plane concordiam, eamque cum causis proximis congruentem, quae causae utramque societatem genuerunt.

Haec quidem sunt, quae de constituendis temperandisque civitatibus ab Ecclesia catholica praecipuntur.—Quibus tamen dictis de-

\* Eadem nonnullas indicare sufficiat.

Prop. XIX.—Ecclesia non est vera perfectaue societas plano libera, nec pollet eo potestate et constantibus iuribus sibi a divino suo Fundatore collatis, sed civilis potestate est dotata quae sunt Ecclesiae iura ac limites, intra quos eadem iura exercere possit.

Prop. XXIX.—Reipublicae status, utpote omnium iurium origo et fons, iure quodammodo multis circumscripto limitibus.

Prop. IV.—Ecclesia a Stato. Statusque ab Ecclesia adiungendus est.

Prop. LXII.—... forum est, civem cuiusque cultus libertatem, itemque potestatem omnibus attributam quodlibet opiniones cogitationesque suas, potestatemque tamen, conducere ad popularium mores animosque facilius dirigendos, ac indifferentiam potestatem propagandam.



cretisque si recte diiudicari velit, nulla per se reprehenditur ex variis reipublicae formis, ut quae nihil habent, quod doctrinae catholicae repugnet, eademque possunt, si sapienter adhibeantur et iuste, in optimo statu tueri civitatem.—Immo neque illud per se reprehenditur, partem plus minus esse populum rei publicae: quod ipsum certis in temporibus certisque legibus potest non solum ad utilitatem, sed etiam ad officium pertinere civium.—Insuper neque causa iusta nascitur, cur Ecclesiam quisquam criminetur, aut esse in lenitate facilitateque plus aequo restrictam, aut ei, quae germana et legitima sit, libertati inimicam.—Revera si divini cultus varia genera eodem iure esse, quo veram religionem, Ecclesia indicat non licere, non ideo tamen eos damnat rerum publicarum moderatores, qui, magni alicuius aut adipiscendi boni, aut prohibendi causae mali, moribus atque usu patienter ferunt, ut ea habeant singula in civitate locum.—Atque illud quoque magnopere cavere Ecclesia solet ut ad amplexandam fidem catholicam nemo invitatus cogatur, quia, quod sapienter Augustinus monet, *credere nemo potest homo nisi volens*.\*

Simili ratione nec potest Ecclesia libertatem probare eam, quae fastidium gignat sanctissimarum Dei legum, debitamque potestati legitimae obedientiam exuat. Est enim licentia verius, quam libertas; rectissimeque ab Augustino *libertas perditionis*,† a Petro Apostolo *velamen malitiae*‡ appellatur: immo, cum sit praeter rationem, vera servitus est: *qui, enim, facit peccatum, servus est peccati*. § Contra illa germana est atque expetenda libertas, quae si privatim spectetur, erroribus et cupiditatibus, teterrimis dominis, hominem servire non sinit: si publice, civibus sapienter praest, facultatem augendorum commodorum large ministrat: remque publicam ab alieno arbitrio defendit.—Atqui honestam hanc et homine dignam libertatem, Ecclesia probat omnium maxime, eamque ut tueretur in populis firmam atque integram, eniti et contendere nunquam destitit.—Revera quae res in civitate plurimum ad communem salutem possunt: quae sunt contra licentiam principum populo male consulentium utiliter institutae; quae summam reipublicam vetant in municipalem, vel domesticam rem importunius invadere: quae valent ad decus, ad personam hominis, ad aequabilitatem iuris in singulis civibus conservandam, earum rerum omnium Ecclesiam catholicam vel inventricem, vel auspicem, vel custodem semper fuisse, superiorum aetatum monumenta testantur. Sibi igitur perpetuo consentiens, si ex altera parte libertatem respuat immodicam, quae et privatis et populis in licentiam vel in servitutem cadit, ex altera volens et libens amplectitur res meliores, quas dies attulerat, si vere prosperitatem contineant huius vitae, quae quoddam est velut stadium ad alteram eamque perpetuo mansuram. Ergo quod inquit, Ecclesiam recentiori civitatum invidere disciplinae, et quaecumque horum temporum ingenium peperit, omnia promiscue repudiare, inanis est et ieiuna calumnia. Insaniam quidem repudiat opinionum: improbat nefaria seditionum

\* Tract. xxvi. in Ioan., n. 2.

‡ I. Petr. ii. 16.

† Epist. cv. ad donatistas cap. ii. n. 9.

§ Ioan. viii. 34.

studia, illumque nominatim habitum animorum, in quo initia perspicuntur voluntarii discessus a Deo: sed quia omne, quod verum est, a Deo proficisci necesse est, quidquid, indagando, veri attingatur, agnoscit Ecclesia velut quoddam divinae mentis vestigium. Cumque nihil sit in rerum natura veri, quod doctrinis divinitus traditis fidem abroget, multa quae adrogent, omnisque possit inventio veri ad Deum ipsum vel cognoscendum vel laudandum impellere, ideoque quicquid accedat ad scientiarum fines proferendos, gaudente et libente Ecclesia semper accedet: eademque studiose, ut solet, sicut alias disciplinas, ita illas etiam forebit ac provehet, quae positae sunt in explicatione naturae. Quibus in studiis, non adversatur Ecclesia si quid mens repererit novi: non repugnat quin plura quaerantur ad decus commoditatemque vitae: immo inertiae desidiaque minime, magnopere vult ut hominum ingenia uberes ferant exercitatione et cultura fructus: incitamenta praebet ad omne genus actum atque operum: omniaque harum rerum studia ad honestatem salutemque virtute sua dirigens, impedire nititur, quominus a Deo bonisque caelestibus sua hominem intelligentia atque industria deflectat.

Sed haec, tametsi plena rationis et consilii, minus probantur hoc tempore, cum civitates non modo recusant sese ad christianae sapientiae referre formam, sed etiam videntur quotidie longius ab ea velle discedere.—Nihilominus quia in lucem prolata veritas solet sua fonte late fluere, hominumque mentes sensim pervadere, ideoque Nos conscientia maximi sanctissimiq[ue] officii, hoc est Apostolica, qua fungimur ad gentes universas, legatione permoti, ea quae vera sunt, laere, ut debemus, eloquimur: non quod non perspectam habeamus rationem temporum, aut repudianda aetatis nostrae aemula atque utilia incrementa putemus, sed quod rerum publicarum tutiora ab offensionibus itinera ac firmitiora fundamenta vellemus: atque mediis populorum germana libertate; in hominibus enim mater et custos optimi libertatis veritas est: *veritas liberabit vos.*\*

Itaque in tam difficili rerum cursu, catholici homines, si Nos, ut speret, audierint, facile videbunt quae sua cuiusque sint tam in rebus, quam in *factis* officia.—Et opinando quidem, quaecumque Pontifices romani tradiderint vel tradituri sunt, singula necesse est et tenere alicubi stabili comprehensa, et palam, quoties res postularet, profiteri. Ac nominatim de iis, quas *libertates* vocant novissimo tempore quaesitas, oportet Apostolicae Sedis stare iudicio, et quod ipsa senserit, idem sentire singulos. Cavendum, ne quem fallat honesta illarum species: cogitandumque quibus ortae initis, et quibus passim sustententur atque aluntur studiis. Satis iam est experiendo cognitum, quarum illae rerum effectrices sint in civitate: eas quippe passim genere fructus, quorum probos viros et sapientes ore poenitent.—Si talis alicubi aut reapse sit, aut fingatur cogitatione civitas, quae christianum nomen insectetur proterve et tyrannice, cum eaque conferatur genus id reipublicae recens, de quo

loquimur, poterit hoc videri tolerabilius. Principia tamen, quibus nititur, sunt profecto eiusmodi, sicut ante diximus, ut per se ipsa probari nemini debeant.

Potest tamen aut in privatis domesticisque rebus, aut in publicis actio versari.—Privatim quidem primum officium est, praeceptis evangelicis diligentissimo conformare vitam et mores, nec recusare si quid christiana virtus exigit ad patiendum tolerandumque paulo difficilius. Debent praeterea singuli Ecclesiam sic diligere, ut communem matrem: eiusque et servare obedienter leges, et honori servire, et iura salva velle: conarique, ut ab iis, in quos quisque aliquid auctoritate potest, pari pietate colatur atque ametur.—Illud etiam publicae salutis interest, ad rerum urbanarum administrationem conferre sapienter operam: in eaque studere maxime et efficere, ut adolescentibus ad religionem, ad probos mores informandis ea ratione, qua aequum est christianis, publice consultum sit: quibus ex rebus magnopere pendet singularum salus civitatum.—Item catholicorum hominum operam ex hoc tanquam angustiore campo longius excurrere, ipsamque summam rempublicam complecti, generatim utile est atque honestum. *Generatim* eo dicimus, quia haec praecepta Nostra gentes universas attingunt. Ceterum potest alicubi accidere, ut, maximis iustissimisque de causis, rempublicam capessere, in muneribusque politicis versari, nequaquam expediat. Sed generatim, ut diximus, nullam velle rerum publicarum partem attingere tam esset in vitio, quam nihil ad communem utilitatem afferre studii, nihil operae: eo vel magis quod catholici homines ipsius, quam profitentur, admonitione doctrinae, ad rem integre et ex fide gerendam impelluntur. Contra, ipsis otiosis, facile habenas accepturi sunt ii, quorum opiniones spem salutis haud sane magnum afferant. Idque esset etiam cum perniciem coniunctum christiani nominis: propterea quod plurimum possent qui male essent in Ecclesiam animati; minimum, qui bene. Quamobrem perspicuum est, ad rempublicam adeundi causam esse iustam catholicis: non enim adeunt, neque adire debent ob eam causam, ut probent quod est hoc tempore in rerum publicarum rationibus non honestum; sed ut has ipsas rationes, quoad fieri potest, in bonum publicum transferant sincerum atque verum, destinatum animo habentes, sapientiam virtutemque catholicae religionis, tamquam saluberrimum succum ac sanguinem, in omnes reipublicae venas inducere.—Haud aliter actum in primis Ecclesiae aetatibus. Mores enim et studia ethnicorum quam longissime a studiis abhorrebant moribusque evangelicis: christianos tamen cernere erat in media superstitione incorruptos semperque sui similes animose, quaquamque daretur aditus, inferre sese. Fideles in exemplum principibus, obedientissime, quoad fas esset, imperio legum, fundebant mirificum splendorem sanctitatis usquequaque; prodesse studebant fratribus, vocare ceteros ad sapientiam Christi, cedere tamen loco atque citori fortiter parati, si honores, si magistratus, si imperia retinere, incolui virtute, nequivissent. Qua ratione celeriter instituta christiana non modo in privatas domos, sed in castra, in curiam, in ipsam regiam



invexere. "Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, muros, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum:"\* ita ut fides christiana, cum Evangelium publice profiteri lege licuit, non in cunis vagiens, sed adulta et iam satis firma in magna civitatum parte apparuerit.

Iamvero his temporibus consentaneum est, haec maiorum exempla renovari. — Catholicos quidem, quotquot digni sunt eo nomine, primum omnium necesse est amantissimos Ecclesiae filios et esse et videri velle: quae res nequeant cum hac laude consistere, eas sine cunctatione respuere: institutis populorum, quantum honeste fieri potest, ad veritatis iustitiaeque patrocinium uti: elaborare, ut constitutum naturae Deique lege modum libertas agendi ne transiliat: dare operam ut ad eam, quam diximus, christianam similitudinem et formam omnis respublica traducatur. — Harum rerum adipiscendarum ratio constitui uno certoque modo haud commode potest, cum debeat singulis locis temporibusque, quae sunt multum inter se disparia, convenire. Nihilominus conservanda in primis est voluntatum concordia, quaerendaque agendorum similitudo. Atque optime atrumque impetrabitur, si praescripta Sedis Apostolicae legem vitae singuli patent, atque Episcopis obtemperent, quos *Spiritus sanctus docet regere Ecclesiam Dei*.† Defensio quidem catholici nominis necessario postulat ut in profundis doctrinis, quae ab Ecclesia traduntur, una sit omnium sententia, et summa constantia, et hac ex parte cavendum ne quis opinionibus falsis aut ullo modo conniveat, aut melius resistat, quam veritas patiatur. De iis quae sunt opinabilia, habeat cum moderatione studioque indagandae veritatis disputare, procul tamen suspicionibus iniuriis, criminationibusque mutus. — Quam ad rem, ne animorum coniunctio criminandi temeritate dirimatur, sic intelligant universi: integritatem professionis catholicae consistere nequaquam posse cum opinionibus ad *naturalismum* vel *atheismum* necedentibus, quarum summa est tollere funditus inestata christiana, hominisque stabilire in societate principatum, posthabito Deo. Pariter non licere aliam officii formam privatim sequi, aliam publice, ita scilicet ut Ecclesiae auctoritas in vita privata observetur, in publica respuatur. Hoc enim esset honesta et turpia coniungere, hominemque secum facere digladiantem, cum contra debeat sibi semper constare, neque ulla in re ullove in genere vitae civitate christiana deficere. — Verum si quaeratur de rationibus mere politicis, de optimo genere reipublicae de ordinandis alia vel alia ratione civitatibus, utique de his rebus potest honesta esse dissensio. Quorum igitur cognita ceteroqui pietas est, animusque decreta Sedis Apostolicae obedienter accipere paratus, iis vitio verti dissentaneam de rebus, quas diximus, sententiam, iustitia non patitur: multoquo magis mater iniuria, si in crimen violatae suspectueve fidei catholicae, quod non semel factum dolemus, adducantur. — Omninoque istud praesepit teneant qui cogitationes suas solent mandare litteris, utrumqueque ephemeridum auctores. In hac quidem de rebus maxime

contentione nihil est intestinis concertationibus, vel partium studiis relinquendum loci, sed conspirantibus animis studiisque id debent universi contendere, quod est commune omnium propositum, religionem remque publicam conservare. Si quid igitur dissidiorum antea fuit, oportet voluntaria quadam oblivione contere: si quid temere, si quid iniuria actum, ad quoscumque demum ea culpa pertineat, compensandum est caritate mutua, et praecipuo quodam omnium in Apostolicam Sedem obsequio redimendum.—Hac via duas res praeclarissimas catholici consecuturi sunt, alteram, ut adiutores sese impertiant Ecclesiae in conservanda propagandaque sapientia christiana: alteram ut beneficio maximo afficiant societatem civilem, cuius, malarum doctrinarum cupiditatumque caussa, magnopere periclitatur salus.

Haec quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, habuimus, quae universis catholici orbis gentibus traderemus de civitatum constitutione christiana, officiisque civium singulorum.

Ceterum implorare summis precibus oportet caeleste praesidium, orandusque Deus, ut haec, quae ad ipsius gloriam communemque humani generis salutem cupimus et conamur, optatos ad exitus idem Ipse perducatur, cuius est illustrare hominum mentes, permovere voluntates. Divinorum autem beneficiorum auspicem, et paternae benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque universo vestrae fidei vigilantiaeque commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 1 Nov. an. MDCCCLXXXV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno octavo.

LEO PP. XIII.

# LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE BISHOPS OF ENGLAND.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Henrico Eduardo Titulo SS. Andreae et Gregorii in Monte Coelio S.R.E. Presbytero Cardinali Manning, Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi, ceterisque Angliae Episcopis.*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

SPECTATA fides et singularis in hanc Sedem Apostolicam pietas vestra mirabiliter elucet in communibus litteris quas a Vobis penitus accepimus. Quae quidem multo gratiores ob hanc causam Nobis accedunt, quod praeclare confirmant id quod probe cognovimus, magnam partem vigiliarum cogitationumque vestrarum in cernendi de qua nullae propemodum curae possunt esse tantae, quin impotes pro ea suscipiendas putemus. Christianam intelligimus adolescentulorum vestrorum institutionem, de qua nuper, collatis consiliis, nonnulla decrevistis utiliter, et ad Nos referendum curavistis.

La vero Nobis est per jucunda cogitatio in opere tanti momenti, Vos, Venerabiles Patres, non elaborare solos. Neque enim suavis fore quantum in hac parte universo Presbyterorum vestrorum ordini debetur: qui scholas pueris aperiendas caritate summa et invicto constantibus animo curaverunt: iidemque, docendi munere accepto, in fingenda ad Christianos mores et primordia litterarum sententiae ponunt operum suam industria et assiduitate mirabili. Quam ob rem, quantum vox Nostra potest vel incitamenti addere, ut debita laudis tribuere, pergant Clerici vestri bene de pueritia curari, ne fruantur commendatione benevolentiaeque Nostrae singulari, longe majora a Domino Deo, cujus causa desunt, expectantes.

Neque minore commendatione dignam judicamus Catholicorum in eorum genere beneficentiam. Siquidem novimus solere ipsos, nequid in scholarum tuitionem opus est, alacri voluntate expellere: neque id eos facere solum, quibus major est census, sed etiam atque inopes; quos quidem pulchrum et permagnum est saepe in ipsa egestate nancisci quod in puerilem institutionem libenter conferant.

Perfecto his temporibus ac moribus, cum ingenuae puerorum mentes tot pericula undique impenderent tamque varia, vix quicquam cogitari potest opportunius, quam ut institutio litteraria cum germana fidei morumque doctrina conjungatur. Idecirco scholas quosdam appellat *liberas*, in Gallia, in Belgio, in America, in



colonii Imperii Britannici privatorum opera et liberalitate constitutas, probari Nobis vehementer non semel diximus, easque, quantum fieri potest, augeri atque alumnorum frequentia florere cupimus. Nosque ipsi, spectata rerum Urbanarum conditione, curare summo studio ac magnis sumptibus non desistimus, ut harum scholarum copia Romanis pueris abunde suppetat. In eis enim et per eas conservatur illa, quam a maioribus nostris accepimus, maxima atque optima hereditas, nimirum fidei catholicae incolumitas; praetereaque parentum libertati consulitur; et quod est in tanta praesertim sententiarum actionumque licentia maxime necessarium, bona civium soboles reipublicae educitur: nemo enim melior quam qui fidem Christianam opinione et moribus a pueritia complexus est. Initia et quasi semina totius humanitatis, quam Jesus Christus hominum generi divinitus peperit, in Christiana adolescentulorum educatione consistunt: propterea quod non fere aliae futurae sunt civitates, quam quos prima institutio pueros conformarit. Delet igitur omnem sapientiam veterem, ipsisque civitatum fundamentis labem affert, perniciosus error eorum qui puerilem aetatem malum sine ulla institutione religiosa adolescere. Ex quo intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta animi provisione cavere patresfamilias oporteat, ne liberos suos iis committant ludis litterariis in quibus praecepta religionis non queant accipere.

Ad Britanniam vestram quod attinet, id Nobis est cognitum, non modo Vos, sed generatim plurimos e gente vestra, de erudiendis ad religionem pueris non mediocriter esse sollicitos. Quamvis enim non omni ex parte Nobiscum consentiant, intelligunt tamen quanti vel privatim vel publice intersit non interire patrimonium sapientiae Christianae, quod a Gregorio Magno, decessore Nostro, per Beatum Augustinum accepere praevi vestri, quodque vehementes, quae postea consecutae sunt, tempestates non omnino dissiparunt. Scimus esse hodieque complures excellenti animorum habitu, qui fidem avitam retinere, quoad possunt, diligenter student, neque raros aut exiguos edunt caritatis fructus. De qua re quoties cogitamus, toties commovemur: prosequimur enim caritate paterna istam, qua non immerito appellata est alitrix Sanctorum Insula; atque in eo, quod diximus, animorum habitu videmus spem maximam et quoddam quasi pignus esse positum salutis prosperitatisque Britannorum. Quapropter perseverate, Venerabiles Fratres, curam praecipuam de adolescentia gerere; urgete in omnes partes episcopale opus vestrum, et quaecumque intelligitis esse bona semina cum alacritate et fiducia colite: dives autem in misericordia Deus incrementum dabit.

Caelestium munerum auspicem benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem Vobis et clero populoque unicuique Vestrum commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxvii. Novembris anno MDCCCLXXXV., Pontificatus Nostri Octavo.

LEO PP. XIII.

## Science Notices.

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**The Birth Rate in France.**—One of the most striking phenomena of our times is the stationary condition of the population in France. It is not many years since France could place in the field a far larger army than that of any other European nation. Her population of 35 millions was far ahead of that of England or of Germany. But the fecundity of the Teutonic nations is now beginning to tell. Germany has now a population of over 45 million souls; England, that in 1700 figured with 18 millions, is now creeping up to France with a total of 31 millions. It is calculated that if the present condition of things is maintained in France, the relative strength of the different nations will stand in the following order by the end of next century: Germany, 164 millions; England, 142; Austria-Hungary, 76; France, 64; Italy, 56; and how will *la revanche* be possible at such odds?

But a still more curious point comes out upon examination of the birth rate in France. Dr. Lagneau of late has drawn the attention of the Academy of Medicine to the fact that in the space of 45 years—from 1836 to 1881—twenty-six departments have seen their inhabitants decrease seven per cent. by a progressive movement, which seems to obey a regular law. It may be suggested that this is due to the emigration of the agricultural population into the towns. But this explanation fails, since the official returns show an excess of the deaths over the births. In forty departments—that is, about one-half of the whole area of France—the deaths have exceeded the births during the last three years. Such a condition of things would soon bring about a crisis were it not for the vigorous families of Brittany. It is Brittany and the Western Departments that preserve the population of France from disastrous decreases.

And yet before the French Revolution the fecundity of France was equal to that of most other European nations. It was about the time of the Code Napoleon that the sudden change set in. The number of births in France in 10,000 inhabitants stood at 345 in 1789, in 1810 it had fallen to 325, and each succeeding decade brought it lower, until at present it stands at 245. Let us compare these figures with other countries, and the French decadence becomes more striking. In the same number of inhabitants Russia has 607 births, Prussia 385, Spain 384, Italy 370, Great Britain 350, so that France actually occupies the lowest place among civilized nations.

**The Cholera.**—In our issue of October we threw some doubts upon the researches of Dr. Koch upon the gerin theory of cholera. We claim to the discovery of a specific micro-parasite, the common cause, in the discharge of cholera patients was, in our opinion,

disproved by Dr. Lewis. But more complete investigations have only served to confirm the conclusions of the eminent Berlin *savant*. From all sides on the Continent we hear of medical men giving in their adhesion to Dr. Koch. The pretended discoveries of others, such as Dr. Ferran in Spain and Dr. Emmerich in Naples, only serve to bring his out into clearer light. With so large a following of scientific men—and Dr. Virchow has lent his high authority to the same conclusions—we can hardly doubt that we are now on the track of this scourge of the human race.

A very remarkable case has just occurred at Berlin which goes far to strengthen Dr. Koch's conclusions. On the doctor's return from his mission to India, the German Government despatched at different times some 150 medical men to the laboratory of the great micrologist, there to be initiated into the methods of treatment and cultivation of the cholera bacillus. Every precaution, of course, was taken to guard against infection, but in spite of all one of the doctors was attacked with diarrhœa, which afterwards developed into a mild form of Asiatic cholera. There could be no doubt about the symptoms, or the source of the malady; the patient's discharges revealed a number of comma bacilli which were afterwards successfully cultivated and multiplied. After this there could be little doubt of the specific character of the bacillus discovered by Dr. Koch.

On the other hand, the famous anti-cholera inoculations of Dr. Ferran are discredited everywhere. At one time the Spanish physician was hailed as a great benefactor of the race—a second Jenner. And now a Government Commission has pronounced the inoculations barren of all scientific value, and dangerous, inasmuch as persons inoculated become more susceptible to cholera and other diseases. After so definite a pronouncement, the scientific world may bid farewell to Dr. Ferran, and the fact that he and his associates charged the better classes rather high fees for these inoculations, will not tend to raise any sympathy over his fate.

**Pasteur and Hydrophobia.**—With the recent increase of hydrophobia in our midst, M. Pasteur's latest researches into this fell disease will be watched with breathless interest. We drew the attention of our readers to his preliminary investigations in the DUBLIN REVIEW of July, 1884. The great physiologist has of late greater developments to announce. He has actually inoculated two individuals with the modified virus, and, we are warranted to say, with perfect success. A boy of nine years old, Joseph Meister, of Alsace, had been terribly worried by a mad dog on the 4th of July last. He was rescued, covered with foam and bleeding from fourteen wounds all over his body. The child, in the opinion of the doctors, was doomed to a certain and horrible death, when it was suggested that he should be sent to Paris to allow M. Pasteur to place him under the new method of treatment. Pasteur naturally hesitated, his humane feelings were cruelly tried, but seeing that the child's death was inevitable, he resolved to make upon a human being the



first attempt of the inoculation which had proved so successful in the case of animals. He did so, and the child is alive at the present day, a living witness to the value of these wonderful discoveries. The latest news we have received is that America has been so struck with the success of the inoculations that some hydrophobia patients are on their way from New York to place themselves under M. Pasteur's care.

It is only fair to add that there is still considerable hesitation among medical men in accepting the great Frenchman's conclusions. In a case of this nature the public will be only too grateful for the boldest criticism. We do not wish to indulge in false hopes, and it seems almost beyond our wildest dreams to expect that we are within reach of seeing this fell disease stamped out. The very greatness of our hope will inspire us with caution.

**Telpherage.**—An altogether new departure has been made in the transmission of goods, and has been honoured by the adoption of the new name—*Telpherage*. The term in general must be taken to mean any transmission of goods to a distant point by means of electricity. It received its special application in October last, when a distinguished company of visitors assembled at Glynde, Sussex, to witness the performance of a new system of electric transmission adopted by the Sussex Portland Cement Company. The idea of propelling by electricity a continuous stream of light trains along a single rail or rope, was due to the late Professor Rankine, of Edinburgh. But the electric railway of Messrs. Perry & Arden, described in our pages in July, 1882, first gave practical shape to the idea. At the time the Cement Company were at great expense in carting their clay from the pits to the Brighton and South Coast Railway, a tramway would have to cross some valuable fields, which in summer could not be interfered with, and in winter were continually flooded. The Telpher lines exactly met their difficulty. The line now opened is nearly a mile long, and is formed of a double set of steel rods supported on wooden posts, about eighteen feet high, and eight feet apart. The train consists of an electric locomotive, and ten iron buckets or skips which hang by their travelling wheels from the steel line. The opening ceremony was performed by Lady Havelock, amidst the applause of the assembled spectators, who felt that they were assisting at the inauguration of a great commercial enterprise, when they saw the skips move up a sharp ascent, at the rate of four miles an hour. There are, no doubt, many advantages in the new system: it can be carried across uneven ground, streams, bogs, and ditches, and will not interfere with agricultural operations. A line such as that at Glynde, will cost only £1,200 a mile, and this includes the dynamos, five trains, and locomotive. The working expenses amount to about 3d. a mile. Telpherage will, of course, seriously compete with railways, but it may successfully and cheaply do the work of tramways, steel wire, haulage, and even heavy carting.

**Weather Cycles.**—The popular mind has ever tenaciously held

to the idea that our wet and dry seasons repeat themselves in certain fixed periods. There are indications now that science is beginning to lend its authority to the notion. It is generally admitted that the Indian famines recur with fatal regularity. And now the Committee of the Royal Society on the Decrease of Water Supply, reports that there appears to be a recurrence of low water every ten years. There was low water in 1824 and in 1835; the period 1834-5 was low, especially when compared with the year immediately before and following; 1854 was remarkably low; also 1864-5, 1874-5; and lastly the present low period, 1884-5. A writer in the American Meteorological Journal, under the heading "Cold Winters in Michigan" says: "It is interesting to note that the local reports of severe winters place them at intervals of between ten and eleven years. The winter of 1842-3 is thus shown to have been extremely cold, also the winter of 1853-4; the winter of 1863-4 noted for its terribly cold new year, the winter of 1874-5, when there was scarcely a thaw between January 1st, and the middle of March, and lastly the winter of 1884-5, which beats the record for extreme cold during January and February." It is not well to rely too much on local weather lore, or the fascination of discovering a "period"; but the facts above-mentioned may be read by the light of our experience, and stand or fall by that test.

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## *Notes of Travel and Exploration.*

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**Journey in Somali Land.**—Mr. F. L. James, known already by his book on the Abyssinian frontier ("Wild Tribes of the Soudan"), has accomplished an adventurous journey, described in the Proceedings Royal Geog. Soc. for October, through a country which includes the most extensive region still left unexplored in Africa. Starting in a southerly direction from Berbera, the travellers crossed the mountains bounding the maritime plain by a difficult pass, 4,700 feet high. A waterless zone was then traversed in nine days' march, bringing the party to the more habitable tract of the interior where the river valleys furnish grass and corn in abundance. Even here, however, there was at times great difficulty in obtaining supplies, as the tribes, though possessing animals in profusion, could not be induced to sell them; while in other places meat was to be had in abundance, as camels are fattened by slaughter, attaining such a size that the hump alone sometimes weighs 100 lbs. They are driven to the coast and sold for 15 to 25 dollars each, their flesh being specially prized by the Somalis from the idea that it confers the camel's power of endurance.

prolonged hunger and thirst. All the animals of the Somali country appear to possess exceptional powers of abstinence from drinking, as the sheep can dispense with water for six or eight days, and horses for three, without showing signs of suffering.

The Somalis are physically a fine race, and in their features and the form of their weapons Mr. James traced a resemblance to those of the ancient Egyptians as portrayed on their monuments.

Among them live people of another race, called Midgans, considered by them as inferior, and much despised by them. These latter use bows with poisoned arrows, and keep flocks of tame ostriches whose feathers are sent to Berbera for sale. There are also two other low castes, workers in iron and in leather charms, called respectively Tomal and Ebir.

Mr. James's journey was not without the excitement of danger, rather increased by a telegram from the Foreign Office which, too late to fulfil its purpose of preventing his departure, served only to discredit him with the natives when already on the march. The most perilous experience of the expedition was its stay in the dominions of the Sultan of Barri, the Somali ruler of the Adone or Shobayri tribe, numbering fifty-six villages. This wily monarch tried to make use of his foreign visitors to overawe his revolted subjects, and having invited them to take up their quarters near him, sent an ultimatum to the insurgents representing that a European army had come to his assistance. Mr. James having refused to give effect to these declarations, found himself blockaded in his zaribu, an object of hostility to both parties, who ultimately made peace with the design of combining their forces against him. A moonlight flitting alone enabled him to escape this danger, and return in safety to the coast, which he eventually did without having lost a life or taken one.

The Adone tribe, though ruled by a Somali dynasty and aristocracy, are bitter enemies of the Somali people, and frequently attack the caravans sent by the latter to trade with them for grain. The race of the Adone tribe are negroes, and of these the greater number are in slavery. Their territory is the fertile valley watered by the Webbe, a river which, despite its considerable volume, never reaches the sea, but loses itself when but a few miles from the coast, within half a degree of the Equator. Its course is marked by a thick belt of forest, conspicuous amid the pastures and lighter timber of the rest of the plain. In addition to great herds of sheep and cattle, the natives with the help of irrigation-canals cultivate corn on an extensive scale, a large camel-load being obtainable for some shilling's worth of cloth. The stalks, which grow to a height of 15 feet, form the material of the native houses, which are partly built, and grouped in permanent villages in the valley.

**Trade Relations.**—Mr. James draws attention to the comparative absence of British goods from the country.

All the cotton cloth (he says), with but few exceptions, is of American or French make, and the only English cloth we took was taken on account



of its rarity, as presents for chiefs. Natives of India have for generations lived at Berbera, and supplied the traders from the interior with goods; and this no doubt accounts for the Indian cloth so largely used; but where is the American cloth so common there?

I trust the English authorities, now firmly established at Berbera, will do all they can to assist natives arriving from the interior in disposing of their goods at the coast. The custom is for the Ayal Achmet (Hannan tribe) to act as brokers, and too often most of the profits stick in the hands of the middleman. Till lately no Ogadayn ever went to the coast, but entrusted the goods to coast traders; now, however, they are beginning to trade for themselves, and each year find their way to Berbera and Bulhar in increasing numbers. This must, and indeed already is, tend to open up the country, which has been hitherto closed to Europeans, more from distrust of their motives in travelling than from any real hatred to the white man.

The scientific results of Mr. James's expedition are represented by a map based on astronomical observations, and a large collection of mammals, plants, birds, and butterflies, including several new species in each department.

**Commercial Policy in the East.**—Mr. Archibald Colquhoun delivered a valuable address on this subject to a meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, held on September 29, and after reviewing the restriction of British trade under the stress of increasing foreign competition, pointed to Eastern Asia as the most promising field for its future expansion in a fresh direction. Classifying the new markets of the world under two headings, those which are ready made, requiring only to be rendered accessible, and those where customers will have to be educated to civilized wants, he proceeded to say:—

The great new field for our commerce lies in Eastern Asia, where the markets are ready for immediate development, offering present and future while in Africa and New Guinea are to be found markets requiring "education"—markets of the future. Valuable as these are, they are altogether dwarfed by the large and lucrative outlet for our trade in Eastern Asia, the most promising to be seen in any part of the world. This latter includes China, Corea, Formosa, Indo-China (including Siam and the Siamese Shan States), Malaya, Upper Burmah, and the Burmese Shan States and Tibet. The others are of secondary importance. Compare these Asian markets with Africa. In Africa you have a population of savages, poor and unclad; in China and Indo-China educated races, whose civilization dates back far before that of Europe—races for the most part energetic, sober, industrious, hardy, enjoying a great amount of freedom, and possessed of a considerable degree of affluence. They have all trading instincts. In vegetable and mineral wealth these lands are unsurpassed. This field can be approached from three sides—(1) by ocean routes and inland rivers; (2) from India, by rail, and British Burmah; (3) from Russia, by overland caravan, *via* the desert regions of Siberia and Mongolia.

A railway from India to China would, it is said, present no great physical difficulties, and should the recent successful expedition result in a British annexation or protectorate of Upper Burmah, it

political difficulties would be summarily disposed of. The interposition of this State, "lying like a wedge," as Mr. Colquhoun puts it, "between the two greatest and most populous empires of Asia," has hitherto proved a hindrance to the cultivation of direct commercial relations between them, and an alternative route through Siam has been suggested for the proposed railway. The cost of inland carriage in these countries has been shown to be exorbitant, and is estimated for distances of 400 to 500 miles at from 50 to 100 times that of railway transport. The railway returns in British Burmah afford a hopeful index of the future of steam transit in Indo-China generally. The line from Rangoon to Prome disproved all predictions of its financial failure by returning a profit immediately, and by paying last year 6 per cent. on gross outlay. This income is mainly earned by passenger traffic, and the first section of the Rangoon and Tonghoo line carried 11,000 passengers during the third week after it had been opened. The impending settlement of British relations with Upper Burmah will doubtless give a great stimulus to projects for opening up railway communication with the far East.

**Trade of Russian Turkestan.**—The *Times* of September 23 prints, under the above heading, a valuable article extracted from the *Russian Journal of the Finance Minister*, an official publication. The present Government of Turkestan comprises four provinces or districts—Syr Darya, Ferghana, Zerafshan, and Amou Darya—with a total extent of 611,000 square versts, and a population of 2,335,000, divided into 1,430,000 settled inhabitants and 905,000 nomads. Soil and climate throughout this vast region naturally present great variations, described as follows in the official article:—

A sandy soil, very imperfectly watered by the Syr and Amou Darya rivers, which the Aral Sea, stretches to the north. The steppes between the two rivers named are covered with thin herbage, without the smallest trace of a forest, and they are remarkable for their barrenness, and can only be utilized for pasturage by the nomads. In the south and east numerous branches of the Tian Shan range form a district, watered by countless streams and rivers, with a fertile soil, and having a rich vegetation of grass and trees. This portion of Turkestan embraces part of Ferghana, Zerafshan, with Khouraminsk and Khodjent, both in the south, and Syr Darya. Its numerous valleys and hills offer the greatest advantages for purposes of cultivation, while the summits of the mountains are equally suitable for pasturage. The settled population occupies the fertile valleys and the hilly districts, while the nomad tribes are scattered over the vast Syr Darya and Amou Darya steppes. Of these the Kirghiz are the most numerous, and they may be computed at 600,000. Before the annexation of Turkestan, the nomad inhabitants formed two-thirds of the population; now they are less than half. The settled population presents a great variety of races—Iranian, Mongol, and Turk. The most important of these are the Sarts, 800,000; the Uzbekis, 200,000; the Kirghis, 150,000; and the Dzungars, 25,000. In the towns are also to be found Hindoos, Persians, Arabs, and Jews. The town population is estimated to be forty per cent. of the whole settled population. *Answer*

the principal towns are—Tashkend, 87,000; Khodjent, 40,000; Khokand, 34,000; Andijan, 23,000; Namangan, 16,000; and Samarcand, 35,000.

**Rural Industry.**—The principle of division of labour does not prevail either in the rural or manufacturing systems of these countries, and as small properties with every variety of culture predominate in the former, so in the latter no one house is devoted to the production of any special article, but deals promiscuously in several. Even the cultivation of cotton is not specialized, but carried on *en* by side with that of other agricultural products. Wheat and rye are the principal grains raised, barley and millet are grown in inferior quantities, and irrigation by canal is almost universally required for all these crops. The richest agricultural districts are in the plains of Ferghana, Zerafshan, Tchetchirk, and Angrena, where the soil, when irrigated, is very productive. The cotton crop in these districts is estimated at 400,000 poods, and flax and hemp are also grown. A considerable space is devoted to market gardens, melons and water-melons being the crop most extensively grown, while the vine and all European fruit-trees flourish in the orchards. Dried fruits, sent to all parts of Siberia and Southern Russia, form a considerable article of export from Turkestan.

The production of silk is, however, the principal rural industry, and the total quantity manufactured in Central Asia, estimated at 103,000 poods, brings in an annual revenue of some three million roubles, or something under two millions sterling. The rearing of cattle is almost entirely left to the nomads, and the number of animals throughout Turkestan is computed to be: goats and sheep, 4,810,000; horses, 640,000; camels, 382,000; horned cattle, 525,000; total, 6,362,200. Fishing at the mouth of the Syr Darya, and in the Sea of Aral, brings in a return of 100,000 roubles, or £13,000 to £14,000 yearly; and furs of the wolf, fox, and marten 55,000 roubles. Some oil wells near Khodjent, giving an annual yield of about 750,000 poods of oil, are the only form of mineral wealth yet made available.

**Manufactures and External Trade.**—Manufactories or workshops have been established in the towns to the number of 1,600, employing 6,050 workmen, and representing an annual production of 2,850,000 roubles. The official analysis is as follows:—

The most important factories belonging to Russians are forty in number, of which twelve are spirit distilleries, with a production valued at 500,000 roubles; five are tobacco factories, seven leather, two for clearing cotton, one oil, and one glass. Among the numerous small native workshops, those for thread and silk are the majority. Those of Ferghana alone produce more than a million roubles' worth of silk and about 500,000 roubles' worth of cotton goods. It is impossible to compute with any accuracy the production of tissues in other localities; but it is extremely active in every family, which annually supply a large quantity of *serge* cloth for the army. It is also difficult to state with strict accuracy what the commerce of Turkestan amounts to. The business transactions of the three principal towns, Tashkend, Khokand, and Samarcand, represent



mated to reach ten million roubles, but this estimate probably falls far short of the real truth. The following table may approximate to the external trade of Turkestan:—

## EXPORTS.

|                                      | Roubles.          |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| To the Fair of Nijni Novgorod ... .. | 5,000,000         |
| To the Fair of Irbit ... ..          | 500,000           |
| To the Fair of Krestovsky ... ..     | 500,000           |
| To the Fair of the Steppe ... ..     | 1,000,000         |
| To Orenburg and Orsk ... ..          | 1,300,000         |
| To Troitzky ... ..                   | 1,000,000         |
| To Petropavlovsk ... ..              | 500,000           |
| To Semipalatinsk ... ..              | 1,000,000         |
| <b>Total ... ..</b>                  | <b>10,800,000</b> |

## IMPORTS.

|   | Roubles.          |
|---|-------------------|
| From Orenburg and Orsk ... ..               | 5,500,000         |
| From Troitzky ... ..                        | 2,000,000         |
| From Petropavlovsk ... ..                   | 1,500,000         |
| From Fairs of the Steppe ... ..             | 2,000,000         |
| From Semipalatinsk and Semiretchinsk ... .. | 1,000,000         |
| <b>Total ... ..</b>                         | <b>12,000,000</b> |

Besides these avenues of trade, Turkestan is in constant commercial contact with Khiva, Bokhara, and Chinese Kashgaria. The export of Turkestan to these countries amounted last year to six million roubles, while the import was 5,700,000. Since 1866 the commerce of Turkestan has declined. Among the articles exported to it from Russia in Europe are cotton manufactures, linen, and fancy articles. Turkestan sends in return, cattle, and about a million roubles' worth of Indian tea.

**Kafiristan.**—Sir Frederick Goldsmid, in a paper published in the *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* for the quarter ending June, 1883, gave an interesting summary of the little that is known of Kafiristan, a country forming part of the plateau system of Afghanistan, but acknowledging no allegiance to its Government. Fifteen years ago no stranger was known to have entered this isolated region and left it alive, and the spell of its isolation, as far as British exploration is concerned, has been broken only by the journey of Mr. McNair, of the Indian Survey, in May, 1883. Going south of the Hindu Khush, it can only be entered from that direction by a pass 13,000 feet high, while the ranges that enclose it on either sides must be crossed at altitudes varying from near 14,000 to 16,000 feet. The descent of Mr. McNair into the country from the pass on the Hindu Khush traversed by him, was effected by going in a recumbent position through the half-melted snow, in which to pierce the bottom of the steep incline was reached in a very short time. This English traveller, who was of course disguised, remained only a few days, and was unable to explore the country systematically, but succeeded in learning many interesting details. He described the plateau, with an area of 5,000 square miles, as consisting of a densely wooded country much diversified and very pic-

turesque. The population, numbering over 200,000, is divided into three principal tribes, speaking separate dialects, each subdivided into numerous clans. The men, though not tall, are of "fine appearance, with sharp Aryan features and keen penetrating eyes; blue eyes are not common, but do occur; brown eyes and light hair, even to a golden hue, in combination, are not uncommon. The two extremes of complexion, fair and dark, or rather pink and bronze, are observed without change in the cast of features."

The Kafirs have always been noted as a fair-skinned and blue-eyed race, and Sir Henry Rawlinson has left on record a description of a Kafir slave—"The most beautiful Oriental lady he ever saw, who by loosening her golden hair could cover herself completely from head to foot, as with a screen." The origin of this isolated race is problematical, nor does their name Kafir (an unbeliever), derived from their worship of idols, throw any light on it, while the name *Sivah-posh*, or wearers of a black garment, applied to them in Persian, is equally devoid of ethnological meaning. The exploration of this impregnable and almost inaccessible rock-fastness is one of the few untried tasks left to geographers.

**Now French Ports in East Africa.**—The *Times* of December 1 publishes an important French official Report on the new colony of Obokh on the Gulf of Tajourra, from the pen of M. de Lanessan, the same Deputy who wrote a short time previously a very able report on Burmah. The Gulf of Tajourra is a great inlet, sixty miles long, on the African coast, immediately south of the Red Sea and nearly opposite Aden. The Bay of Obokh is a secondary indentation on the northern side of the greater gulf, sheltered by Ras Bir, the headland that shuts it in on this side. The port of Obokh is here formed by two lines of reefs, and is divided by a coral bank into two basins, rather difficult of approach, but affording fairly good anchorage. The French territory is situated between the Italian colony on the Bay of Assab, thirty miles to the north, and the recent English annexations of Berbera and Zeila in the Somali country to the south. A plentiful supply of fresh water gives Obokh a great superiority over the adjacent ports, and renders possible the maintenance of some cattle, sheep and goats, as well as the raising of a scanty crop of vegetables for the resident Europeans' consumption. The French protectorate extends from the shores of the gulf to the foot of the mountains, the intervening space forming a hilly plain about twelve miles in width, inhabited by Danakil tribes.

The Report describes as follows the general character of the country:—

Those only who have been in the Red Sea can have any idea of the desolate appearance of the barren plains reaching from the shore to the ruddy-tinted mountains on the horizon, running almost parallel to the coast. Nevertheless, in the rainy season, the torrents from the mountains bring a fertilizing supply of water to the plain. Grasses spring up along the ravines through which the fresh-water streams flow, and round the lakelets formed wherever a depression of the soil exists.

This enables the inhabitants of these vast deserts to rear flocks and herds of sheep and cattle, and also of camels, which are hired by caravans to carry merchandise from the sea to the table-land of Abyssinia and back again. Massowah, which the Italians have just occupied, is an island without water or herbage, infected by the pestiferous mud on its shore. The bay of Adulis (Zoullal), a little to the south, and to which France has rights which it is important not to renounce, is perhaps the only point on the western shore of the Red Sea below Massowah where vegetation is to be found. Farther south still, the Bay of Amphila, where, as at Adulis, a starting-point for a route to Abyssinia may be found, is an absolute desert, where brackish water only can be found at some distance from the sea. Edd, which was bought by a French firm from Marseilles about forty years ago, has no more promising an outlook, although the neighbouring tribes possess a great number of head of cattle, which feed on the sparse herbage of the plain during the rainy season, and resort to the mountains during the dry months. Assab is even worse off. Water is almost entirely wanting; a few wells supply a little brackish water, and the wants of the resilient Europeans, and of the vessels becalmed there, have to be met by condensing water. Cultivation is absolutely impossible, and the same state of things exists on the whole coast between Assab and Obokh.

The latter place, which was uninhabited when first occupied, has now a population of 300, one-third indigenous, the remainder coolies and Arab workmen. Tadjourra, at the head of the gulf, is said to have 2,000 inhabitants, a figure which M. de Lanessan thinks exaggerated. Obokh derives its immediate importance from being the only French port between the Mediterranean and the French territories in Indo-China, on the route to which it supplies the want of an intermediate coaling station. Its prospective advantages are due to its position on one of the chief maritime outlets of the trade of Shoa, the richest dependency of Abyssinia. The road from Tadjourra to Ankobar is the most direct caravan route to that country, from which the Italian port of Assab is cut off by a waterless desert 150 leagues across.

## Notes on Novels.

*Rainbow Gold: A Novel.* By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY.

In three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885.

IN its serial form "*Rainbow Gold*" has already found many admirers, and it is not likely to lose popularity in its new dress. Mr. Murray has provided his story with a good old-fashioned backbone of plot, and he deals with none of that dissection of character, or analysis of motive, which, if appreciated by the few, is very generally disliked by the many. "*Rainbow Gold*" may be read easily, but is likewise provocative of some pleasant excitement. For—and on this



turns the tale—there lies a vast and ill-gotten treasure, far away in a lonely spot of the Balkan mountains; and the efforts of certain individuals to obtain this money, and the crimes committed in the endeavour, lend the narrative an interest which may be safely described as thrilling.

A succinct account of the origin of the treasure will be useful to the reader, and can be told without prejudice to the story. Some five-and-twenty years before the Prologue, the State of Del Oro in the Spanish Americas borrowed from Europe a million of money. The agents, however, who should have taken it to Del Oro, appropriated it instead to themselves. Not, however, to enjoy it, for they were tracked down by a second gang of thieves, who overtook them in a pass of the Balkans, killed them, and then buried the treasure for future use. This came to the knowledge of a third gang of adventurers, who started for the spot, dug the treasure up, and divided it. Why gang No. 2 should have been introduced at all is indeed not quite clear, unless, as is probable, it was to save the hero, Job Round, lieutenant of gang No. 3, from any participation in bloodguiltiness.

This Job Round is a lovable hero, and the best told portion of the book is that concerning his enlistment as a young man, the episode of his dog Pincher, and the callous tyranny of Captain Cunningham, an odious individual, drawn with much skill in a few touches.

It is pleasant to be able to recommend a clever novel as thoroughly wholesome in tone, and still pleasanter to perceive by Mr. Murray's pretty dedicatory verses that he for one, has at heart the preservation of the pure and honest fame of English fiction.

*Karma: A Novel.* By A. P. SINNETT. London: Chapman & Hall. 1885.

THE school of mystical romance has taken a new departure in "Karma," as the story is founded on the theories of "Esoteric Buddhism," the latest product of the frivolity and profanity of the nineteenth century. The author has already contributed to the literature of this sect, and having read one of his previous volumes, styled "The Occult World," we can aver that the most wonderful revelation in its pages is the fact that any one should have been found simple-minded enough to write them. Mr. Sinnett must at least be acquitted of all wish to deceive, from the artless candour with which he allows a reader of the most ordinary intelligence to see through the transparent artifices by which he was himself duped.

That the chief apostles of the new creed, one of them a lady, were publicly exposed as impostors, on the evidence of their own hired accomplices, will probably nowise diminish the ardour of their disciples; and the machinery of sliding panels and cupboards with false doors, fully described by these witnesses, will still do its work in *imposing* on the credulous. The agent sent to India by the Society

or Psychological Research for the purpose of investigating the subject, brought home convincing proofs of the fraud, of which he gave all details and particulars at a lecture delivered in London, under the auspices of the Society, some months ago.

The new creed—Theosophy, as it is sometimes called—has no apparent connection with the elder Buddhism to which it claims to approximate itself, and is rather a development of modern Spiritualism, with still more impudent supernatural pretensions. That letters and other objects can be instantaneously transmitted from the most distant places, by a process including disintegration into their component atoms for the journey, and reintegration on arrival—that the adept, assuming what is termed an “astral body,” can float through space temporarily disencumbered of all terrestrial disabilities—such are some of the results which educated men and women are found capable of believing in, without other proof than some very awkwardly executed tricks of legerdemain. We are not surprised to hear that the test-experiment of producing the *Times* on the day of publication in a distant part of India was rejected by the operators, on the ground that so convincing a proof would leave no merit to faith. Baron von Mondstern, the hero of “Karma” (the word is the Eastern name of the law of metempsychosis), is an adept in all these mysteries; and a party of fashionable and scientific English people, assembled at his castle on the Rhine to investigate them, are the actors in the drama. With this foundation it is inevitable that a large portion of the book should be occupied with occult manifestations and discussions on them, but the ordinary loves and sorrows of human nature are interwoven into the grotesque phantasmagoria of clairvoyance and spiritualism. The levity with which her tremendous experiences are treated by the lady medium may be judged from the following specimen of her conversation:—

“Can he go about out of his body then, too?”

“Why, of course he can. I knew him out of his body long before I knew him to it.”

“What! Do you mean that you met him first flying about in the air like yourself?”

“Well, on the astral plane, at all events. You don’t think much about the air when you are out of the body. It’s another state of existence you see into. But I can see people on the astral plane without being out of the body at all for that matter myself?”

Spiritual society does not seem to improve the diction any more than the morals of those who frequent it. As metempsychosis is a main article of the Theosophic creed, part of this lady’s revelations are devoted to the antecedent lives of the company; and it is shown how one of them, in the apparently undeserved unhappiness of his actual lot, is expiating a previous career of self-indulgence in the character of a young Roman of the classical age. Such are the wild metaphysical speculations which a Society divided into charlatans and dupes is impious enough to put forward as an improvement on revealed religion. The plot of the novel is also morally objectionable,

and despite the brightness with which it is written, it is not to be recommended on any grounds.

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*White Heather.* By WILLIAM BLACK. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

MR. BLACK'S readers will scarcely need to be told that his descriptions of moor and loch, and the manners and customs of their *habitués*, are always fascinating; but through all the persuasive eloquence of his pages we find ourselves occasionally wondering whether it is the fashion in Scotland for young ladies to be on such very friendly terms with good-looking gamekeepers, even when dowered with all the gifts and graces bestowed by him on his hero, Ronald Strang. For ourselves we confess to being rather on the side of Mrs. Grundy and the social *convenances*, which are, after all, the sanction of the minor moralities. We cannot, in short, forgive Mr. Black for allowing the pretty and gentle Meenie Douglas to degrade herself by a clandestine attachment, ending in a secret marriage, to an inferior. Nor is the case mended by launching his hero on a career of drunken dissipation and low company in Glasgow, however probable such an episode may be in the life of a man of his class. True, the redeeming influence of the heroine is made the instrument of his reformation; but such a conversion, in the ordinary course of events, would be only temporary, and the young lady who should make such a *mésalliance* would incur the fate she deserved by finding herself mated for life to a sottish boor. The embarrassment of the situation is solved in the novel by the interposition of an American millionaire, whose daughter has also fallen temporarily under the spell of the fascinating Ronald, and who takes a shooting estate in the Highlands for the express purpose, as it would seem, of making the ex-keeper his factor at a salary of £400 a year.

Lovers of salmon-fishing will "fight their battles o'er again" in reading Mr. Black's vivid accounts of protracted struggles with the silver-sided prey, though they may perhaps be tempted to shake their heads incredulously at the idea of a lady-neophyte handling the rod with such triumphant success as Carry Hodson, even under the experienced tutelage of Ronald Strang.

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*Andromeda.* By GEORGE FLEMING, London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1885.

THE "Andromeda" of the title-page—why so called it is not very easy to see—is Miss Clare Dillon, a young lady endowed with all the prescriptive gifts and graces befitting a heroine of fiction. Her story is told with the vague and dreamy grace which gives their special charm to George Fleming's works, but which fails to excite our sympathy for a girl who throws over successively two engaged, or semi-engaged, lovers, to marry a third. Nor can we feel aught but



indignation for the man who allows himself to make repeated declarations of attachment to the betrothed bride of his friend, and so win her unstable affections from him. And to reward the false friend and faithless fiancée with happiness in the end, is a violation both of poetical and natural justice. The situation is rendered additionally repugnant by the fact that it is a deformed man who is treated with such cruel caprice, and indeed all the canons of artistic fitness are outraged by assigning to one so afflicted the part of a hero of romance. We cannot congratulate the author on the choice of subject for a tale, which certainly owes all its charm to the telling. Among minor blemishes we would point out the incorrectness with which foreign names and phrases are rendered. Thus *dis* is not the past participle of the French verb *dire*, nor is San Donati a possible form for an Italian proper name, unless with the prefix *De'*, since San is not thus qualified necessarily requires the singular termination. Equally unfortunate in point of grammatical construction is the compound *Montenera*, *monte* being masculine, and the agreement of the adjective invariable, even when forming part of a proper name.

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*A Strange Voyage.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London : Messrs. Sampson Low & Co. 1885.

MR. CLARK RUSSELL'S latest novel is in his best manner, and may fairly rank in interest and power with "The Wreck of the Grosvenor." The thrilling adventures of the *Silver Sea* and her passengers are described with amazing force of graphic realization ; and we scarcely know which to admire most, the fertility of invention that can give fresh novelty to the oft-repeated record of an ocean voyage or the picturesque vividness of narration, which makes the accidents seem living realities. It might have seemed impossible for language to convey almost the actual bodily sensations caused by the endless category of motions proper to a ship at sea—to reproduce vividly to the imagination the dizzying swing, the reeling lurches, the quivering and strainings of the wave-beaten hull, with all the accompanying sounds unheard on shore ; yet this strange perpetuity of turmoil is called up to the senses in page after page of the volumes before us. It is not easy to detach a descriptive passage from a narrative without marring its effect, but we cannot resist extracting the subjoined description of a sudden squall in the midst of a tropical cyclone :—

I was intent upon my work, watching the ship till my eyes reeled in my head, in order to "meet her" sharply (with the helm) as she wildly swung, now to port, now to starboard, when a furious squall came down, a long fierce scream, that rang through the thunder of the gale, with a surge in it and an effect I am powerless to describe. It made the storm of sound we were racing before horrible with its amazing, almost human, roaring, and it turned the sea into wool with its fury, whilst it swept a mass of rain over sky and ocean that was a perfect sheet of water, just as in a few places by the fury of the cyclonic power that was driving

it. Our decks were full of wet in a breath; had we shipped a green sea we couldn't have been more completely flooded. As the ship's bows shot up in the air on the foaming curl of a great billow, the water came splashing and thundering aft till I feared it would sweep me off my legs; and then, as my end of the vessel lifted, away it went roaring forward, hissing and foaming round the companion and skylights, and flashing in leaps of white to the height of the bulwarks, where the wind carried it off in smoke. A yellow gleam of lightning sparkled across the blown and hurling flood in the air, though if thunder followed, no echo penetrated through the dreadful and hellish crying and yelling and shrieking of that moment.

We will not forestall the reader's pleasure by giving a bald summary of incidents which owe their charm to the narrative power of the author, but merely content ourselves with pointing out that the fiction has a basis of fact which gives it an added personal interest. The "*Strange Voyage*" of the novel is a trip to the Cape of Hope undertaken as a cure for rheumatic gout, and we learn that Mr. Clark Russell has just sailed for the same destination, with the like object of banishing the chronic rheumatism he suffers from. We only hope that the real cure may progress as rapidly as the imaginary one at the outset of the voyage, and may not be impeded ere its end by a like series of startling episodes.

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*Slings and Arrows.* By HUGH CONWAY (P. J. FARQUE).  
*Arrowsmith's Christmas Annual, 1885.*

IF Mr. Julian Loraine, the hero of this little story, had made his marriage settlements before instead of after the marriage, the book would not have been written. For it is at the solicitor's office, when the bride and bridegroom attend to give the necessary instructions, that Mrs. Loraine discovers a secret so ghastly as to blight her newly formed happiness—a secret which compels her to fly from her husband's home and abjure his love. The word of explanation which would have cleared away the terrible mystery is not spoken, and the wife within a week of her marriage abandons her devoted husband under circumstances, to say the least, of grave suspicion. Mr. Loraine, naturally of a jealous temperament, can scarcely be blamed for entertaining some doubts of his wife's fidelity. After two years he obtains a clue to the whereabouts of the man whom he believes to have been her companion; he tracks him to France, follows him along the Breton beach, and in a sequestered spot shoots him somewhat unceremoniously. He then nurses him to recovery and becomes his fast friend, finds his wife under the charge of a Sister of Charity, but is unable to conquer her reluctance to a renewal of their united life. It is only after having bade her what is supposed by both of them to be a final farewell, that he discovers the reason of his wife's estrangement. Knowing it to be groundless, he is able to reclaim her, freed from the fatal barrier which she supposed to exist to their love.

*Adrian Vidal.* By W. E. NORRIS. In three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885.

THE persons curious to learn how a storm in a teacup may be admirably described through some nine hundred pages, we would recommend Mr. Norris's last novel. This teacup hurricane—which begins to blow gently in the first volume, gathers force throughout the second, and threatens utterly to wreck the domestic peace of Mr. and Mrs. Adrian Vidal in the third—takes its rise from proportionately trivial causes. The lady has an unreasonably jealous temper, the gentleman a foolish habit of philandering. There is likewise a certain fat, flirtatious, and mature Lady St. Austell, whom the experienced novel-reader will recognise as having met before under various disguises. She is united to an elderly and wicked peer, whom we may describe not unfairly as Thackeray's immortal Marquis of Steyne, much diluted. The St. Austells go their various ways until they come across Mr. and Mrs. Vidal: when they agree in persecuting with their attentions this unlucky couple. Lady St. Austell patronizes the young author (Mr. Vidal is a rising novelist); Lord St. Austell makes himself disagreeably pleasant to the author's wife. The hero visits Lady St. Austell on her "at home" days, is generally bored, and always profoundly conscious that she is stout and ageing. Lord St. Austell pays the heroine a couple of afternoon calls, utters fatuous speeches, and gets properly snubbed for his pains. *Hinc illa lacrymæ*, and the domestic teacup trouble mentioned above. Mr. Norris perceiving that there is here barely sufficient ground for the prolonged estrangement and misery of Adrian Vidal and his wife, resorts to the well-worn expedient of a lady's-maid, dark and handsome, with a taste for scheming and an old grudge against the hero. This original creation, together with two anonymous letters, succeeds in embroiling for a time the happy little household in Alexandra Gardens. But for a time only; the storm blows over, the domestic sky is once more blue and smiling, and the reader leaves Adrian, a poor creature "without much pluck," arduously adding his quota of stones to the pavement of a certain melancholy kingdom.

The book may be recommended as better than nine out of ten of the "run" of novels, as unobjectionable in tone, and as written in a drawing pleasant style. The author invests even his "padding" with a certain amount of interest. The reason for this is, that he has evidently from his own experiences as a toiler in the field of literature, and real experiences are invariably interesting.

*Martja.* By BRET HARTE. London: Chatto & Windus. 1885.

MR. BRET HARTE is nowhere so much at home as in the wide lands of the Pacific slope, where savagery and civilization, order and anarchy, cultivation and barrenness, mingle together in a confusion that is rich in elements of the picturesque. These



elements the gifted writer knows how to combine, with all a poet's exquisite sense of effect, into pictures which have already rendered English readers familiar with the unsettled borderland he so graphically depicts. In the present tale it seems to us, however, he has been less happy than heretofore, as the more complicated plot lends itself less readily to development by faint and suggestive touches than the slighter tales he generally chooses for the framework of his design. Thus the shadowy outline in which the heroine's character is sketched leaves us to the end in doubt as to her true nature, and her perverse rejection of all her earlier suitors is rendered more inexplicable by her sudden surrender in the end to the least attractive among them, the vagabond son of an American speculator, returned in the guise of a tramp in time to claim his inheritance. The character of the old Indian butler, under the influence of growing insanity, resulting in murder, would also require to be more carefully worked out to enable its tragic possibilities to be fully realized. The Spanish hacienda, with its mingling of simplicity and stateliness, its ample hospitality and traditions of family superstition, furnishes a romantic setting for the drama.

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*The Master of the Mine.* By ROBERT BUCHANAN. London:  
R. Bentley & Son. 1885.

IN the form of a narrative in the first person, Mr. Buchanan has given his readers a powerful and interesting story, without exaggeration of sensational effect. The hero, Hugh Trelawney, a well-born lad, is thrown by his father's death on the care of relatives in a lower sphere of life, and compelled to earn his living as clerk, and afterwards superintendent, of a Cornish mine. Although chance enables him to rescue from shipwreck the heroine of his boyish devotion, he conceives himself precluded from aspiring to her hand by the disparity of rank which circumstances have created between them, and his backwardness in responding to her evident wish to ignore the barrier very nearly leaves her to become the prey of a ruined spendthrift, who reckons on her fortune to retrieve his desperate position. The flooding of the mine is the crisis which eventually clears up all misunderstandings, and the hero's self-sacrificing gallantry in saving the life of his rival is rewarded by the hand of his lady-love, with an abundant measure of all worldly prosperity superadded.

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*Babylon.* By GRANT ALLEN (CECIL POWER). London:  
Chatto & Windus. 1885.

"BABYLON" is an art-novel, and its title is a pseudonym for modern Rome, whither all the characters flock in for the final disposal of their destinies, with a well-timed precision that suggests a "drive" of game to the battue on a Scottish moor. The plot turns on the fortunes of two peasant lads, one English and one American, each a heaven-born artistic genius; the first developed

easily and naturally into a great sculptor by his own unaided instincts, the second thwarted for a time in following his natural bent by the false guidance of a generous but injudicious patron who seeks to divert his genius from landscape to figure painting. Each hero is, in orthodox fashion, mated with a fair lady, and the obstacles which temporarily obstruct the course of true love are as of perfunctory and unmistakably flimsy a character as the tissue-paper-tined hoops held up in succession before the acrobat in a circus. The extravagance of some of the incidents borders on the grotesque, and the scene in which the sculptor's model attempts to poison her supposed rival scarcely makes a pretence of  *vraisemblance*. The caricature of the Italian girl's religion is more than usually offensive, and the irreverence, perhaps unintentional, with which scriptural quotations and allusions are introduced is a serious offence against good taste. Mr. Ruskin, under a transparent disguise, is the *deus ex machina* whose omnipotent nod brings fame and fortune to the blighted American artist, and his intervention comes in time to restore, by the shock of glad surprise, the kind but ill-judged patron, when at the point of death from malarial fever. The deliberate inhalation of the Campagna poison is the novel form of suicide selected by him as an atonement for his error of judgment, while his fortune is devoted to the foundation of an Art Scholarship in Rome.

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*Green Pleasure and Grey Grief.* By the Author of "Phyllis," &c.  
London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885.

I might have been thought that every possible variation on the familiar theme that "the course of true love never does run smooth" had been long ago used up, hence the author of "Phyllis" deserves credit for having given a comparatively fresh rendering of the hackneyed theme. A supposed stigma on the heroine's birth supplies the requisite amount of friction to delay the movement of the drama, and maintain the reader's suspense during the progress of the inevitable three volumes. The heroine, an *ingénue* of the approved pattern, with all the infantine *abandon* of that somewhat irritating young person, flies from her home on the discovery of her misfortune to avoid sharing its contamination with her still constant lover, and a series of accidents leads her to the door of her unknown father, to be tended in his house through the subsequent brain fever, which no heroine with a shadow of self-respect could fulfil of developing under the circumstances. The newly discovered parent proves to be not only provided with a marriage certificate in due form, satisfactorily establishing his daughter's position, but to be also uncle to the hero, and the true and lawful possessor of the title and estates wrongfully enjoyed by the father of the latter. The poetical justice hereby wrought upon the cruel mother, the ogress of the tale, thus at once hurled down from her place of dignity, must reconcile the reader to the antecedent improbability of finding the two stock characters of the unknown father and the long-lost baronet.

combined in one and the same individual. English country life furnishes the background of the story, and the foibles of country society, with a duchess as the central sun of its firmament, are caricatured in sufficiently vivacious fashion. The principal lovers, for there are also some secondary pairs of turtle-doves, are of the Edward and Angelina type of gushing efflorescence, and a good deal of somewhat maudlin love-making goes on between them, but a lively style lends vitality to the narrative, and carries it on with unflagging briskness to the close.

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*Mrs. Dymond.* By Miss THACKERAY (Mrs. RICHMOND RITCHIE).  
London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885.

MISS THACKERAY has a knack of showing us a story, rather than telling it; one gets the impression of *genre* painting magnified to life size. It is always picturesque and true, by force of delicate colour and minute detail, qualities which make restful and pleasant reading. In the history of Susanna Dymond there is an atmosphere of loyalty to home ties, and a certain simplicity very far removed from the passionate self-seeking atmosphere of too many novels. We wish the writer had not a haunting delusion that the incense of continental churches is the type of a dreamy religion, and that those who practise it are invited to suffering and the annihilation of their life. Some scenes are rather marred by slight hints of this mistake. We should note, too, that the momentary sight of Marney's infidelity is a page that would puzzle a very *innocent* reader; but, needless to say, the book is quite radiant with a pure morality. Its finest parts are the pictures of the human, homely, hard-working Mrs. Marney, hiding her husband's worthlessness, bearing her heart-break, and faithfully believing in a character against whom the reader burns with indignation for her sake. The death-scene, where she believes him to be beside her and worthy of her love, is a touching page of tragedy. For these self-seeking days there is much good teaching in the story of Mary Marney's noble patience, dragging through life in the shabby *ménage* at Neuilly. It is one of the sad things that it is good to know.

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## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 17 Octobre, 1885.

**Russia and Mount Athos.**—From the Russian correspondent of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, we learn some curious particulars worthy of the attention of those who keep a watchful eye on the subtle policy of Russia, ever directed to the acquisition of the long-coveted object



of its ambition, Constantinople and the remains of the Turkish empire, when the day of its dissolution shall arrive. He notices first the extraordinary and expensive warlike preparations and undertakings connected with either maritime defence or aggressive projects now pushed forward with a feverish activity by the Russian Government, which seem ill to accord with what we have reason to believe concerning its financial difficulties. To aggravate these last, the country is now threatened with an alarming scarcity. The extreme heat and drought of the summer, unexampled as regards northern Russia since the year 1743, arrived even at inspiring the population with superstitious fears. More solid evils have resulted, such as the extensive conflagrations in the forests. Their smoke, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, is described as so dense that the heavens were veiled for several days by a thick shroud, through which the sun glared like a fiery ball, while hosts of mosquitoes, expelled from their haunts by the flames, invaded the city; but, what was worse, packs of wolves, driven from their summer covert by the same cause, infested the country and entered the villages, seizing on the domestic animals and little children, nay, even attacking grown men and women, when they surprised any alone. Fires also have been fearfully numerous in the villages and provincial towns, which are, for the most part, built almost entirely of wood, so that it has been said that all Russia is regularly burned down in the course of three years. This year, indeed, the fires have been so exceptionally frequent and destructive as to have alarmed the police. In the recent disaster at Kline, for instance, a city not far from Moscow, the flames burst forth in four different quarters simultaneously, pointing, as in other cases, to the agency of incendiaries. Even at St. Petersburg and in the vicinity, fires have broken out with no apparent cause, and the police have apprehended twelve individuals, six of whom were women. But the loss of the harvest is the most pressing calamity. People ask themselves what is to become of the commerce of Odessa this year, and who is to give bread to the people? Under these circumstances, and with the consequences which are to be apprehended, war would seem an impossibility. Facts, however, prove that it is not so regarded.

For a long time, Russia has been very desirous to have a port on the Mediterranean, and that for obvious reasons. It dominates in the Black Sea, and a considerable fleet in the harbour of Sebastopol commands the Bosphorus on that side; but what it wants is a harbour on the other side of the Straits, which would enable it to hold Constantinople between two fires. Russia is, therefore, striving hard to create this strategic position for itself, to which the other Powers are, of course, opposed. The writer draws attention to a subtle plan on foot to get possession of Mount Athos, which could be easily converted into an impregnable fortress, a new Gibraltar, commanding Greece, Macedonia, Egypt, and both European and Asiatic Turkey. Mount Athos belongs to Turkey, and is tenanted, as all know, by monks, schismatics of the Greek rite, though not exclusively of

Greek nationality. All, however, are governed for their general affairs by the Communal Council, composed of Greek monks, who naturally favour their own countrymen more than those who are of foreign extraction. These last, who possess six of the monasteries, are desirous to rid themselves of Greek supremacy, and, through the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, have claimed the protection of the Russian Government. No doubt this petition has been received with much pleasure by Russia, which will now become the virtual possessor of all the Russian and Slave monasteries at Mount Athos, and will be able to despatch thither a large number of men under the guise of pilgrims, and enlarge these forts for their accommodation, as well as construct a harbour to shelter the vessels carrying them from Odessa; for how could any objection be raised to so seemingly reasonable a demand as to be allowed to provide a safe retreat on these perilous and stormy coasts for their pacific fleet? And Turkey, in fact, is either utterly blind or turns a blind eye to the disguised occupation of so important a post, and disregards the reiterated complaints of the Communal Council and its endeavours to make the Porte alive to the intrigues of Russia. Nay, it has declared, through the medium of a journal published in Constantinople, that these accusations are devoid of all foundation, and has even sent a decoration of the Turkish Order of Osmanlie to the prior of the Russian monastery of San Pantaleimon. Russia, in short, says the writer, has introduced a formal schism at Mount Athos which is destructive to its old monastic republic. It behoves, he thinks, those who have a vital interest in the question to decide upon the prudence of interference before it be too late.

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19 *Septembre*, 1885.

**Antiquity of Coral Formations.**—Our modern philosophers in the department of natural science, for the most part, greedily welcome any fresh discovery which seems at variance with Christian belief regarding the antiquity of our globe in its present condition, or with any other Biblical statements, or hitherto-accepted deduction from such statements. Thus, about fifty years ago, Darwin, after examining the coral formations among the Society Islands, and observing that the banks descended into the ocean to depths far exceeding the limits at which these polypi can work, imagined a theory to account for what he considered as an established fact, of which more anon. According to him, the bed of the Pacific Ocean is slowly sinking, and by this process the coralline communities have been enabled to continue their work uninterrupted. Thus a coral bank of the depth of three hundred metres would, he calculates, at the rate at which coral formations are supposed by him to increase, argue an abasement of the bed of the ocean requiring 300,000 years, and indefinitely more in proportion to the depth of the banks in question; while, from the fact that

fragments of coral had been fished up from the base of the rock he examined, it was hastily inferred by him that it was a homogeneous edifice throughout, the entire work of these marvellous creatures. All this was confidently accepted by geologists, and taught in their scientific courses. Now, this fine theory, which was grounded on an incomplete induction of facts, supplemented by conjecture, of which Mr. Darwin and his compeers have made such large use in order to fill up the gaps in their hypothetical systems, has been completely exploded by the recent investigations of Murray in the *Challenger*. The improvement in the method of exploring ocean beds at the depth, not only of 300, but of thousands of metres, has brought to light facts which utterly contradict Darwin's ingenious conjectures. The rocks of Tahiti, the very same that Darwin examined, were ascertained by Murray to be of a composition totally different from what he had supposed. The coral constructions do not plunge down into ocean depths, but rest upon a submarine rocky elevation. At their foot, on the rocky escarpment, it is true, fragments of coral detached from above by the force of the waves had become compacted solidly with calcareous deposits, and formed a species of coating perfectly distinguishable, upon examination, from the true coral formation above. Lower down, following always the slope of the submarine rock, mixed with sand, was found a bed of coral detritus, the residue of pieces which had fallen from the summit of the reef; while, descending still lower, even these indications disappeared, and nothing could be discerned which was not composed of volcanic materials; demonstrating plainly that the island, which is, so to say, a skeleton and the support of the coral reef, is a thing totally distinct from it, and is nothing, in short, but the cone of an extinct volcano.

It may, however, be objected, since coral reefs are so numerous in these and other tropical seas, how is it that the volcanic upheavings on which they are said to rest have all attained precisely the height at which these polypi can begin to work, which they cannot do at more than thirty-seven metres below the surface of the sea? The answer is not far to seek, and is given by Murray. Many of these volcanic cones may have been upheaved above the ocean surface, but, being generally composed of loose materials, it would be wonderful indeed should they have continued to resist the action of the waves. Now, as their force becomes reduced almost to nothing at a depth of about thirty metres, its effect would be exactly that of lowering the cone to the depth needed for the formation of a coral bank. Other cones which had not risen to the proper elevation may have easily received the requisite increment by marine calcareous deposits which are continually forming in these seas. Murray's observations receive confirmation from those of Agassiz, who, in the reefs of Florida and the Antilles, could discover no signs of abasement, but, on the contrary, proofs of upheaval. The peculiar shape of the coral reefs can be readily explained when we note, what has long been matter of



observation, that the coralline community works much more easily and rapidly where it is exposed to the shock of the waves. Hence it is that, as soon as the construction begins to emerge, the external portion grows the fastest, and the result is the shape which the reefs assume of a circular chain with an elevated margin, enclosing a lagoon of greater or less depth. The reef cannot rise any higher, for these creatures cannot exist unless the water passes over them for at least the greater portion of the day. All foundation being now removed for the necessity of supposing a gradual lowering of the ocean bed, along with that also disappears the needless conjecture of thousands of centuries for a construction belonging, as it appears, to a quite recent epoch. Possibly some of the myriads of centuries required by evolutionists may vanish in like manner through the advance of science and a severer and closer scrutiny of facts.

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### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

#### 1. *Katholik*.

**The Consecration of Holy Oils.**—The author of this series of interesting liturgical articles proceeds, in the September number of the *Katholik*, to inquire what are the Church's views as to who is entitled to be the minister in the ceremony of consecrating Holy Oils. The principle is laid down that the power of consecrating them is bestowed on every priest by the words of the bishop when conferring the priesthood, "Consecrare et sanctificare digneris, Domine." But the actual exercise of the power is not allowed. We thus explain two apparently opposed points of discipline. For, on the one hand, by reason of the importance attached to the Holy Oils, their consecration has been reserved to the bishop; and yet, on the other hand, cases may arise in which the Holy See judges well to bestow the faculty on simple priests. An important example is seen in the action of Pius VI., who empowered the French bishops to grant to their priests the faculty of consecrating chalices and patens, nevertheless who, when asked to also extend to simple priests the power to consecrate the Holy Oils, refused on the ground that such concession would conflict with the time-honoured custom of the Latin Church. Indeed, the Church is eminently conservative, although wherever doctrines are not concerned, when grave reasons urge, she is not averse to modification and prudential changes. Whenever grave reasons are wanting, she never touches her liturgical traditions. We may here note, by the way, that, as regards the Greek Church, simple priests continue to the present day to consecrate the *Oleum Catechumenorum* and the *Oleum Infirmorum*, but the consecration of the *Chrisma* is exclusively reserved to bishops in the Greek as it is in the Latin Church. The author of this article proceeds to justify the Latin practice in this

respect by dwelling on the symbolism of the Holy Oils as typifying the Holy Ghost, and on the nature of the episcopal order as implying the fulness of hierarchical dignity and power. A second article in the October issue explains the consecration of the Oils being fixed for Maundy Thursday, by the close connection between the Holy Oils and the solemn administration of baptism which took place on Easter Eve.

Another article discusses the modern philosophical system as to time and space. Both the empirical and idealistic doctrines on this important point of ontology are refuted, and the doctrine of St. Thomas is established at length.

**German Bibles before Luther.**—An article in the October number contains a critique on Dr. Jostes' work, "The Waldenses and pre-Lutheran German translations of the Bible," a work which should have special interest for English Catholics. The fabulous statement that it was Luther who *first* gave the German people a translation of the Bible has been so often refuted that it is irritating to have to refute it yet once again. It had to be done, however; for the old fable was presented to the German public in quite a new shape in 1884. In 1881, Father Klimes, a Cistercian monk of Tepl, near Marienbad, in Bohemia, published, for the first time, the so-called *Codex Teplensis*, which is a German translation of the New Testament, belonging to the second part of the fourteenth century. It soon became well known that this codex had served as the model on which the first printed German Bibles had been based. Hereupon, curiously enough, two Protestant historians, Messrs. Keller and Haupt, proceeded to claim this *Codex* of Tepl, not for the Catholics, but for the Waldenses. The result of their researches was an apology for the Waldenses, to whose energy, zeal, and piety the German people owed their first translation of the Bible. A young Catholic historian, Dr. Jostes, of Münster Academy, joined issue with the aforesaid historians, and has unanswerably convicted them of grossly misrepresenting mediæval history, and being ignorant of Catholic institutions. These historians had laid great stress on the fact that an Appendix contained "seven chapters on Christian faith." This, they maintained, was a Waldensian catechism. Yet any unprejudiced reader, only superficially acquainted with Catholic doctrine, might see that it is a simple, good orthodox Catholic sermon. Messrs. Keller and Haupt's assumption is further refuted by the register of the Sundays, which is unmistakably Catholic; noting the celebration of three masses on Christmas day, the feast of All Saints, Corpus Christi day, and some other saints' days. It is during indeed, in face of all this, to speak of it being a Waldensian catechism that accompanies this old translation of the Bible. Nor can the hypothesis of a Waldensian translation find any support in ecclesiastical decrees against reading the Bible in the vernacular. Doubtless, in Spain, as early as by the end of the thirteenth century, translations of the Bible had been suppressed by royal decrees; it is quite useless, however, to seek for similar decrees, whether imperial

or episcopal, in Germany. No such decree was in force in this country at the time when our codex was written. The first decree of that kind emanates from the Archbishop of Mainz, in 1486.

## 2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

**The Pope and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.**—F. Duhr, in an article of considerable length, answers the much-agitated question: What was Rome's position towards the St. Bartholomew massacre? In the DUBLIN REVIEW of October last, I called attention to F. Duhr's first article, in which he showed that the massacre was not premeditated, but was the result of a sudden outburst of rage on the part of Queen Catherine. Hence an anticipatory approval of the tragedy by the Pope can no longer be sustained. But is it not true that the Pope approved of it after its accomplishment? Not a few Protestants are of the opinion that he did: an opinion rejected by Catholics, who establish the fact that the Pope never, directly or indirectly, sanctioned the barbarous massacre; and that only because the Pope was deeply moved, as well as deceived, by the despatches of the French Court was a *Te Deum* sung for what was believed to be the escape of the King from imminent danger. The first part of this usual answer is reliable. As to the *Te Deum*, it cannot any longer be denied that, besides the French despatches, other news had reached Rome previous to September 5, 1572. Father Duhr, therefore, sets himself to answer three questions: 1. What sort of news had reached Rome previous to September 5? 2. In what manner was it received, and what kind of rejoicings were indulged in? 3. Can the latter in any way be accounted for and approved of? It would detain us too long to follow the learned author's details. It remains true that Gregory XIII. took part in the great Roman procession, that he had a medal struck bearing the inscription "*Hugonotorum strages*," and that he shared in the common feeling that a powerful adversary had been struck down. But he utterly held in abhorrence the way in which the Huguenots had been dealt with on that 5th of September, 1572. Vincenzo Parapaglia, ambassador of Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, at the Roman Court wrote to the Duke: The joy would have been still greater had the king acted against the Huguenots "with pure hands, and in accordance with legal requirements."

The great son of mediæval England, Adam of St. Victor, who by his writings shed peculiar lustre on the French Church, is the subject of a very pleasant paper contributed by Father Drevès. Father Baumgartner continues his recollections of his journey to Iceland. His articles in the September, October, and November numbers chiefly dwell upon the deplorable fact that the decadence of Iceland dates from the period of the Reformation. The value of these capital articles is enhanced by some excellent translations of northern poetry into German.



3. *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, Innsbruck.*

**Gregory the Great's Sacramentarium.**—The October number gives us the dissertation by Professor Grisar, S.J., on Pope Gregory I.'s Sacramentarium. The author differs from those mediæval and modern liturgists who ascribe to St. Gregory the Great far more innovations in matters of liturgy than he made. The Pope may rather be said to have been eminently conservative, only yielding to most cogent reasons in undertaking to alter at all rites which he found in use. Professor Grisar uses Gregory's famous letter to Bishop John of Syracuse, to indicate shrewdly the lines on which the Pope proceeded. The explanation of the Kyrie Eleison and the Lord's Prayer being inserted by the Pope immediately after the canon (*Mox post præcen*) deserves special attention. Next, the author distinguishes the original portions of the Sacramentary from what in after times has been attached to it by other writers. A fact brought into due prominence by Professor Grisar is the connection between the reform of the Sacramentarium and the "Stationes." To Gregory the Roman church owes the revival of the "Stationes." The Pope gave the Sacramentarium such a shape as to meet the wants of the clergy and people on those occasions.

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FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*Revue des Questions Historiques.* Octobre, 1885. Paris.

**Was Nero a Persecutor?**—There is a well-known passage in the "Annals" of Tacitus (Book XV. chap. xlv.), which tells of the cruel tortures to which Nero subjected a vast multitude of Christians after the burning of the city, that he might divert suspicions and murmurings against himself as the suspected author of the conflagration. The authenticity of this passage has recently been questioned and denied! A certain M. Hochart, in a paper entitled "*La Persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron*" (in the *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, No. 2 de l'année 1884), maintains that the passage is an interpolation, introduced into the text of the "Annals" in the Middle Ages by a Benedictine monk! The first article in the present number of the *Revue* is a reply to this strange accusation. The Abbé Douais, Professor at the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, under the heading, "*La Persécution des Chrétiens de Rome en l'année 64*," discusses M. Hochart's criticisms with the result of entirely rejecting his novel conclusion. M. Hochart's arguments are too numerous to be detailed here; the Abbé gives a large space to them, as indeed was necessary, in order to render his own replies intelligible, and the student who would appreciate the one, will seek to read the other in the article itself. His arguments may, however, be divided (we think) into three classes; into those, namely, which (1) attack the assertions in the passage under consideration, those (2) which attack the language of the passage, and finally (3) those

which pretend to account for the falsification. Thus first, M. Hochart asserts that Nero was too popular, even after the conflagration, for this interpolated account to be probable; that the punishment of fire in the manner described was impossible at Rome, that no tribunal is mentioned, whilst the Romans professed and had too great a respect for legal forms for such a summary proceeding; that the victims could not have been burned in gardens on the Vatican, &c. To all this, the Abbé Douais replies carefully and at length, showing unhesitatingly the mistakes made by M. Hochart. Nero, it is shown, was suspected, and the people had good cause to suspect him and the complicity of those in power, judging from the absence of efforts to save the city of its guardians and firemen, the *vigiles*, *siphonarii*, &c. That Tacitus does not mention the tribunal before which the Christians were cited or the counts in their indictment, is shown to prove nothing; neither Suetonius nor Tacitus considered the punishment of Christians a thing of any moment. Tacitus speaks of them with supreme contempt. M. Hochart thinks that the recital of the horrible tortures to which Christians are said to have been put "must have come from an imagination penetrated with the legends of the martyrs!" Why? The Abbé shows that their inhuman death by fire is not impossible, not even improbable. There remains the question of the intrinsic difficulties of the passage.

**Has Tacitus been Falsified?**—The Abbé shows that these supposed textual difficulties are, in fact, but poor assumptions and indicative rather of anti-Christian animus than scholarship, on the part of M. Hochart. The name Christian, the latter objects, could not be known to Tacitus; the Romans at that time were in contact with Jews, and a Roman writer would have said rather "Messiani" than "Christiani" from the Greek, if he had wished to designate the followers of the Messiah to his contemporaries. The Abbé shows first that this difficulty is purely an imaginary one, and secondly, that *de facto* the followers of Christ were then known sufficiently well as Christians to account for the name being used by Tacitus. Such other objections as that Tacitus would not have said "auctor nominis," nor "Tiberio imperitante," but would have said "Tiberio principe," are abundantly refuted by the learned writer, as also is M. Hochart's specious pretence that the narrative of Tacitus suffers by the interpolation of the passage, and runs consecutively when it is removed.

**Nero Whitewashed.**—The capabilities of the Middle Ages in the way of fatuity and falsification, are apparently not yet sufficiently shown up by the detective criticism of our clever age. The False Decretals are in danger of being capped by False Classics! Nero does not deserve what has been said of him in this affair: the monk in "some monastery of the West" was himself in part deceived! This very briefly is how it came about:—The persecution (such as it was) of A.D. 64 is in Tertullian of a religious character merely. Later, "l'esprit Chrétien" gave it a political character. In the fourth century this first appears; the Christians came to be blamed,

at the dissolution of the empire, for all its evils, the invasions of the barbarians, &c. A Christian of that time "consequently" would be persuaded that it was so in Nero's day, and that the Christians *must* also have been regarded or at least blamed as the authors of the conflagration of the city. The falsifier also knew, however, that Nero himself was accused of the fire, therefore he *combined* the two stories! This narrative found its way into Sulpicius Severus and thence later into Tacitus with some new elements, (1) inasmuch as Nero was regarded as the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse, (2) owing to the "particular concern which the Roman church had in showing that SS. Peter and Paul, in order to found it, must needs have shed their blood at Rome." Hence the slaughter of Christians on the Vatican, where it could not have occurred, and the story, as it stands, reveals, "one cannot doubt, the Western monk of the Middle Ages!" Many pages are devoted to refuting this, not argument, but fabrication. M. Hochart's card-building of assumptions cannot stand against common-sense and mere facts. The falsifying monk is supposed to have determined to add a chapter to Tacitus, relative to the persecution of Christians, and on M. Hochart's hypothesis, did it, as the Abbé shows, exactly in the way *not* to suit his own avowed purpose. But, further (for details the reader must be referred to the article itself), the mediæval monk has no need to help on the notion of St. Peter's supremacy in this or any other way. The fact of St. Peter's presence in Rome was too well known, and proved by too strong assertions, to need this help, and the monk could only have knowingly falsified without provocation, for which uncharitable assertion we have only M. Hochart's fancies.

**St. Bernard and the Second Crusade.**—This is the title of the next article, which is from the pen of the Abbé E. Vacandard—an article which may be recommended as containing a graphic and detailed account of the preparations for the Crusade and causes of its failure, founded on the original sources (the chronicles being largely drawn upon) and on the best recent German authors, Wilken, Kugler, Giesebrecht, Jaffé, Neumann, &c. The writer complains that the story of the Crusade is mistakenly, inefficiently or misleadingly told in even recent and good French works—and his leading *object* seems to be to establish the claim of the French King Louis VII. to the glory of having given the initiative to the Crusade. The sketch of St. Bernard's journeys and preachings is very full and interesting: well worth the reading. The writer concludes with some good remarks on the view to be taken of this and the other Crusades.

Other articles in this excellent number of the *Revue* are "Les Questions d'enseignement dans les cahiers de 1789," by the Abbé E. Anau, "Isidore de Cordoue et ses œuvres, d'après un MS. de l'abbaye de Maredsous," a most interesting paper, in which the writer Dom Germain Morin, O.S.B., rehearsing the arguments for and against the existence of an Isidore of Cordova, and himself



siding against, by means of a MS. in the library of Maredsous of the twelfth century, clears up the mystery of the mention of Isidore of Cordova by Sizebert of Gemblouc, who says that this Isidore "scripsit ad Orosium libros quatuor in libros regum." In all probability, the Isidore so-called of Cordova, made his appearance through the pen of a copyist in some Belgian monastery of the early twelfth century. The work on Kings mentioned by Sizebert, was not written in the fourth century, but in the ninth or tenth by some monk. The other articles of the number are "La Correspondence de Catherine de Medicis," by M. G. Baguenault de Puchesse, "La Geographie de la Gaule, de M. Ernest Desjardins," by M. Anatole de Barthélemy, and lastly, an interesting criticism of modern French history class books, "Les Cours d'histoire à l'usage de l'enseignement secondaire," by M. Felix Aubert.

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## Notices of Books.

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*Ecclesiastical Institutions: being part of the Principles of Sociology.*  
By HERBERT SPENCER. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

MR. SPENCER'S exposition of the theory of evolution has at last reached the stage of its direct application to religion. Ill-health, which we are sorry to hear of, has delayed the completion of this volume; but the general lines which it follows, and the conclusion it enforces, have long been known to students of the Spencerian philosophy, and it has so far not suffered by the delay. We do not know whether we are to attribute to the same cause the unexpected feebleness of the indictment now drawn up against natural and revealed religion. We confess to a certain disappointment in this. Knowing that Mr. Spencer is unhappily not a believer, we felt, with Kant, that there would be a certain advantage in having to consider an attack made by an adversary of such known ability. We might have looked for new objections, or for old ones newly shaped, which would have led apologists to bring out, in fresh relief, such aspects of the truth as were impugned. Instead of these, the volume before us is chiefly made up of series of quotations, marshalled with that monotonous wealth of illustration, which is a strong point in all Mr. Spencer's works, since it leaves the reader to suppose (as it has doubtless already persuaded the author) that they are all of them relevant, and prove the conclusion they are intended to enforce. In this volume, it will be found by any one who carefully examines them, the proportion of inaccurate or irrelevant instances is much larger than in its predecessors. We will proceed to justify the severity of this opinion by a brief examination of the work itself.

Mr. Spencer sets out, very rightly, by inquiring into the source of

the religious ideas which ecclesiastical institutions subserve; and begins by stating that the belief, of "theologians" and others, that there is "an innate consciousness of deity," has been "rudely shaken" by recent investigation. His objections are drawn from two sources; firstly, cases are cited to prove that deaf mutes and others who have been from infancy cut off from intercourse with the minds of adults, are devoid of religious ideas; and secondly, the reports of travellers are used to show that these do not exist among various savage races. It is characteristic of our author's method that the latter quotations (merely given as additional to those for which he refers to Sir J. Lubbock) are not qualified by any doubt as to the correctness with which an European understands a savage; and that three of the five do not appear to refer to the existence of God at all, but to the immortality of the soul. But supposing them all correct and to the point, Mr. Spencer does not seem to have realized that no one now thinks supernatural ideas—or indeed any ideas at all—to be "innate" in such a sense as would be open to these objections. The question is, not whether every human being is, of himself, provided with any definite knowledge at all, but whether his mind is so constructed as to assent to such truths, when their terms are sufficiently understood, and, if needful, as in certain cases, the grounds for them are presented to him. Mr. Spencer's objections to the idea of deity apply as much, certainly no less, to the ideas of arithmetic and geometry, or even to the fundamental principles of the human reason. The general properties of number and space, and the laws of Identity, Contradiction, and Excluded Middle, are far more hidden from the deaf mute and savage than the belief in the existence of God.

Mr. Spencer next proceeds to develop his own view, which he has stated before, but which, he thinks, "needs re-emphasizing" and supporting with further facts. Our readers probably know it to be the theory called "Animism," which ascribes the belief in the existence of one or many gods to the worship of deceased ancestors. Their spirits are supposed to be still dwelling in their wonted haunts, and to have the same wants and passions as during life, whence the offerings of food made to them, and the attempts to avert their wrath. If we ask, whence the belief in the existence of spirits after death? we are told that it is derived from the phenomena of sleep, and other kinds of unconsciousness, during which the soul is thought to be wandering from the body. Supposing every link of this chain to hold, it would supply a possible "naturalist" explanation of the origin of supernatural ideas. No wonder, therefore, Mr. Spencer is so satisfied with the argument that he cannot help saying, "this inference" (that ghost-propitiation is the source of all religion) "receives support wherever we look." Accordingly, he collects facts from races in every stage of civilization or barbarism, to prove this important point. Some are dressed up for the purpose, if they do not already suit, such as a very important quotation from the Rev. Duff MacDonal's "*Africana*," which, being intended to illustrate

the *growth* of ancestor worship, is "placed for clearness in a changed order." Other facts can hardly have seemed very convincing, even to Mr. Spencer, such as Pinto's cut of a chief's mausoleum, which "needs but additional columns to make it like a small Greek temple." Others, again, are accounts of worship at the shrines of Greek heroes, whose apotheosis is distinctly not a primitive but a late phenomenon in the history of religion, or of prayer and ceremonial at the shrines of Mohammedan saints, as to which we prefer to accept the explanation given by Mohammedans themselves.

The like unphilosophical temper is shown by the way in which other theories of the origin of religion are disposed of. Thus, fetishism is rejected, on the strength of four instances, two of which are wholly irrelevant. Professor Max Müller's theory of nature-worship is set aside merely on the following grounds. Certain Indian tribes called the stars the camp fires of deceased persons, and they have afterwards been taken for the deceased themselves, hence their worship *may* have arisen. A Hawaiian king was called "the heavens," "whence it is clear that Zeus *may* naturally at first have been a living person, and that his identification with the sky resulted (the "may" is dropped here) from his metaphysical name." The sun is a favourite name, and so may have belonged to some one whose superiority, or good fortune, or remarkable fate, may have led to its personalized worship. We need hardly say we do not accept Professor Max Müller's as an adequate account of the origin of religion, though we think it superior to animism and fetishism; for that very reason we are the better able to estimate the incredible feebleness of the objections here raised to it. The records of primeval peoples, and the real opinions of savage races, are still so imperfectly known to us, that nothing can be safely built upon them. The most that we are warranted in doing is to proceed with caution, endeavouring to separate primary developments from late corruptions of religious belief, and thus hoping to arrive at last at a theory based on facts. In this the Abbé de Broglie has set a good example in his recent admirable "*Histoire des Religions*." He brings forward against each of the three theories we have mentioned, not merely the facts which each quotes against the others, but the following objection which we have not seen answered. Before the predicate "God" can be applied to any object, whether the sun, a deceased ancestor, or a fetish, some idea of God must already exist—we do not use terms for which we have no meaning. His own opinion, suggested with much caution, is the following: If we suppose that the development of religion in the race corresponds to its development in each individual, and examine how it arises in the child, we shall find that the belief in a superior being is always suggested from without, and is, at least to some extent, external in its origin. But it falls upon soil which is every way prepared to receive it. The reason recognizes a first cause; the conscience accepts a legislator and a judge; the heart turns unerringly to its eternal Father, and *seeks an adequate object for its love*. The disposition, therefore, to



believe in God, is innate; but not the belief itself. This would imply some divine communication, whereby the existence of God, and man's relation to Him, was manifested in the beginning to the human race. Animism and nature-worship would then fall into their places as partial expressions of the originally communicated truth. "Avant de dire, 'le mort est un dieu,' comme avant de dire, 'le soleil est dieu,' il faut déjà avoir l'idée de Dieu."

This view is at any rate in accordance with a considerable number of facts. Darmesteter, a rationalist, has collected much evidence to prove that monotheism was the belief of the Aryan race before their dispersion, and consequently at a very remote period, and it has been shown to be of similarly great antiquity in Egypt and China. There are, moreover, some special objections to the "ghost" theory. The occurrence of precisely the same fables concerning heathen gods in many widely remote countries, points strongly to their having an origin in the worship of natural phenomena, not of deceased ancestors. So, too, the scanty knowledge professed concerning the dead in all early conditions of mankind (for metempsychosis is evidently a later development), even among the Hebrews and Greeks, is much opposed to ghost-propitiation being the basis of their religion.

Having established the theory of animism to his own satisfaction, Mr. Spencer next proceeds to inquire whether the Jewish religion is of supernatural origin, and is, therefore, any exception to his rule. The reasons for which he rejects it are instructive as showing the peculiar bias of his own mind. In the first place, he urges that "the plasma of superstitions amid which the religion of the Hebrews evolved, was of the same nature with that found everywhere." We are referred, among other proofs, to Isaiah viii. 19. as if that passage contained an approval of wizards, instead of a condemnation of them; much as if the prohibition of arson or murder were used to identify the criminal law of England with the "plasma" of crime amid which it has evolved. All the other arguments used to show the similarity of Judaism to other religions, and its origin from polytheism, are so well known, that we need not dwell on them. There is, indeed, one which we have never seen urged before. We are told "there is the specific statement that when helping Judah, the Lord could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley because they had chariots of iron (Judges i. 19)—that is, there were incapacities equalling those attributed by other people to their gods." Mr. Spencer's eagerness to make a point at all hazards has, characteristically, prevented his noticing that the "incapacity" is attributed in the passage quoted, not to God, but to Judah!

The chapter closes with three objections to the supernatural origin and development of the Jewish and Christian religions. The first is the improbability of the "Theophania" to Abraham; the second, the limited powers which the Scriptures (as interpreted by Mr. Spencer) ascribe to the Deity; the last is, that if the numerous parallels between the Christian and other religions do not prove sameness of origin and development, their appearances must have been

"arranged for the purpose of misleading sincere inquirers." It does not seem to have occurred to this candid inquirer that another explanation of these parallelisms is at least as possible as his own, and that his objection is therefore of no logical value. All forms of religion, whether natural or supernatural, whether derived from the same source or originating independently, must have many features in common, since they are adapted to meet certain wants and desires of men who resemble each other so closely in the main. This has been excellently brought out by M. de Broglie in the work to which we have already referred, and from which we borrow the following illustrations: All palaces, railway stations, theatres, and other special buildings, necessarily present many points of likeness, although not designed by the same architect, or in the same style. The same, too, is true of social institutions; all deliberative assemblies, all civil and criminal courts, are alike in many particulars, though they have arisen independently, and under different circumstances, because their objects are in each case the same. Must not this be true, also, of religious institutions, which are designed (whether by God or by man) to meet special demands of mankind?

We lay stress on this point, because it applies to almost all the rest of Mr. Spencer's book. He tells us, indeed, at the end of the first chapter, that he "parts company with" all who accept the supernatural origin of Christianity. But, as he continues to compare Christian and Jewish ecclesiastical institutions with those of other forms of religion, we should be much tempted to follow him on our own account, had we not already dwelt at such length upon what seems to us the vital part of his book. The principle we have just suggested explains all the parallelisms of any importance, which we are therefore prepared to accept as antecedently probable. At the same time we should be sorry to endorse Mr. Spencer's "facts," even where we agree with his conclusions. One instance of his unfitness for the task he has set himself will be so decisive, although so offensive, to Catholic readers, as to justify our quoting it. He is speaking of some of the conditions which tell against monotheism, and remarks: "Among Roman Catholics the Virgin, habitually addressed in prayers, tends to occupy the foreground of consciousness; the title 'Mother of God' dimly suggests a sort of supremacy; and now in the Vatican may be seen a picture in which she is represented at a higher elevation than the persons of the trinity." One cannot help regretting this passage was not available to illustrate the dense prejudice of the great Protestant tradition when "The Present Position of Catholics in England" was written. And the punishment which fell so heavily, if so deservedly, upon Evangelical clergy and writers of tracts, is much more merited by this chosen leader of thought and philosophy, who has so significantly succeeded to the calumnies out of which they have been shamed. The last chapter of the work, entitled "Religious Retrospect and Prospect," is merely a reproduction of an article that appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* two years ago. This was so fully

criticized after its publication, that we need not further review it now. We are glad to be spared the task of following its tortuous course, which ends in nothing but confusion, and in affirming (often in the second half of a sentence) what has been denied in the first half. "*Quis tenent vultus mutantem Protea nodus?*" All the tedious labour of these many volumes, all this heaping-up of more or less correctly recorded, more or less relevant, facts, is to end in the attempt to solve a great enigma which is at the same time stated to be insoluble; or, "though suspecting that explanation is a word without reason when applied to this ultimate reality, yet feels compelled to think there must be an explanation." Was there ever a sadder justification of the divine complaint, "*Me dereliquerunt, fontem aquee vivae, et foderunt sibi cisternas, cisternas dissipatas, quae continere non possunt aquas?*" The outcome of all this labour is to offer men the feeling of wonder in the presence of the "unknowable" (Heine's "Irish bull in philosophy") in place of the knowledge and love of their eternal Father, and the worship of humanity in His Divine Son, and the members of His mystical Body.

J. R. G.

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*Regestum Clementis Papae V, ex Vaticanis Archetypis SS.D.N. Leonis XIII Pontif. Max. jussu et munificentia nunc primum editum, cura et studio Monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Romae: Typographia Vaticana (Spithœver). 1885.*

OUR Holy Father, Leo XIII., besides opening the Vatican archives and calling upon scholars to make use of the literary treasures therein accumulated for the vindication of historical truth, has also pointed out to some of the workers the line they may profitably pursue. To Cardinal Hergenroether he confided the task of editing the *Regesta* of Leo X. Similarly he commissioned five Benedictine Fathers to publish the *Regesta* of Clement V. (1305-1313), the first Pope who resided at Avignon, thus beginning the "Babylonian Captivity." These five Benedictine Fathers are Abbot Tosti, vice-archivist to the Holy See, Gregory Palmieri, John Navratil and Charles Stastny, of the monastery of Raigern in Moravia, and Anselm Caplet, a monk of Monte Casino. These united workers have just presented the world with the first instalment of the *Regesta*, a splendidly printed volume in folio, containing a preface of 325 pages in length, and a portion of the text of the *Regesta* occupying the following 284 pages.

The preface tells us something of the actual condition of the Vatican archives, and traces the main features of the history of the Avignon volumes. The *Regesta* of Clement V. are contained in two series. The one which claims our special attention consists of no less than 402 volumes filled with the original papers of the Avignon Popes. These volumes were removed from Avignon to Rome by order of Pius VI. in 1781. Besides this series there is the general department of the Archives which contains not a few Avignon



documents written on vellum. The reign of Clement V. has here ten bulky volumes devoted to it, which correspond each to a year of the Pope's reign, except that the first year occupies two volumes. Attention is next specially due to the very careful history of the Archives during the reign of Napoleon I., who, when at the summit of his power, ordered them to be brought to Paris. Worth reading, also, is the passage in which the learned editors trace the history of two volumes—the only ones which have come down to us from a period antecedent to the reign of Innocent III. These two, the *Regesta* of John VIII. and Gregory VII. once belonged to the famous monastery of Monte Casino whence they found their way to the Papal Archives.

The preface is followed by the *Regestum* of the first regnal year of Clement V., ending November 14, 1306; for the Pope's election took place early in the summer of 1305, he consented to it on July 24, and was solemnly crowned on the 24th of November of that year. The total number of documents for this period amounts to 1146. They are followed by the "*Litteræ de Curia primi anni*," and the *regesta* "*litterarum communium*." To form a clear idea of the meaning of these names, it is to be observed that during the thirteenth century the papal officials had begun to embody the documents in several departments, and those were accounted as "common letters" which were concerned with affairs of only a private character; whilst those of public interest were classed as "letters of the curia." Our editors have carefully laboured to make their text entirely conformable to the Vatican originals. Praiseworthy as this endeavour may be, it should not have prevented them from adopting modern spelling in not a few names of towns. (For English places. *e.g.*, the reader is referred to pp. 89, 128, 150, 202, 228. As to the contents of these Papers, they are mainly concerned with affairs of benefices and the administration of marriage. Of course it is to France, the then mainspring of European politics, that they mostly refer. England ranks next to France, perhaps, both because of the ascendancy she was gaining under Edward II., and by reason of her dominions in France. Not a few documents (pp. 273-320) are concerned with affairs of the Irish Church. This collection appears to be of great importance also for the history of the dominions of the Holy See, as an example of which may be quoted the Bull by which the Pope invests King James of Aragon (p. 261) with the isles of Sardinia and Corsica. The volume bears its testimony, also, to the traditional policy of the Holy See on the Eastern Question. Clement V., like his predecessors in the thirteenth century, largely contributed towards the conquest of Palestine.

The complete work, it is expected, will extend to at least five volumes. May I express the hope that it will meet with that approval and encouragement from English scholars which it so eminently deserves.

BELLESHEIM.

*Dissertationes Selectæ in Historiam Ecclesiasticam.* Auctore BERNARDO JUNGSMANN, Professore Theologiæ in Universitate Lovaniensi. Tomus V. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1885.

THE four preceding volumes of these *Dissertationes* have been duly noticed in THE DUBLIN REVIEW (January, 1882, p. 273, and October, 1884, p. 461). The fifth volume no less deserves, for its matter and merits, the attention of students of history and theology. It consists of six long dissertations covering 510 pages, and evidences the same sober judgment, critical acumen, ability in tracing causes to their last results as were before manifested by Professor Jungsmann. Perhaps the first dissertation, which describes the state of the Church during the first part of the twelfth century, will most attract attention, on account of the solid explanation of the so-called "Donatio Constantini," a mere fable originating in France and dating only from the ninth century. The foes of the Papacy, however, have always alleged that in the skilful handling of the Holy See, it was a most powerful means in the establishment of its secular power during the Middle Ages. Professor Jungsmann, making large use of modern German researches, clearly shows that the "Donation" originated in France. Dollinger's opinion that the document had a Roman origin is nowadays quite discarded. English students will be specially interested in the third dissertation, in which the author traces the history of St. Thomas of Canterbury's "cause." Of course he was not able at the time he wrote to make use of the second edition of F. Morris's "History of St. Thomas," only recently published. Had it been available to him he would have found in it new reasons for defending the great Archbishop. Of still greater interest, perhaps, is the dissertation occupying pp. 209-228, which discusses Henry II.'s claim to Ireland and the Papal documents it was founded upon. Here we have the important question, Is Hadrian's Bull to be considered authentic? German critics appear not to be at all favourable, either to the Bull or to the document in which Alexander III is said to mention it (I refer to an able Article in the *Katholik* in 1864). Professor Jungsmann's arguments produce the same effect on the reader's mind. He, however, refrains from giving an express decision against it. It is not needful here to enter into the details of the dissertation. I may, however, point out that the latter, taken in connection with the able articles from the pen of Father Morris in last year's *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, seem to give a final negative answer to the long-continued question whether or not Hadrian's Bull is genuine. The three following dissertations are respectively occupied with Pope Innocent III and his negotiations with France and England, his opposition to the heretics of that time, and the state of Christian society during the thirteenth century. That portion of the last dissertation which treats of the "Pragmatic Sanction," appears to be a most careful piece of work, and quite deserves that the student should consult it at length in the volume itself.

BELLESHEIM.

*The Chair of Peter*; or, the Papacy Considered in its Institution, Development, and Organization, and in the Benefits which for over Eighteen Centuries it has Conferred on Mankind. By JOHN NICHOLAS MURPHY, Roman Count. Popular Edition, with much New Matter, and the Statistics brought down to the Present Time. London and New York: Burns & Oates.

IT is not yet three years since we reviewed the first edition of *The Chair of Peter*, and it is a real pleasure to us to see that a second edition has been so soon required. This is a compliment which Mr. Murphy's efforts well deserve; whilst it argues the prevalence of interest in a subject which is the crucial point in our controversy with outsiders, and on which it is important that every Catholic of these countries should be well informed. It is unnecessary to repeat now the account we gave of the work before; suffice it to say that in a series of clearly written chapters, precise in statement, excellently temperate in tone, the author deals with just those questions regarding the power, claims, and history of the Roman Pontiff, which are at the present time of most actual interest. On what proofs is their claim to primacy built; did the early Christians really know anything of the claim; was St. Peter ever at Rome; how came the Greek half of Christendom to turn its back on the Pope; what is the origin of the "temporal power," and by what influences did it grow; what is the true meaning of the attitude of the Lutheran revolution against Papal authority—these and various other subordinate questions occupy the second, as they did the first, edition of Mr. Murphy's book, together with some interesting chapters on such subjects as how the election of a Pope used to be and now is conducted, what are the cardinals and what their office and history, and what special benefits do mankind owe to the Papacy. The new edition contains, in addition to all this, fourteen fresh chapters, the chief of these additions being—a fuller account of the Greek schism; an account of the life and writings of Wycliffe; and chapters on the Mendicant Orders, the art of printing, the Bible before the Reformation, alleged unworthy Popes, and the Culturkampf and Catholic organization in Germany, Belgium, and other countries. A good index renders the whole of the varied contents of this excellent book a doubly useful, because quickly utilized, help.

We turned with no little interest to the new (37th) chapter, headed, "Alleged Unworthy Popes," hoping that the author would not shirk the unpleasant and yet undeniable things which are on record against some of the Popes. Not that the faults of the Popes are any argument against the Papal claims; it is, on the contrary, of no little importance to show that such personal human sin in some few Pontiffs is a strong indication of a Divine protection according to Divine promise. How much sin, however, there has really been; how far what has been said of "bad Popes" is the testimony of *history*, and how far merely the "allegation" of slander or hatred



—this is a point on which something should be clearly stated in a popular book, and we are glad to find Mr. Murphy stating, briefly but sufficiently, the case against the value of Luitprand's authority on the strength of which so many Popes have been classed as "bad." The author then glances, in succession, at the lives of a series of thirty-one Popes (A.D. 891–1003), and acknowledges the few from whom censure cannot be withheld. We regret he did not give more space to Alexander VI. than the note. Leonetti's vindication of him cannot, we fear, be accepted, whilst it might have been shown that the adverse judgment on Alexander of such a sterling Catholic as M. Henri de l'Épinois as against Leonetti's attempted vindication, is evidence enough that Catholics are willing to leave bad Popes as they are—only wishful that they should not be painted blacker than truth demands. The case of Alexander VI. is constantly cropping up in general English literature: one hears of him twenty times for once that Stephen VI. or VII., or John XII., or Boniface VII., or any one of the others is mentioned. The very name Borgia is still accepted as a synonym for the worst manifestations of human passions. It might have been well to say how the balance of evidence for and against him stands at present. That much of the testimony against him is conflicting or uncertain is very true—even the Borgia has been painted too black—yet we should certainly not like to defend M. Leonetti's pronouncement that he has been "the most wronged of all the successors of St. Peter." With Mr. Murphy's own remark at the close of his note, that careful and laborious scrutiny of original sources is necessary to the establishment of the truth on these questions of character we quite agree. "The Popes have need only of the truth." Unfortunately for us, the oft-repeated accusations thrown at them are not the result of careful and laborious scrutiny of sources.

*Biblia sacra vulgata editionis Sixti V Pont. Max. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. Tornaci Nerviorum: typis Soc. Sancti Ioannis Evangelistae, Desclée, Lefebvre et Soc. 1885.*

**I**N the DUBLIN REVIEW of October, 1883, I brought before the notice of its readers several liturgical publications of the Tournay Liturgical Printing Press of St. John. The same publishers have just brought out a new edition of *The Vulgate*. As appears from the preface, it is arranged exactly on the same critical principles as that of 1883, except that the size is different and the ornamental adjuncts are changed. The present is a most handy volume in small octavo, printed on stout paper, in double columns. It has two maps, one of Palestine in the time of Our Lord, the other of the journeys of St. Paul. A very useful index of lessons, epistles, and gospels of the Sundays has also been added. The cheapness (frs. 7.50) of the volume, which extends to nearly a thousand pages, will no doubt be an additional recommendation of it to students.

A. BELLESHEIM.

*Proprium Officiorum in usum Diocesum Angliæ cum officiis novissimis a S. Rituum Congregatione concessis.* Tornaci: Societas S. Ioannis Evang., Desclée, Lefebvre et Soc. Edit. Pontif. 1885.

THE Society of St. John at Tournay has just published the English Proprium for the breviary. It is brought out in two sizes, one for the breviary in two volumes in quarto, the other for the breviary in four volumes in twelvemo. The former is printed in three columns on each page, the latter in double columns. Both are enclosed in red borders, and printed with that elegance of type and ornamental *têtes de pages* for which the Tournay Breviaries are now famous. The approval given by the Congregation of Rites to this Proprium is dated March 11, 1884. It may not be superfluous to state that an English Proprium corresponding to the other editions of the Tournay Breviary is in course of preparation.

A. BELLESHEIM.

*The Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ, according to St. Matthew.* Translated from the Vulgate with Notes and References. Southwark: Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square. 1885.

THE value of this little brochure is not to be measured by its size nor yet by its cheapness (it is some three or four inches square, and can be bought for  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ , or  $1d.$ , we believe, in quantities). It marks a first step in the effort we have long desired to see made to render the Gospels accessible and attractive to the Catholic people—to such, chiefly, as St. John Chrysostom addressed when he said (as quoted in the Bishop of Salford's Approbation): "Excuse not thyself from reading, by saying 'I have a trade, a wife, or a family.' Thou hast all the greater need of the consolation and instruction of the Gospel." Undoubtedly perusal of the Gospel narrative and lessons in the language of the Gospels themselves in a Catholic spirit of reverence is highly calculated to vivify faith and to enkindle devotion. We have only to consider the early Christians to believe that the same reverent love and familiarity with the Scripture, which supported them amidst the surroundings of Paganism, might equally help Catholics of to-day, surrounded as we are by a spurious Christianity, which has been well called a "civilized heathenism." Here, then, as an instalment, is the Gospel of St. Matthew in a small and portable form. To render it more pleasant to read, the division into verses is not observed, but the text runs on, divided only into paragraphs according to the sense. Some judicious notes, sometimes those of the Douay, occasionally new ones, offer explanation where it is needed. The new note on the passage relating to St. Peter in the sixteenth chapter, is clearly and well done, and an improvement. The headings, too, at the top of each page are also a happy idea, pointing out the lesson or subject of the page. Sometimes they are really useful exegetical keys. For example "Marriage indissoluble," "Celibacy recommended," "Voluntary poverty," headings to the several pages of chapter xix., are calculated to fix attention on the true interpretations. Lastly, the type is large and clear, and

we may mention that we have noticed only one oversight in editing, where "illucidation," has been left standing for "elucidation" in the heading to page 77. We would like to quote another word or two of a Saint, again taken from the Bishop of Salford's warm Commendation of this little tract, because the Saint is St. Alphonso Liguori. "The contemplations," he says, "which devout authors have written on the Passion, are useful and beautiful; but assuredly a single word of Holy Writ makes a deeper impression on a Christian than a hundred or a thousand contemplations and revelations ascribed to certain holy souls."

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*Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-1881. Vol. II. By R. BARRY O'BRIEN, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1885.*

TWO years ago we noticed the first volume of this interesting work, and from it we augured favourably of its completion in the second and concluding volume. That now lies before us, and we are pleased to see that the hopes we formed of it have not been belied. The two volumes form a solid and valuable contribution to the literature of the Irish Question. They contain a clear, forcible, and temperate exposition of Irish political history for the last fifty years, written in a style singularly attractive. Mr. O'Brien's power of research and his command of facts and statistics are marvellous; yet there is nothing dull or monotonous in the work. It combines the laborious accuracy of a blue book with the dramatic interest of a romance. We may safely affirm that before long it will be recognized as a standard authority on the subjects of which it treats.

The present volume deals successively with the Encumbered Estates Act, Reform Bill 1868, Irish Church Act 1869, the Land Act 1870, Intermediate Education Act 1878, Royal University Act 1879, and the Land Act 1881. Following the plan adopted in the first volume, Mr. O'Brien examines, one by one, each of these "concessions," searches their previous history, examines the causes that led to them, the spirit in which they were granted, and the mode in which they were applied, and then leaves the reader to judge whether and why the remedy failed. It is the old, old story of justice denied, because delayed. At first the cry for relief is met by a stern *non possumus*, an absolute refusal even to consider the appeal; then after long years of suffering and waiting comes a grudging ungenerous half measure, followed by a renewal of agitation and discontent; then, all too late, a full concession, the effects of which are frustrated by its being administered by men hostile to the measure and out of sympathy with the people whom it was framed to benefit.

There were concessions to violence, none to justice; surrenders to treason, but not to right; "bribe" to rebels, but scorn for the constitutional agitator . . . no admission of wrong-doing, no desire to make reparation, no acknowledgment of faults, no determination of amendment. Nothing was done to satisfy justice, but everything to avert



trouble and disaster. There was hand-to-mouth legislation, but no true policy of redress; no statesmanship (p. 418).

As an instance we may refer to the chapters on the Irish Church Act of 1869. There were in Ireland in the years

|      |            |           |              |         |
|------|------------|-----------|--------------|---------|
| 1672 | Catholics, | 800,000   | Protestants, | 300,000 |
| 1736 | "          | 1,417,000 | "            | 562,000 |
| 1834 | "          | 6,427,712 | "            | 800,000 |

Yet, for close on 300 years, the State forced upon the afflicted Catholic majority the maintenance of a Protestant Church whose revenues were plundered from their own old Church or wrung from them by cruel violence,\* an alien church whose tenets they abominated, whose ministrations they could not use, whose very existence was an outrage on their dearest feelings. In no other country was such a thing possible. As Sydney Smith humorously said, "There was nothing like it in Europe, in Asia, in the discovered regions of Africa, or in all we have heard of Timbuctoo." How was this grievance dealt with by the British Parliament?

In 1843—after it had been endured for nearly 250 years—Secretary Elliot refused to open the question.

1844. Sir R. Peel refused even an inquiry.

1846. Lord John Russell again rejected the measure for Reform.

1849. Motion for inquiry lost by 170 to 103 votes.

1853. Lord John Russell again opposed any measure on a basis of equality.

1854. Motion of Reform lost by 117 to 31 votes.

1865. Home Secretary declared "no practical grievance existed."

1866. Disraeli rejected motion again.

1867. Motion rejected by 195 to 183 votes.

At last Parliament yielded to expediency what for so long it had denied to justice. Between 1865 and 1867 the Fenian insurrection had been gradually leavening the mass of the Irish people. In the latter year it found its way to England. The discovery of a plot to seize Chester Castle, the rescue of a prisoner in Manchester streets, the blowing up of Clerkenwell Gaol in the heart of London, combined with the alarming state of Ireland, where the prisons were filled with rebels, and the villages swarmed with troops, while the Habeas Corpus was suspended and men of war watched the coasts—all these at last forced home upon Englishmen the stern reality of Irish suffering and discontent, and in 1869 Mr. Gladstone Disestablished the Irish Church.

This is a fair sample of the "Concessions" for which we expect Irishmen to be so thankful. Of the rest, none were as complete as this; most were only half measures that were never applied and became dead letters almost as soon as they became law; and nearly all came too late, when the disease they came to remedy was incur-

\* Of £600,000 yearly income, £400,000 was the product of tithes! *Vide the chapters on the Tithe Commutation Act.*

able, or had left behind it the germs of evils more fatal than itself. So it has been with the Land Question. For centuries the sufferings of the many were ignored for the convenience of the few; then irritating "fractional measures" were passed, till we have seen the country brought almost to the verge of Socialism.

There is, however, one bright and cheering chapter in the book—that which records the one honest, manly attempt of a British official to rise above the prejudices of his class and rule Ireland in sympathy with her people and for their benefit. Thomas Drummond was Under Secretary at Dublin Castle under the administration of Lord Melbourne, from 1831 to 1841. He had previously studied the Irish question, and learned to sympathize with the Irish people. "Be just and fear not," was his principle; "no redress, no coercion," was his policy. While upholding the law on the one hand, with the other he set himself to remedy its injustice. Needless to say, he won all hearts among the people.

He strove manfully to wrest the country from the hands of the Ascendancy faction, who for 140 years had preyed upon its vitals. bravely he bore up against all opposition. Firmly he did justice, and feared not, but he sank beneath the burden he had undertaken . . . . bounded to death by landlords, Tories, and Orangemen.

There is a touching account of his death on page 454:—

The last moment had now arrived, and Dr. Johnstone asked Drummond where he wished to be buried, "in Ireland or in Scotland?" "In Ireland—the land of my adoption," was the immediate answer. "I have loved her well and served her faithfully, and lost my life in her service." All then ended. One of the best, one of the most unselfish and pure-minded, friends Ireland has ever known, was no more.

While he lived there was a rift in the clouds that hung over unhappy Ireland; when he died, the clouds closed in again, and all was darkness.

We sincerely hope that these volumes will be widely read in this country, feeling sure that the people of England have but to know the Irish case for their sympathies to be aroused. A little more sympathy, a little more justice, a few more men like Thomas Drummond, and who shall say the difficulty is insoluble? Unfortunately, among the English upper and middle classes there is a widespread hereditary ignorance and impatience of Irish matters. It is too readily assumed that Irish wrongs spring merely from the picturesque imaginations of fervid orators; and their mention only provokes a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders, and: "Another Irish grievance!" To such we earnestly commend this work.

Especially is its appearance opportune at this time. The future is lag with impending change—for good or for evil—in Irish affairs. At such a crisis, when feeling runs high, when passions are roused, and the air is filled with election cries, any attempt to venter the clouds of prejudice is welcome, especially when it comes in such a moderate and well-studied form as this. We cordially wish

it success. Its facts are well arranged, its premisses are clear, its reasoning cogent, and its judgments impartial—as impartial as is possible in a case where the wrongs are on one side and all the power of redressing them on the other. J. W. D.

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*Aletheia; or, the Outspoken Truth.* By the Right Rev. J. D. RICARDS, D.D., Bishop of Retimo, and Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape Colony. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1885.

THIS volume may be reckoned as supplementary to the author's well-known "Catholic Christianity and Modern Unbelief." In the same popular, almost colloquial manner, Dr. Richards gives an exposition of the Catholic Rule of Faith, dwelling on the necessity of Revelation, and showing clearly that its true sense cannot be determined by the Bible alone, nor by the vagaries of private judgment. He proves conclusively that dogmatic teaching *outside* of the Catholic Church is absolutely human in its origin, fallible in its operation, and powerless over the conscience of mankind. There is an excellent chapter on "Infallibility," and an especially interesting one on the "Dogma of the Immaculate Conception."

More chatty than formal in method, the book will probably reach, and we hope convince, many whom a less discursive style would fail to interest. It is full of information and full of earnestness. There is a good index. The publishers deserve a word of commendation for their clear type and good paper.

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S. ANSELM, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, *Cur Deus Homo*. Libri Duo. EADMER, Monachi Cantuariensis, *De Vita S. Anselmi*. Libri Duo. London: David Nutt. 1886.

WE are very pleased to welcome this handy little reprint of two most charming works. Eadmer's "Life of St. Anselm" is, to our thinking, one of the best biographies ever penned. The homely style, the preservation of those little features in the character of the Saint that most of all we would have preserved, give it an interest that perhaps no other biography can claim. We have had many lives of St. Anselm since Eadmer, but this re-issue shows that the affectionate reminiscences of the monk of Christ Church are still in favour. The type and arrangement of this little volume are admirable, a very pleasant relief after the rough typography of Abbé Migne. We are sorry, however, to find that the editing of the work is not quite satisfactory; many slips and blunders have been allowed to creep in, some that are obvious, others that so obscure the sense that one is baffled to discover even a "felicitous emendation." We have noted six such mistakes in the first thirty pages of *Eadmer*. On page 9, *sium* for *fiam*, on the same page the enclitic *ne* is separated from *esse*; and we have *monachum hoc est* for *monachus*



*hoc est*. On page 15, *sine quadam præsuppositio* for *quodam*; and in the same line, *ver visum* for *per visum*; and on page 22, *etabibus* for *etatebus*; and so on. If ever a second edition be called for, the removal of these little blemishes will not fail to render this volume from all points of view acceptable. T. A. B.

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*The Life of Father Luke Wadding.* By the Rev. JOSEPH A. O'SHEA, O.S.F. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1885.

WE cannot say much for this book, except that it is handsomely printed by Messrs. Gill. It seems to be a mistake to have rushed into print with a life of Wadding at a time when it is well known that the Irish Franciscan Fathers have not yet completed the collection of materials for his biography which they have for several years been making on a very complete scale. A man of the eminence of Luke Wadding should have a monument suited to his position in history and in literature. He was the Allen of the Irish exiles, and something more. He was a historian and a divine of a very high order; and his work within his native land, in addition to what he did for it abroad, was happily successful in a way that it was not granted to the English leader to succeed. This book is feeble in literary style and insufficient in its grasp of material. If we could look for nothing better, we might be glad to have it; but we cannot honestly commend it in any other sense.

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*The Life of a Prig.* By ONE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.

THIS very clever and amusing satire is solemnly dedicated to all Prigs, of whatever title and degree, in the British Islands—suggesting that they are a Most Noble, Rt. Hon., Right Rev., and Reverend, and numerous company! That it should be “most respectfully and affectionately” dedicated to them, is perhaps, really serious, and not merely the good joke it appears to be before we have read through the book itself. The author’s protest in the prologue that if his book “should have the effect of making even one prig more priggish, he will not have laboured in vain,” is, of course, fine irony. The Prig of the book is “too perfect” a being to be real; he is not “intended” for anybody; and he is sprung from a family of clergymen—a fact which he “knows” will enlist the sympathies of his readers. At his birth the first question discussed regarding him is whether he should be destined for Oxford or Cambridge, and he is brought up in “an atmosphere of mortar-boards, master’s gowns, spectacles and Greek exercises.” The adventures of this highly favoured entity in search of a religion worthy of him, is the burden of these pages. His blinding conceit—latent yet to a great degree—at the age of sixteen, is amusingly told—with a touch of burlesque exaggeration, which here, as elsewhere, only helps the moral of the story into prominence. Here is one sentence from his diary at that time:—

Eaten too much at tea. Oh why do we gorge ourselves with the luxuries of this life? Resolution: Will endeavour, as much as possible, to check the flippancy of those around me.

Arrived at Oxford in due course, he gets into a set who are the "highest" of the "high" undergraduates. He has ability as well as conceit; yet not enough of the former to prevent the *amari aliquid* arising, at every step of his advance, from the superabundance of the latter.

Next to being of a clerical family, a student, and an Oxford man, my great pride was that I was a High Churchman; but it galled me to discover that there were others higher than myself. On this point I was determined not to be beaten.

Through all the gradations therefore of Ritualistic mimicking of Roman practices he passes, ever promptly embracing any new thing that is "higher." When at last he has got as high as even an "Anglo-Catholic" can go, a cruelly candid friend points out to him that he is after all not so "high" as an Irish Papist crossing-sweeper! His resolve to honour the Catholic Church by becoming one of her distinguished converts, and his disgust when "instruction" was suggested and he was even offered a penny Catechism, are excellently told. Needless to say that this appreciation of him was not what he had hoped for from the Church, and therefore he passed on to the religions of the East, feeling that in each of them in succession—Buddhism, Confucianism, &c., he rose still higher above Romanism. The Prig ends becomingly in Agnosticism, in which he finds immense satisfaction; at least he is an Agnostic until the moment when he has found a lady who takes him at his own magnificent valuation, and then he declares—it is his egotistical manner of "proposing" to her—the truth at last, that the Ego, his Ego, is the only known thing to him, the only thing he can worship, and the worship of it "the highest, the deepest, and the broadest religion." Thus is the moral pointed, that conceit, self-sufficiency in the search for the religion of Christ will lead astray; and this amusing little squib is in reality a veritable sermon in a laugh. In addition to this we need say nothing to recommend a most amusing and clever book, whose influence certainly, whatever its author intended, makes for the spread of truth. Indeed, it is really a capital book to lend to "inquiring" friends. We have refrained from quotations, and must only mention the Prig's young Agnostic pupil who, knowing the "Imitation of Christ" by heart, quotes it at every turn against his Agnostic tutor. We must give this repetition of the moral of the book, as humorously told in the Epilogue:—

On my wedding tour, I met, at a certain railway station, the Jesuit Father whom I had consulted with a view to reception into the Church of Rome—the Jesuit of the penny Catechism. He recollected me at once, and greeted me pleasantly. I was a little disappointed at his making no inquiries as to whether I had become a Roman Catholic, so I said to him somewhat sharply, "Well! Are you going on a proselytizing expedition?"

"No," he answered. "I am going to the Cape of Good Hope on an astronomical expedition on behalf of the British Government."

"Indeed," said I. "Perhaps you will not be surprised to hear that I am more convinced than ever of the childish folly of the Roman Catholic religion. I have discovered the highest and truest religion. The way that I sought a religion——"

"There are only two ways of seeking a religion," replied he, as he got into his train, which was on the point of starting.

"Which are——?" I inquired.

"The right way and the wrong way."

"And mine was——?"

But the train moved down the platform; the Jesuit merely smiled and nodded pleasantly from his carriage window.

*Life of Mary, Queen of Scots.* By AGNES M. STEWART.  
London: Burns & Oates.

MISS STEWART is right in believing that, notwithstanding the numerous Lives of the unfortunate Queen of Scots already existing, there is quite room for hers. In it the most recent results of criticism are embodied rather than discussed, and in a compendious form it gathers up the details scattered in countless books and out-of-the-way sources; it forms an acceptable popular history of a life, the pathetic interest of which will never cease to be felt. Much has been done of late years to defend the cause of Mary Stuart, and to dissipate the mists of a prejudice which arose out of the lying perversions once prevailing as history. We need only allude to the works of M. Petit, Mr. Horack, Col. Maline (who replies to Mr. Froude), and last, but not least, of Miss Strickland. Yet these works are, for one reason or other, not what is now needed by the ordinary reader, one such reason being that they are not so recent as some of the controversies which have newly arisen touching the Queen's character. Our authoress has taken advantage of this accumulation of able defence, on it to support her own account—support which she has further strengthened and supplemented by her own researches among original records. Frequent but brief notes refer to her authorities for the leading statements; she abstains from declamation, wisely leaving the truth which has at last prevailed to enforce its own moral; and finally she writes in a quiet narrative style which well becomes the dramatic solemnity of Mary's misfortunes. She has, in fact, produced a trustworthy, and an attractive, because simple, narrative of the life of a most noble, sorely tried, bitterly persecuted woman; a life which especially teaches to her own sex some of the most serious lessons it ever needs to learn. To the Catholic, the true character of the unfortunate Queen has a significant interest. Miss Stewart, whilst of course defending Mary against the false charges of her enemies, has effectively set forth her piety and sterling virtue; painted her as, what she was, a good Catholic. We need say no more by way of praise. Miss Stewart's former historical biographies have raised her above the need of recommendation. She has not, we think, given the Catholic public any better book than this.

As to the recent controversy raised by the discovery of the eccle-



siastical dispensation in favour of Bothwell's marriage with Lady Jane Gordon, Miss Stewart makes large use of the Hon. Colin Lindsay's able little book. This is, in truth, very satisfactory; Mr. Lindsay's contentions seem to settle the question, and have won, as is well known, from Father Stevenson, a retraction which is highly creditable to both parties. How far Mr. Lindsay is opposed by the German Jesuit, Father Dreves, we do not quite know. The *résumé* of his article in the *Stimmen aus Maria Luach*, given by Dr. Bellesheim in this REVIEW (April, 1885, p. 434), leaves it uncertain. We only wish to observe that the words which Miss Stewart quotes from that *résumé* and attributes to Father Dreves—"I adopt Lindsay's opinion as to the invalidity of Bothwell's marriage with Jane Gordon, though not at all for the reasons which he adduces,"—are, we take it, the words and express the opinion of Dr. Bellesheim. Father Dreves apparently holds a different opinion; but we have not the *Stimmen* to refer to. It is also Dr. Bellesheim's own judgment that the invalidity of the dispensation arises from its not having been asked and made to include the other existing impediment of "mixed religion," a reason which we do not follow, since the diriment impediment—"disparitatis cultus," as it is called—obtains only between a Catholic, on the one side, and an unbaptized person on the other. Whatever view of the dispensation these writers have taken, the character of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, remains—what all her best biographers have shown it to be—innocent of the crimes which hatred feminine, hatred national, and hatred religious, have in turn and all together tried to impute to her. The text and a translation of the Dispensation are to be found at the end of the volume, together with some other interesting *pieces justificatives*.

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*Der Nachlass der Schottenkönigin, Mary Stuart.* Von Dr. BERNHARD SEPP. Munich. 1885.

IN this little work, Dr. Sepp continues the history of Mary Stuart, which he is giving to German readers. An indefatigable student, he is intent on collecting all the documents which throw light on that story. We find here in brief compass an account of the various objects left by Queen Mary, reproductions, in a good style, of her portraits, an inventory of her goods at Fotheringhay, and, in the Appendix, fragments of her diary at Glasgow between the 23rd and 27th of January, 1567; two letters also of Mary's to Lord Huntly from Bolton Castle, August, 1568, and another to the Archbishop of Glasgow, dated Sheffield, May 2, 1578. The next volume is to contain a searching criticism of Mary's correspondence with Babington. There is an interesting argument on the genuineness of the dispensation granted by the Archbishop of St. Andrews for the marriage of Jane Gordon and Bothwell. Dr. Sepp is very strongly convinced that the original, discovered at Dunrobin, and published in 1874, is authentic.

*A Popular History of Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century.* By AGNES M. CLERKE. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1885.

IN one sense the change effected in the inquiries of astronomy by the telescope and the spectroscope leads the science away from that absorbing attention to mathematical calculation which Newton inaugurated, back again to that observation which in its simpler forms dates far away into the obscurities of earliest Chaldean and other history. In this sense the astronomy of the eighteenth century is too technical in method and detail to admit of that sort of graceful and popular treatment which is here applied by Miss Clerke with eminent success to the history of astronomy in the nineteenth century. The new astronomy, she remarks, is more popular in its needs and more popular in its nature, the kind of knowledge it accumulates is more easily intelligible—at the same time it is equally attractive and even impresses the imagination more forcibly and sublimely. "It has thus," she says, "become practicable to describe in simple language the most essential parts of recent astronomical discoveries; and, being practicable, it could not be otherwise than desirable to do so." We will add that in Miss Clerke's hands the attempt has been most successfully accomplished. Success, in this case, demanded some difficult conditions. Familiarity with the technicalities and processes of the science were needed; and every page witnesses to her wonderful fitness in this respect. There was also needed a power of accurate analysis and clear presentment of the results of complicated antecedents; and in this respect, too, the book before us excites our admiration. Precise in thought and statement, Miss Clerke writes in a highly cultivated and graceful style. Altogether her book is a serious and really valuable contribution to scientific English literature, being of the (far from numerous) class of reliable books that are accessible to the untechnical reader. What she says of the attempt to do that which she has now achieved, we may transfer here from her preface:—"The service to astronomy itself would be not inconsiderable of enlisting wider sympathies on its behalf; while to keep one single mind towards a fuller understanding of the manifold works, which have in all ages irresistibly spoken to man of the glory of God, might well be an object of no ignoble ambition."

The first part of the volume is devoted to the progress of astronomy during the first half of the century, and "Herschel's inquiries into the construction of the heavens strike the keynote" of this part; whilst "the discovery of sun-spot and magnetic periodicity, and of spectrum analysis, determine the character of the second." With which mere broad division of a work, crowded with interesting biographies and marvellous details of scientific success, we must here perforce be content. Let us remark only that a knowledge of astronomy may here be acquired in what is manifestly, in a multitude of instances, the most fascinating and impressive manner, attaining to *what* telescope and spectroscope have revealed, in learning *how* we came to know it through the labours of scientific men. For example, the item of knowledge that, until lately, it was supposed that Mars had no moons,

and that in 1877 her two satellites were discovered, and are probably the smallest heavenly bodies known, is a mere astronomical detail which puts on the colour and interest of adventure when we read in these pages of the keen search for Deimos and Phobos. Let us add also that the interests of students have been consulted in this volume "by a full and authentic system of references to the sources of information relied upon," and that "materials have been derived, as a rule, with very few exceptions, from the original authorities." We may well be pardoned some pride in speaking of this work of a young Catholic lady, the excellence of whose contributions on kindred topics to the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" has drawn from our contemporary, the *Athenæum*, the high compliment that Miss Clerke threatens to out-rival Mrs. Somerville. We append one eloquent extract, the concluding words of her volume, as a specimen of her style, leaving the reader to find more substantial excellence in the work itself:—

Now, not alone the ascertained limits of the system have been widened by a thousand millions of miles, with the addition of one more giant planet and six satellites to the ancient classes of its members, but a complexity has been given to its constitution baffling description or thought. Two hundred and fifty circulating planetary bodies bridge the gap between Jupiter and Mars, the complete investigation of the movements of any one of which would overtask the energies of a lifetime. Meteorites, strangers apparently to the fundamental ordering of the solar household, swarm nevertheless by millions in every cranny of its space, returning at regular intervals like the comets so singularly associated with them, or sweeping across it with hyperbolic velocities, brought perhaps from some distant star. And each of these cosmical grains of dust has a theory far more complex than that of Jupiter; it bears within it the secret of its origin, and fulfils a function in the universe. The sun itself is no longer a semi-fabulous, fire-girt globe, but the vast scene of the play of forces as yet imperfectly known to us, offering a boundless field for the most arduous and inspiring researches. Amongst the planets, widest variety in physical habitudes is seen to prevail, and each is recognized as a world apart, inviting inquiries which, to be effective, must necessarily be special and detailed. Even our own moon threatens to break loose from the trammels of calculation, and commits "errors" which sap the very foundations of the lunar theory, and suggest the formidable necessity for its revision. Nay, the steadfast earth has forfeited the implicit confidence placed in it as a time-keeper, and questions relating to the stability of the earth's axis, and the constancy of the earth's rate of rotation, are amongst those which it behoves the future to answer. Everywhere there is multiformity and change, stimulating a curiosity which the rapid development of methods of research offers the possibility of at least partially gratifying.

Outside the solar system, the problems which demand a practical solution are all but infinite in number and extent. And these have all arisen and crowded upon our thoughts within less than a hundred years. For sidereal science became a recognized branch of astronomy only through Herschel's discovery of the revolutions of double stars in 1802. Yet already it may be, and has been, called "the astronomy of the future." So rapidly has the development of a keen and universal interest attended and stimulated the growth of power to investigate the sublime subject. What has been done is little—is scarcely a beginning; yet it is much in



comparison with the total blank of a century past. And our knowledge will, we are easily persuaded, appear in turn the merest ignorance to those who come after us. Yet it is not to be despised, since by it we reach up groping fingers to touch the hem of the garment of the Most High.

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*La Chine Inconnue.* Par MAURICE JAMETEL. Paris: Librairie de l'Art, J. Rouam, Editeur, 29, Cité d'Antin. 1886.

THERE is nothing of the guide book or of the traveller's laboured information about M. Jametel's chatty pages. He takes us with him shopping to collect curiosities, and we learn that Chinese porcelain can be bought cheaper in London than in Pekin. We handle books printed on one side of thin paper and stored in book-boxes, and unroll pictures on pieces of silk between wooden rollers. The albums of illustrations tell a sad tale of Chinese popular art, for, according to M. Jametel, the harmless pictures are unsaleable, and the coarse and offensive are in point of art the best, being the most paying matter. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the author reminds us, Catholic missionaries influenced these painters in ink; and in one of our rambles among the shops there comes to light a seventeenth-century "Virgin and Child," roughly but reverently daubed by some Chinese copyist of Perugino. We are reminded, too, that the Jesuit missionaries introduced watches and clocks to the Celestial Empire; and forthwith we come upon the appreciation of the gifts—the wealthy citizens wearing two watches in a double pocket! If we ask why, they give a genuine Chinese explanation: "It is the custom!" Our guide takes us to the crowded junks and sampangs of the Yellow Sea—those inexhaustible waters that are fished by the sea population and their slave cormorants all the year through. The preservation of the fish necessitates a vast supply of ice; and we go next to see the winter rice fields flooded, and the coolies gathering the thin ice-surface daily during the frost and storing it in thick-walled ice-houses; in some places a store for three years and a supply abundant enough to permit the dwellers in Canton to buy iced tea in summer for a trifle at street stalls. The last chapters sacrifice too much space in a pleasant book to an unpleasant subject; it does not need description or minute observation to be assured of the unhappy fact, that vice and degradation are to be found among an untaught Pagan people in much the same form as in European cities.

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*Eugène Delacroix.* Par LUI-MÊME. Paris: Librairie de L'Art, J. Rouam. 1885.

DELACROIX died in 1863, and the present vigorous sketch of his life is said to be "par lui-même" only because it strives to show the man as well as the artist from his own words and opinions, and to make his striking character portray itself in the estimate formed of him by intimate friends and sympathetic judges of his work. His "Magdalen in the Desert" is, perhaps, the best known of his pictures; but no branch of painting was closed to his versatile genius,

and to his tremendous power of original thought and nervous energy of labour. He was a man of the world; and the only teaching of his life for us is in the extraordinary victory his energy gained over life-long weakness and suffering, and over that haunting melancholy which cramps the usefulness of many gifted minds.

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*The Dictionary of English History.* Edited by SIDNEY J. LOW, B.A., and F. S. PULLING, M.A. London, Paris, and Melbourne: Cassell & Co.

**A**MONG numerous recent books of reference this one has the charm of being a new departure, whilst some book of the sort has long been among the desiderata of English history students and readers generally. The plan of the present dictionary is excellently conceived and excellently carried out. The two able editors publish a list of their principal contributors, which at once inspires no small anticipation as to the merits of the Articles—anticipations which have been realized, by our references, to a very large extent. We gladly note that there is, on the whole, in this Dictionary, a pleasing absence of anti-Catholic tone and bigotry, and a conspicuous effort to be fair and to abstain from imputing motives, &c. The Articles are of varying merit, clearness, and accuracy—that must be; and in speaking of a volume containing some thousands of Articles on a multitudinous variety of topics, which fill some eleven hundred pages of double columns, we need not pretend to have read the whole, nor to be English Solomon enough to criticize everywhere even if we had; but we have seen enough to recommend it to students as a very useful work of reference. Of course we should much prefer a similar work written from a Catholic standpoint: but such a work does not exist in English—when may we hope that history will find its “Addis and Arnold”?—and a great portion of this volume deals with matters uninfluenced, except remotely, by such a consideration. In the short article on Guy Fawkes we are referred to an article on Gunpowder Plot, which, however is not to be found; and we have noted some omissions of what we should have thought needed a word of explanation to the “modern reader” whose needs have been consulted in the choice of subjects. But we gladly admit that there is sufficient explanation in these pages of countless other subjects of perhaps the most frequent occurrence. There are some excellent tables—*et. gr.*, a list of Speakers of the House of Commons, under the word “Speaker”; and, in another Article, of the Lord High Chancellors; again, a complete list of the Lords Lieutenants and Deputies in the Article “Ireland”; a table of the regnal years of the English kings and queens; and, lastly, we must mention as deserving of praise the references to chief authorities appended to all the more important Articles. These bibliographical notes are valuable, and, when supplemented by the excellent Article on “Authorities on English History,” by Mr. Bass Mullinger, occupying twelve columns, they may be said to be amply sufficient for all ordinary requirements.

*Histoire des Avocats au Parlement de Paris 1300-1600.* Par. R. DELACHENAL. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1885.

**I**NDUSTRIOUS research among the Archives of the Parliament of Paris has enabled M. Delachenal to present to his readers many curious and interesting details concerning the early history of its Advocates. The period to which his labours are confined—namely, the first three centuries after the formal institution of the Bar as a distinct order by Philip the Bold—affords to the historical inquirer a wide field for the display of constructive capacity. Previous works of a similar character are silent, or pass over with a trivial notice many of the points here elucidated; biographical details—so plentiful in more modern times—are during this epoch almost entirely wanting, so that much of the present history had to be extracted by the laborious process of delving among original manuscripts. The plan adopted is not strictly chronological; it is only so within the sub-divisions of the subject. Thus, for example, we find separate chapters devoted to “The Relations of Advocates with the Parliament,” “Some Privileges of Advocates,” “Liberty of Speech,” “Payment of Fees,” “The Advocate’s Robes,” &c.; and each of these is treated historically so far as the nature of the subject permits.

Not without some sad reflections upon the changes wrought by time in French society, do we read here of the close connection established in early times between the law and religion. By letters patent of Philip of Valois, dated April 22, 1340, it was ordained that a Mass should be said every day on a movable altar in the Great Hall of the Palace; and the learned counsel, on admission to the Bar, had to pay 100 sous towards this Foundation. Again, all the advocates and proctors were necessarily members of the Confraternity of St. Nicholas—the patron saint of their Order—whose fast-days were observed with much solemnity by the Parliament. The subscriptions, indeed, of the members of this Confraternity do not seem to have been always over-cheerfully paid, for, by an edict of May 3, 1492, the advocates were warned to render what they owed to their Confraternity under penalty of fine and loss of professional privileges. A still more efficacious means of compelling obedience was adopted in the sixteenth century, when the Parliament determined that the hoods and head-dresses of the recalcitrant barristers should be seized for non-payment of their contributions! Some excuse may possibly be found for this apparent unwillingness to part with their sous when the rate of their remuneration is considered, which (even allowing for the greater value of money in those days) was certainly not calculated to foster extravagant habits. Thus we find that in 1384 the standing counsel of the city of Lyons, the celebrated Pierre l’Orferre, received for his services only the annual stipend of ten francs! Miserable as this salary was, it seems to have been one of the great prizes of the profession; for towards the close of the fifteenth century a certain Robert Thiboust, a Pre-



sident of the Parliament, wrote a humbly obsequious letter to the authorities of that city, requesting them to bestow the vacant place on one of his own nephews.

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*The Life Around Us; a Collection of Stories.* By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1885.

IT is curious but true, that avowedly Catholic stories are, as a rule, devoid of humour. They have many excellent qualities: they preach a high ideal, breathe a spirit of charity, are often distinguished by pathos or imagination; but it would almost appear as if their authors considered a joke heretical, a pun as verging on the profane, and failed to recognize that laughter is one of God's most delightful gifts to man. This attitude of mind is all the more remarkable since the most devout Catholics are far from being the most solemn. Nowhere is innocent fun better appreciated than among religious communities, as every convent girl and college boy can testify. Nowhere are bright Catholic story books in greater demand than for the convent library or the convent prize-day. But hitherto, such books have been chiefly conspicuous by their absence. Here, however, in Mr. Egan's capital collection of stories, *The Life Around Us*, we have a step in the right direction. It is really a welcome addition to Catholic literature, and should soon be as well known among readers of all classes as it undoubtedly deserves to be.

A quotation from the author's amusing preface will give a good idea of his style:—

He has been warned that the good Sisters . . . would not like the stories that end with marriages. An accomplished and saintly Religious to whom he half-humorously repeated this warning, said, quite gravely, "Nuns do not object to other people marrying if they have the vocation, and are worthy to make happy homes." . . . Another critic shook his head. "The love-making in the stories is too tame. Young people will not read stories unless there is plenty of love-making in them." The author admits that he is a homœopathist in the matter of love-making. He has made a very little go a great way. . . . A learned priest who wrote that he always reads a good story when he finds it, complained that "Lilies among Thorns" had as many deaths at the end as the last scene of "Hamlet," and that "A Rosebud" and "Phyllista" are too tragical. . . . The author has been told at least twenty times that Bernard Devir should not be separated from his devoted mother—that it was wrong to seem to punish her for her pious and laudable desire; that Jean Marquette should have been ordained a priest with his friend Ned Barnes; that Tita should not have been permitted to marry John Nelson; that it should be made clear whether the child in "A Measureless Ill" was baptized or not; that Priscilla ought not to have made a marriage which must prove unfortunate owing to the prejudices of her friends; that the Rosebud should have gone to a convent; that Inez should not have gone to a convent; that the miserable heroine of "Phyllista" should have become a nun in order to expiate her apostasy.

With regard to this story of "Phyllista," the subject is one worthy of a large canvas and careful painting. Mr. Egan has sketched it,

so to speak, on a couple of square inches. The same unsparing curtailment of great themes, due to the exigencies of periodical and newspaper writing, somewhat mars several other stories besides "Phyllista," but condensation is a fault on the right side, and one with which modern writers can too seldom be reproached.

Mr. Egan gives some amusing specimens of English, "as she spoke" by foreigners. Here is a choice bit culled from the letter of a French Vicomte, "who, having spent four years in Washington, was justly regarded by his Parisian friends as a master of the English tongue."

DEAR FRIEND,—You have no doubt great surprise for receive a letter of me, but i may make it only a billet, for my aunt, which is a priest, Monsieur l'Abbé de Vaudrier, have come to arrive in Paris. He have come last night, and it must that i give to him great attention, which is a plague, but right that it should be. You know how well i speak the English in Vasington, but i have much improve now, for i speak her all the day to my brother the Marquis, which I teach, and even to my horses, of which i say "Go lon'—skedaddell!" and they go lon', . . . My aunt, M. l'Abbé, you send his blessing, and have great pleasure you have marry one of our Faith.—Yours,

ALPHONSE DE VAUDRIER.

It is to be hoped that the marked excellence of these short tales will induce Mr. Egan to try his hand at a Catholic novel. It is likely that the result would prove in every way satisfactory.

*A Schoolmaster's Retrospect of Eighteen and a half years in an Irish School.* By MAURICE C. HIME, M.A., LL.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1885.

THIS is a pleasant work of an amiable man. The author does not pretend to any profound educational theories, but writes down, simply and good-naturedly, the thoughts that rise within him after a long educational experience. To those who maintain that a schoolmaster's work is bound to warp and sour the mind, it will come as a surprise to find a man writing about twenty years' experience with a glow of satisfaction and optimism. But such is the tone of the work before us. Its author must have been singularly fitted by nature for the important post he holds, and the happy state of his school that he describes must be the reflection of his own genial and sympathetic disposition. Almost all the subjects of school life enter into his pages, and it is suggestive that a large-minded man like Mr. Hime should find himself falling into the time-honoured views of educationalists. He has, however, some points peculiarly his own—such as the superiority of a mother's over a father's insight into a boy's character. He advocates the total abolition of corporal punishment, and defends his case with no little skill. His latest development is the interdiction of all punishment whatever in the school, even the imposition of tasks for lessons not properly learned,

and the experiment, so far, is a great success. We can readily accept it to be so, but it can only come about by the strong personal influence of the head-master being brought to bear on the whole school. We may add, in conclusion, that the book hails from the north of Ireland, and still we have been unable to detect a single word against Catholics throughout its pages. T. A. B.

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*A Journal kept by Richard Doyle in the Year 1840.* Illustrated with several Hundred Sketches by the Author. With an Introduction by J. HUNGERFORD POLLEN. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885.

THE marvellous thing about this Journal is that Dicky Doyle was only fifteen when he wrote and illustrated it. Sketches by a boy of that age might reasonably be supposed worthless; but in this case the truth is, as Mr. Pollen says, that they "will more than repay a careful study." Genius is given, not acquired, doubtless; still it seems little short of incredible that, at so early an age, even the afterwards famous Dick Doyle could have so far developed the power of observation, and acquired facility over the difficulties of perspective. The text and sketches are here reproduced in facsimile, and no doubt there is sometimes in the one indifferent drawing, as there is in the other bad spelling; but it is wonderful how little there is of either. And some of the sketches are simply marvels of grouping—a London crowd being a frequent subject, drawn with that endless variety of detail which even in his maturity is one of Doyle's best titles to admiration. A row in the streets, a review, the rush into the Academy on opening day, a theatre full of people bending forward in breathless admiration of a great artiste—these are ambitious subjects for the pencil of a boy. This boy does them to perfection; and in others, as in the sketch of the street preacher, or of the two flunkeys in silk calves, picking their way through the mud, he is as irresistible as he ever was in *Punch*. The boy must have been as precocious as he was good. Even in the text of his Journal, with much that is pleasingly boyish, he has mature criticism of painters and paintings, and shrewd estimates of men and things. We, at least, marvel to find a boy of fifteen, in describing an uproarious scene at the Opera House, speak of "such a yell," rending the air "as might have startled a futman (*sic*) even if he had been warned beforehand."

The volume, a thin quarto, is beautifully brought out, and bound in an appropriate cover, and would form a delightful gift-book. Indeed, we expect it will be a favourite gift-book this season: happy the boy who gets it! It is impossible not to catch the infection of Dick Doyle's good-natured fun. Some of the Sunday's entries begin with "went to Mass" at such an hour. And when the Catholic boy learns that this highly gifted artist was ever a devoted Catholic, and readily preferred sacrifice of temporal prospects rather than remain



attached to a paper which insulted the Pope, he will find something in the Journal besides mere amusement. Lastly, there is a portrait of the artist as a frontispiece, and Mr. Pollen contributes an excellent Introduction, giving a sufficient account of Doyle's life and the character of his artistic work. We end with some of his closing words:—

Dick the man may be discerned in the wit and play of Dicky the boy, as we see him in the following pages. . . . He will be long remembered, not for the playfulness of his wit alone, but for the superadded charm and attractiveness which were due to the purity of his character, and to his many noble qualities of heart and mind.—R.I.P.

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*Italy and her Invaders.* By THOMAS HODGKIN, Fellow of University College, London, &c. Vol. III. The Ostrogothic Invasion, 476-535. Vol. IV. The Imperial Restoration, 535-553. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1885.

FIVE years, in these days of "making many books," is a long wait between the second and third volumes of even a history. Yet Mr. Hodgkin had nothing to fear from allowing so long a time to elapse; we cannot fancy any one who read his first volumes having, even in that long interval, forgotten the enjoyment of reading them—their charm of style and freshness of treatment. It may be well to state, in Mr. Hodgkin's own words, that his object in this great work (which is not yet completed) is "to trace some of the changes by which classical Italy, the kernel of the Roman Empire, the centre of government and law for the Western world, became that Italy of the Middle Ages, whose life was as rich in intellectual and artistic culture as it was poor in national cohesion and enduring political strength." This period of transition is a mighty drama, devastating the stage on which it was enacted: its five acts, each a barbarian invasion of Visigoth, Hun, Vandal, Ostrogoth, and Lombard. The two bulky volumes before us cover the fourth of these invasions. It is at once obvious what exceptionally dramatic incidents are here at the service of the historian, and Mr. Hodgkin handles them with excellent effect. Using original sources and familiar with their smallest details, openly an admirer of the stalwart Northmen, regretting the failure of their attempt to found a Gothic kingdom, yet careful to record and reprobate their faults, clear in his presentment of events, generally sagacious in weighing evidence and plausible in his conjectures, writing in a plain, yet forcible, often vivid, style, he makes history a thrilling romance—if not "stranger" than some modern fiction, far more interesting, because true and full of usefulest lessons. Perhaps no one will agree with every judgment and opinion of the author; but even where we, as Catholics, more particularly regret his mistaken views, we admire his wish and effort to be just. We could not in a short notice follow Mr. Hodgkin in his references to the Popes, yet we may say at once that they fail chiefly

from the fault of a Protestant standpoint, not from an anti-Catholic bias; are defective rather than offensive in the long familiar way.

The former volumes of "*Italy and her Invaders*" were devoted to the inroads of Visigoth, Hun, and Vandal, the incidents of which centred around the figures of Alaric, Attila, the "*Scourge of God*," and the Vandal Genseric—Gaiseric, as he is here named; for Mr. Hodgkin has the present mania for re-spelling our old familiar names—the third act closing with the fall of the Western Empire, the deposition of Romulus Augustulus and the accession of Odoacer (Odoavakar here). The new volumes are occupied with the Ostrogothic invasion, and are of even greater interest. The story which they relate never loses its attraction. The descent of Theodoric into Italy with a people in his train, 200,000 at least of men, women and children, even as the children of Israel led by Moses, seeking to penetrate through hostile countries and win by the edge of the sword a new possession; "the death-grapple" between Odoacer and Theodoric, the latter victorious from battle to battle, then checked before Ravenna till Odoacer yields; his base murder by Theodoric; the reign of the latter over Italy, the grandeur of his administration—these fill the third volume. And in the fourth we have a scarcely less thrilling narrative in the author's most graphic style:—the efforts of Belisarius to restore Imperial ascendancy in Italy; the three sieges of Rome; the failure of the Gothic warriors, and their final departure from Italy, "making their way very sadly over the Alpine passes, bidding an eternal farewell to the fair land of their birth."

The chapters which interrupt the flow of this narrative, to tell us all about some point of collateral interest, to describe an ancient city, or explain a system of philosophy or a famous book, though frequent, are, on the whole, most happy and interesting. Such are the chapters on the Gothic king and people, on Boethius and Symmachus, on the Roman aqueducts and wells, the descriptions of Naples, Ravenna, Rome, &c. One chapter details the life of St. Benedict, chiefly from St. Gregory's "*Dialogues*," and another, entirely devoted to a Pope, is headed "*The Sorrows of Vigilius*." The latter is an attempt to state the complicated and difficult story of the efforts of Justinian to win from the Pope the condemnation of the Three Chapters; and with very much in it that is wonderfully clear, honestly, and well stated, it yet fails to be what it might and ought to be. In giving the letter which Vigilius wrote to the Monophysite Bishops this might have been added concerning it: that it was written in 538, and that Vigilius could not feel himself legitimate and responsible Pope till Silverius's death in 540. Whence came the change in the heretofore unscrupulous creature of an empress? We think that having become Pope he had inherited the prerogatives of Peter. Mr. Hodgkin thinks: "he was now firm in his seat, and could assume the attitude of unbending orthodoxy!" an explanation which explains nothing; particularly as Vigilius, anything but firm in his seat, was soon an exile from his Church and a prisoner of the

emperor. Mr. Hodgkin enumerates the changes of judgment on the part of the Pope. It should be remembered, however, to use Dr. Dollinger's words, that "his changings had no reference to dogmas of faith; in these he was ever the same . . . he varied only on the question of ecclesiastical economy, whether it were prudent to condemn the writings which the Council had spared, and to anathematize a man who had died in the communion of the Church." This is the point which the author fails to see. It is, however, the true key to the vacillations of Vigilius. He was not wanting in courage, and on this Mr. Hodgkins excellently insists. Indeed, on this point he gives the Pope praise, which many Catholic authors have failed to award him.

The following extract will give a fair specimen of Mr. Hodgkin's style. Readers of Gibbon will remember the same incident treated in that historian's forty-first chapter, and will probably agree with us that Mr. Hodgkin has nothing to fear from the comparison:—

The preparations of the Goths being completed, on the eighteenth day of the siege, at sunrise, they began the assault. With dismay the Romans, clustered on the walls, beheld the immense masses of men converging to the city, the rams, the towers, drawn by oxen, moving slowly towards them. They beheld the sight with dismay, but a smile of calm scorn curved the lips of Belisarius. The Romans could not bear to see him thus trifling, as they thought, in the extremity of their danger; implored him to use the ballistæ on the walls before the enemy came any nearer; called him shameless and incompetent when he refused; but still Belisarius waited and still he smiled. At length, when the Goths were now close to the edge of the fosse, he drew his bow and shot one of their leaders, armed with breast-plate and mail, through the neck. The chief fell dead, and a roar of applause at the fortunate omen rose from the Roman ranks. Again he bent his bow and again a Gothic noble fell, whereat another shout of applause from the walls rent the air. Then Belisarius gave all his soldiers the signal to discharge their arrows, ordering those immediately around him to leave the men untouched and to aim all their shafts at the oxen. In a few minutes the milk-white Etrurian oxen were all slain, and then of necessity the towers, the rams, all the engines of war, remained immovable at the edge of the fosse, useless for attack, only a hindrance to the assaulting host—so close to the walls, it was impossible for the Goths to bring up other beasts of burden, or to devise any means to repair the disaster. Then men understood the reason of the smile of Belisarius, who was amused at the simplicity of the barbarians in thinking that he would allow them to drive their oxen close up under his battlements. Then they recognized his wisdom in postponing the reply from the ballistæ till the Goths had come so near that their disaster was irreparable (iv. p. 192).

Belisarius is one of the best drawn figures in the book, and the author has no little admiration of him. Towards Belisarius's royal master, Justinian, he is somewhat too severe: much as we think he is mistaken in believing Procopius's scandalous stories of Theodora. The author bitterly regrets the failure of the Goths to establish themselves in Italy, and blames the Popes, who looked with preference to Constantinople. Brave Teuton welded with the Latin race, Met-



from would have sprung a noble people to cultivate and defend Italy, and the history of mediæval Europe would have run in other channels. Theodoric is the hero of the volumes before us, though the author considers that Totila was most completely the type and embodiment of what was noblest in the Ostrogothic nation, and would have held in its annals (had their kingdom lived) the place which Englishmen accord to Alfred, Frenchmen to Charlemagne, and Germans to the mighty Barbarossa.

English literature, as well as technical history, is indebted to Mr. Hodgkin for his fascinating pages; and we desire to express the sincere hope that he may have strength to pursue his subject to the end with the same care, fulness, and enthusiasm. We shall certainly look expectantly for the story of the Lombards. The maps, numerous and carefully done by the author, deserve a word of sincere commendation, as do the plates of coins and the other plates and photographs. The author has set a good example in combining simplicity with exactness in his text, leaving crudities and erudition for notes and appendices, which the general reader may skip. With the same excellent intention ancient geographical names are followed by their modern substitutes in parentheses.

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*Les Catholiques Libéraux, l'Eglise et le Libéralisme de 1830 à nos jours.*

Par ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1885.

THE attention of the Catholic world has lately been fixed upon France. By sinking their differences French Catholics showed at the late elections that they are a large and powerful minority of the French nation. As long as they remain united their strength will be great. To understand their differences we must study the history of Catholic parties in France during the last fifty years. M. Leroy-Beaulieu gives us an excellent sketch of this period. He writes in that clear and forcible style in which the French excel. Our only complaint against him is, that he occasionally forgets his habitual moderation, and indulges in that very bitterness which he deplores so much in his opponents. We readily admit that it must be difficult for any one who has smarted under the lash of Louis Veuillot to write with moderation. But at the present time it is of the utmost importance that Catholics should pour balm into the wounds which they may have inflicted upon each other, and keep their swords' points for their foes.

After some introductory chapters treating of the principles of Catholicism and Liberalism, the author proceeds to sketch the characters of the originators of the Catholic Liberal movement. And here we may observe that he strongly objects to the expressions Liberal Catholicism, Liberal Catholic. The system was a species of Liberalism, not a species of Catholicism. We think, however, that although the originators of the movement were Catholic Liberals, their followers tended to become Liberal Catholics. The characters

of La Mennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert are drawn with great skill (chap. v.). The effects produced upon each of them by the condemnation of the *Avenir* are admirably summed up in the following passage:—

La Mennais, a rebel by disposition, and a demagogue without knowing it, soon retracted the submission which he had promised beforehand. Lacordaire, the most humble and docile of the three, broken down and resigned, saw, as he said, everything crumbling away around him; he could hardly keep himself from despair, and thought of setting out for America, or of becoming a country curé. Montalembert, after remaining uncertain for three years, persevering in a disinterested fidelity, less perhaps to the person of the fallen apostle than to the great idea which seemed buried in his fall, paused only on the brink of rebellion (pp. 102-3).

The later history of the movement is embittered by the contests between Mgr. Dupanloup and Louis Veuillot. M. Leroy-Beaulieu, of course, sides with the former. We have no desire to pass judgment upon the combatants. It is well, however, in this connection to remember the weighty words of the Holy Father in his latest Encyclical:—

Those whose loyalty, therefore, is apparent on other accounts, and whose minds are ready to accept in all obedience the decrees of the Apostolic See, may not in justice be accounted as bad men because they disagree on the subjects we have mentioned; and a still graver injury is done them if they are charged with the crime of having violated the Catholic Faith, or of being suspected thereof, which, we deplore to say, has happened more than once. Let this precept be well borne in mind by all who are in the habit of committing their thoughts to writing, and above all by the editors of newspapers. In this struggle for interests of the highest order there is no room for intestine strife or party rivalries, but all must strive with one mind and purpose to secure that which is the common object of all—the preservation of Religion and of the State.

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*The Champion of Odin; or, Viking Life in the Days of Old. A Tale of Ancient War.* By J. FREDERICK HODGETTS. London: Cassell & Co. 1885.

IT is the professed aim of this book to interest English boys of the Victorian age in the life of their forefathers, by stringing on the thread of a personal narrative a series of stirring anecdotes culled from Scandinavian sources. There is, indeed, in these pages no lack of "stirring anecdotes," or, of what is dear to every boy's heart, deeds of prowess vividly described. From the time when Hakkon is introduced to us as a boy tending his sheep in Sweden, until at the close of the volume, we find him the Christian ruler of East Anglia, administering that Province under the beneficent kingship of Alfred the Great, the narrative never flags.

A charming scene it is where Eadburga, the Christian wife of Hakkon, soothes her wounded husband's convalescence and enforced inaction with "words of promise, words of peace, words of hope and

comfort that seemed in wonderful harmony with the scene around him. Words that sound to us now as they did in those early days of England a thousand years ago." The great king enters, unobserved by the husband and wife, and stands reverently uncovered while the reading goes on, but when the book is closed reveals his presence by pronouncing in a sweet clear voice the word "Amen."

The Christianity, however, of Hahkon is well-nigh forgotten when he hears from Alfred that his second line, with Thorgills at its head, has been beaten by the enemy:—

"Hammer of Thor!" cried Hahkon, starting up at the unwelcome news. "Sieward," he roared, "my arms! This is too bad! Idling and dreaming here, and war upon the water! I should have known this ere now. Sir King, this was not well! Have the Danes landed?" "No, my good Storm-wind, no," replied the King. "But thou art a strange Christian, Ethelhelm (nay, I must call thee Hahkon), a fierce disciple of the creed of peace. I shall have doubts of Eadburga, as far as teaching Christian duty goes! A fiery Christian, by my faith!"

This extract gives a fair idea of the spirited style in which this book is written, and which, we do not doubt, will carry the youthful readers, for whom it is intended, from cover to cover in unwearied perusal.

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*King Solomon's Mines.* By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Cassell & Co. 1885.

**W**ILDLY improbable as many of the incidents in this fanciful tale of travel undoubtedly are, we no more question, as we read, the veracity of the narrator, than a right-minded child doubts the historical accuracy of "Robinson Crusoe" or "Sindbad the Sailor." Allan Quatermain, who tells the story, is an elephant hunter on the East Coast of Africa, and during one of his expeditions obtains from a dying man the fragment of linen which is presented to the reader in facsimile upon the frontispiece. This is neither more nor less than the map of the route (with explanatory directions in Portuguese) leading to King Solomon's Mines, and was drawn by the dying hand of Don José da Silvestra nearly three hundred years ago in circumstances of some difficulty. It is in the attempt to reach the fabulous wealth indicated by the old Don, that Quatermain, accompanied by an English baronet and a superannuated captain in the navy, meet with their marvellous adventures. Having crossed a desert and a frozen mountain chain (where they meet with striking confirmation of Don Silvestra's real existence in the form of Don Silvestra's well-preserved remains), they reach a nation of black warriors who have never before seen or heard of the white men. By the judicious use of their "Winchester repeaters," the tube that kills by speaking, and by forecasting an eclipse of the sun, they establish their position as denizens of the stars, whom it would be rank blasphemy to kill or injure. It must, however, be confessed that in accomplishing this desirable end no small amount of credit must be ascribed to the eye-



glass and false teeth of Captain Good. The Kukuanas, and Twala, their king, are somewhat closely modelled on the Zulus and Cetewayos, and our travellers sup full with horrors during their visit to the Royal Kraal. A revolution, by which the monster king is deposed, and the rightful heir to the throne, in the person of one of the Englishmen's black servants, is successfully established in his kingdom, appropriately terminates in a single combat between Twala and Sir Henry Curtis, Bart., in which the latter (astoundingly expert in the use of the Kukuana weapons) eventually gains the victory and shears off the head of his opponent with a battle-axe. The witch Gagool is then compelled to disclose to them the secret entrance to King Solomon's treasure chamber, but while they are glomting over the boxes of gold and handling with awe the multitude of diamonds, the malignant Gagool slips away, touches the secret spring, the portcullis of solid rock descends, and our travellers are immured with their new-found wealth in a living tomb. Had the story but been autobiographical in form, we should here surely have surrendered all hope for them, as it was they did of course get out, but *how*, we leave this charming book to disclose in its own way.

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*Dreams by a French Fireside: Fairy Tales.* Translated from the German of RICHARD LEANDER (Professor R. Volkmann), by MARY O'CALLAGHAN. London: Chapman & Hall. 1886.

THIS pretty volume has a special interest from the time and manner of its composition. For it is a blossom of the battle-field, written by a German soldier-professor during the Franco-Prussian war, to while away the weary winter evenings passed before beleaguered Paris, with a labour of love undertaken on behalf of the writer's own distant fireside. The war-mail that brought each fairy fiction fresh from the camp must have been eagerly looked for by the soldier's children, and Miss O'Callaghan's excellent and graceful translation now enables their English compeers to share their pleasure. The charming illustrations by which the present volume is adorned make it a particularly appropriate Christmas gift-book for little people.

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1. *Let's Dick's Christmas Carols, and other Tales.* London: R. WASHBOURNE. 1886.
  2. *Christmas Revels; or, the Puritan's Discomforture: a Burlesque (Ed.).* R. WASHBOURNE.
  3. *The Wanderer; or, Faith's Welcome, a Play for Boys (Ed.).* R. WASHBOURNE.

WE have just received these three little books for children, from the well-known London publisher, Mr. Washbourne, and feel that we can safely recommend them as suitable presents for the young.

*What I Believe.* By LEON TOLSTOI. Translated by CONSTANTINE POPOFF. London: Elliot Stock. 1885.

**Y**ET another prophet—another philosopher! “The name of Count Leon Tolstoi,” as the translator of this volume correctly says, in his preface, “stands high in the annals of his country’s literature, as the author of [the novels] ‘War and Peace,’ and ‘Anna Karenine.’” He has during the last seven years, we are told, “withdrawn from the world and its vanities, and has devoted himself to the study of the teachings of Christ.” With what result, and perhaps also in what spirit and with what careful investigation, the following passages quite sufficiently show!!

Everything tended to convince me that I had now found the true interpretation of Christ’s doctrine, but it was a long while before I could get used to the strange thought that, after so many men had professed the doctrine of Christ during 1800 years, and had devoted their lives to the study of His teachings, it was given to me to discover His doctrine as something altogether new (p. 48).

There is nothing that is obligatory to a Christian, if we except fast-days and prayers, which the Church itself does not consider as obligatory, there is nothing that he must refrain from. All that is necessary for a pseudo-Christian [by this term the author seems to mean any member of a Christian religion] is, never to neglect the Sacraments. But the believer does not administer the Sacraments to himself; they are administered to him by others. No obligation lies on the pseudo-Christian; the Church does all that is needful for him: he is baptized anointed, the Sacrament of the Holy Communion is administered to him and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; his confession is taken for granted if he be unable to make it orally; prayers are said for him, and he is saved. From the time of Constantine, the Church never required any deeds of its members: it never even enjoined a man to refrain from anything. The Christian Church acknowledged and consecrated divorce, slavery, courts of law, and all the powers which had existed before, such as war and persecution, and only required evil to be renounced in word at baptism. The Church acknowledged the doctrine of Christ in word, but denied it in deed (p. 205).

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*True Wayside Tales.* By Lady HERBERT. Third Series. London: R. Washbourne. 1886.

**A**NOTHER instalment of these most attractive Tales is a very welcome volume. Many priests, nuns, doctors, and others who come into contact with the under-currents of life, meet from time to time with such incidents as Lady Herbert has here gathered together from many quarters of the world. Such incidents illustrate the ever-working providence of God in our own busy everyday life; they witness to the actual results of prayer, to the power of a habitual devotion, to the marvels of grace in conversions, to the strong quiet force of good example, &c. To have witnessed one of these strange incidents has often come as a grace to a hard-worked priest, almost borne down by the unequal struggle against evil—a grace of comfort by its whispered word of encouragement and hope. To hear of them begets oftentimes a more vivid impression, making for edification, than

is caused by professedly good reading. Their truth it is which shines and "prevails" with us; and when they are told in Lady Herbert's simple, happy manner, the perusal of them is as pleasant as it is profitable. Indeed, a better collection of short stories for general circulation we don't remember, with which child or adult may advantageously while away the leisure half-hours. Resignation in suffering, the power of faith, the power of a mother's prayer—these are a specimen of the kind of lesson inculcated by the stories themselves, not merely hung on at the end; indeed, there is a wise absence of "preaching." Finally, we should add that the volume itself is brought out in a manner creditable to the publisher—it is printed in good-sized clear type, on good paper, and is very neatly bound, and sold at a low price, which should carry it to many households.

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*A Guide to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.* By E. MILLER, M.A., Rector of Bucknell, Oxon. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1886.

THIS Guide may be recommended as opportune and safe. The revision of the New Testament has called attention to a multitude of textual questions, for the solution of which there is much need of a guide. Of course Dr. Scrivener's is the text-book on the subject. But as the work is too large and costly for the general reader, the Rev. Mr. Miller has done well to provide a shorter treatise, containing the main truths of textual criticism. Mr. Miller's guidance has also the recommendation of being safe. He is no advocate for the advanced or extreme school of critics, like Westcott and Hort. He is a supporter of Dr. Scrivener and Dean Burgon, who are the leaders of what we may call the Conservative party in textual questions.

Two rival schools [the learned author tells us] are now contending for the ascendancy. The one, of German origin, is strongly and ably maintained in England, and reckons large support amongst Biblical scholars. The other, headed by the first textual critic of the day, and earnestly advocated by accomplished theologians, counts also amongst its adherents Roman Catholics in England and the Continent, including experts in Italy and elsewhere.

After a detailed history of the rise and growth of textual criticism, Mr. Miller proceeds to state the case as it now stands between these two schools. This is done with great fairness and ability. Dr. Hort's extreme theory, which rests almost entirely on two Codices, the Sinaitic and Vatican, is carefully refuted point by point, and judgment is given in favour of the traditional Greek text as it has come down to us from St. John Chrysostom and the Greek Fathers through the Cursive MSS. and the Textus Receptus. As a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* Mr. Miller says the extreme textualists, relying on the Vatican Codex, leave their common sense behind them, and tell us "that our Lord's side was pierced before death, that the sun was eclipsed when the moon was full, and that it is possible that



St. Paul may have added to the high traits of Charity that she actually refrains from seeking what is not her own." Perhaps the most useful part of the Guide is formed of the chapter on the Materials and Principles of Criticism. The tables of Uncial MSS. and Versions are very handy for reference. We observe in the list of Uncials—the latest addition—the Codex Rossanensis (Σ), of the sixth century, found at Rossano in Calabria, in 1879, by Messrs. Oscar von Gebhart and Adolf Harnach. This, we believe, is the oldest MS. which contains the Doxology in the Lord's Prayer. So in like manner the newly-found *Διδαχη*, or Teaching of the Apostles, is the earliest authority which contains the Doxology, though in a shortened form. The Guide also contains a valuable appendix, summing up the evidence for and against the received readings of Luke xxiii. 34; Luke xxii. 43, 44; Luke ii. 14; Matthew vi. 13; John iii. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 16; and the last twelve verses of St. Mark. Perhaps the highest praise that can be given to a treatise of this character is to state that it is accurate and painstaking. To one statement about Origen we must take exception—that he probably applied to the New Testament the same mode of treatment that he had employed with the Septuagint. Whereas Origen expressly says, "that he thought that he could not deal thus with the New Testament without danger." Again Mr. Miller speaks of the Great Giver of the Inspired Word being also the Preserver of it, and that He has spoken during all the ages. He rebukes those who "have no sense of Catholic authority, or any guidance of the Church by the Holy Spirit." And yet in another place he speaks of the "Roman branch of the Church." He clearly supposes that the Holy Spirit has carefully preserved the textual integrity of the Scripture, but has not cared for the visible unity of Christ's Church!

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*Queen by Right Divine, and other Tales: Being the Second Series of "Bells of the Sanctuary."* By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS is a bright little volume, containing biographies of Sœur Rosalie, Madame Swetchine and Lacordaire. The life of Sœur Rosalie occupies more than half of it, and is at once so winning and so touching a tale, such a story made of golden stories, and all true, that we must wish the book a very wide circulation. It is a book to be read, to be lent, to be given away—a sort of reading that in the literal sense of the word, "does one's heart good." Jeanne Rendu became a Sister of Charity at the age of eighteen, and for about sixty years was called "our mother" by the poor of Paris, where no revolution can ever efface the name of Sœur Rosalie. Her sphere of work was the region of the Faubourg St. Marceau, where a wretched and degraded population swarmed in ruinous houses of narrow, crooked streets—a corner of the city ill-famed since the Terror, and the stronghold of every moral and physical disease. With her *criche*, her *schools*, her "patronage," her nursing of the sick and sheltering the

aged, the energetic Sister worked all her days to lift the people of her dear, neglected Faubourg—body and soul—to higher things and to a happier life. But beyond that region all the great city felt her charity, and its influence spread out over France and even farther. She became the recipient of the bounty of the rich, and the almoner of the Empire. Her convent parlour was beset by all ranks in need of sympathy, advice, or help; the duchess and the charwoman waited side by side, the workman and the ambassador, or man of letters. "Our mother has a long arm," the working men said; and we hear how one of them came naively with the request that his horse had died, and unless she got him another horse he was a ruined man; whereupon "Sœur Rosalie took her umbrella and went straight off to an ambassador whom she had made great friends with, and told him she wanted a horse," and, as he gave her the choice of his stables, she sent a thorough-bred riding horse to her poor workman. Again, we hear how the Spanish Envoy to the French Court came to the Sister, who was every one's friend, saying he dreaded that when his Lord would ask him at the Judgment Seat what had he done, he would have to answer, "Lord, I paid visits." The wise Sister only suggested that he should go on paying visits, but some of them should be to the poor; and for the remainder of his life he worked under her direction, receiving from her every week a written list of poor people and their needs. The breadth of her sympathy had room for the wicked and violent, as well as for the peaceable and innocent; for the wealthy as well as for the needy. But the poor were her first love, and having the delight of a true woman in affection, she set great store upon the affection of the poor, winning it by her bright manner, her tenderness and her respect for their mystery of sorrow. She was always actively doing them good, but she was all the time taking pains to win their hearts to herself, and then she gave her conquests to God. Through famine, cholera, and revolution, she was in the midst of her people, pitying and loving them as a mother does, unchanged when they erred. "She constantly impressed on her Sisters that they should be infinitely indulgent to the faults, even to the wrong-doings, of the poor," saying that others were lured to evil but they were driven to it, and making every excuse for them in their untaught condition and hard lives. In 1854 a great misfortune came to her; it was the Cross of the Legion of Honour. The humble Sister actually fell sick with inconsolable trouble, and she never wore the mark of public honour, saying, in her sweet way, to the Emperor, that she was afraid St. Vincent might not know his daughter if she had that on. So the Empress promised her another cross, that she need not hide from St. Vincent, and sent one carved from the oak under which the saint once taught the children of the Landes. The white *cornette* was won at the Taileries, in return for the Emperor's invitation at his visit; but she only went there to plead for her people, and received for them generous help. One February day, in 1856, forty thousand working men in serried ranks walked bareheaded through the streets of Paris. It was a funeral procession, where the noble and the

wealthy—a vast concourse from the workshops, from the hovels, and from the palace, were all doing honour to the dead. A military escort surrounded the hearse—a pauper hearse, the poorest of the poor; but on the pall of the coffin glittered the Cross of the Legion of Honour. It was the last and only public triumph of Sœur Rosalie. Twenty-five years after, the Grey Sisters were to be expelled by a new Government from their house in the Rue de l'Épée de Bois, their schools were threatened, their aged poor were to be homeless—in a word, all the magnificent works of that grand life were to be ruined. A workman came to the convent and asked how much it would cost to build a new house. "Eighty thousand francs!" was the despairing answer of the Sisters. The men of the *quartier* began collecting the coppers and the silver of their wages. The name of Sœur Rosalie was on every lip; should her work perish? The news of the brave collection was whispered through the city, and help came from richer hands to the poor quarter. "By Sœur Rosalie, you shall have the money!" the men had declared; "there are no traitors in the Faubourg." And the money was gathered—not eighty thousand, but a hundred thousand francs—to provide a new home for the Sisters. The name of Sœur Rosalie was still a living power; the poor, whom she loved, had justified her faith in them.

#### SOME CATHOLIC ALMANACS.

1. *The Catholic Directory, Ecclesiastical Register and Almanac for 1886.* London and New York: Burns & Oates.
2. *Catholic Almanack for 1886.* Compiled by the Editor of "The Catholic Directory." (1d.) Same Publishers.
3. *The Catholic Almanack and Guide to the Service of the Church for 1886.* (1d.) London and Derby: T. Richardson & Son.
4. *Catholic Church Guide, Almanac and League of the Cross Annual for 1886.* (1d.) London: Williams & Butland.
5. *The Catholic Calendar, 1886.* (6d.) London: R. Washbourne.

THE present is the forty-ninth year of publication of the familiar "Catholic Directory," which therefore needs neither description nor commendation. This year it follows the same arrangement as heretofore, and gives the newest details of all ecclesiastical and other Catholic matters in England and Scotland. We have long wished that to the alphabetical address list of the clergy of the two countries could be added a similar list of the clergy of Ireland: it would be a great advantage. In other respects the "Directory" is full of condensed, well-arranged and useful Catholic information.

2. Is a pocket-sized Almanac, giving Feast days, the particulars of Mass and Vespers of each Sunday, and other useful items in each month.

3 and 4 are similar in size and contents to No. 2, each of them giving in addition a list of the Churches and Chapels of London and suburbs. Number 4 has also a list of the officers, branches and places of meeting of the League of the Cross.



5. Now a well-known and reliable "Metropolitan Handbook," has been issued since 1851. It also needs nothing further than to be named. Concerning London itself, its information, ecclesiastical and secular, is full. It is altogether a useful guide to the City churches.

## Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *Meditations on the Mysteries of the Holy Rosary.* From the French of Father MONSABRÉ, O.P. By the Very Rev. STEPHEN BYRNE, O.P. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. London: Burns & Oates. 1885.
2. *The Nine Months.* The Life of Our Lord in the Womb. By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. (Quarterly Series.) London: Burns & Oates. 1885.
3. *Lives of the Saints and Blessed of the Three Orders of St. Francis.* Translated from the "Auréole Séraphique" of the Very Rev. Father LEON. With a Preface by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Vol. I. Taunton: Published at the Franciscan Convent. 1885.
4. *Aux Pieds du Saint-Sacrement.* Méditations, Lectures, Prières. D'après les Pères, les Docteurs, et les Saints. Par l'Abbé J. PAILLER. 1. *La Cène.* D'après BOSSUET. 2. *Octave du Saint-Sacrement.* Par BOURDALOUE. Bourges: E. Lévrier; St.-Amand (Cher), chez l'Auteur, 67, Rue du Pont-du-Cher. 1886.
5. *A Catechism of the Vows for the Use of Persons consecrated to God in the Religious State.* By the Rev. Father PETER COTEL, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.
6. *The Agonizing Heart.* By the Rev. Father BLOT. New Edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
7. *Life of Saint Philip Benizi, of the Order of the Servants of Mary.* By the Rev. PEREGRINE SOULIER, Priest of the same Order. Translated from the French and revised by the Author. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1886.
8. *The Manual of Indulgences; being a Collection of Prayers and Good Works to which the Sovereign Pontiffs have attached Holy Indulgences.* Published by order of His Holiness Pope Pius IX. London: Burns & Oates.
9. *A Catechism of the Catholic Religion.* Preceded by a Short History of Religion. By the Rev. JOSEPH DEHARBE, S.J. New Edition, collated with the latest German Edition, by the Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
10. *Catholic Religious Instruction, suitable for Standard III.* London: Thomas Richardson & Son.

11. *Short Readings for Catholic Readers* (Four Numbers). *Serjeant Jones and his Talks about Confession*. Barnet: St. Andrew's Magazine Office, Union Street.

1. **T**HE eminent Dominican, Père Monsabré, has published seven series of meditations on the Holy Rosary. Of these, the little book before us offers three in an English dress. The meditations are in the shape of short discourses, supposed to be delivered by a priest to the faithful as they go through the Rosary together. They doubtless lose, in their English form, some of that brilliant artistic finish which they have in the original. But the devotional fulness and much of the eloquent energy remain, and will be appreciated by priests and readers.

2. No book could be a more appropriate preparation for Christmas than this new volume by Father Coleridge. It contains the devout writer's commentary on all the events narrated in the Gospels, from the salutation of the Angel to the eve of the Nativity. In these pages, therefore, we find treated such subjects as our Lady's fulness of grace, her "trouble" at the message, her Divine maternity, and her perpetual virginity. We have our Lord's life in the womb; the visitation; the "Magnificat"; the birth of the Baptist; the Canticle of Zachary; the trial of St. Joseph; and a beautiful chapter on the "longing" of the universe for the coming of the Saviour.

3. Many besides ourselves will welcome a good collection of lives of the Franciscan Saints. The present volume only gives the first three months of the year; but it contains many interesting and most devotional biographies, such as the life of the Seraphic Patriarch himself, St. Jeanne de Valois, St. Angela Merici, St. Margaret of Cortona, and many others. The book is well printed and got up, and there is an interesting preface by His Eminence Cardinal Manning.

4. The Abbé Pailler, of St. Amand, has had the happy idea of bringing out a series of *chefs-d'œuvres* of great French writers and orators on the Blessed Sacrament. The *brochures* are of 150 to 200 pages each, and those we have now before us contain extracts from the works of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. The series is to be continued. As the price of each number is only half a franc, it is to be expected that not only in France, but even in England, large numbers will be sold and distributed. They cannot but prove most valuable, not only to priests and religious, but to the laity; above all, to young people and to the households of the poor.

5. Brief, solid, and scientific, this Catechism of the Vows, by a learned Jesuit, will be useful in those numerous communities whose members, to their commendation be it said, care more for practising their vows than for discussing the strict theology of them.

6. We have here a very complete manual, containing the history and practice of the Devotion to the Agonizing Heart of Jesus, together with an account of the Confraternity (erected by Pope Pius IX., in 1867), and of the cloistered Congregation for promoting this devotion, founded by the Bishop of Mende in his episcopal city, in 1860. A second part consists of devotions and meditations. This

book, which seems well translated (although it has no translator's name, nor any approbation, except that of the Bishop of Mans—it should be *Le Mans*), is a different work from that by the same author called the “Agony of Jesus.”

7. The very scholar-like, devout, and complete *Life of St. Philip Benizi*, which the Servite Order has, with loving care, brought out during this year, which is the sixth centennial of his death, deserves a more extended notice than we can give it in this place. Père Soulier, who seems to have written it in French, has had it translated simultaneously into Italian and into English; and the English version now before us, though anonymous, is evidently the work of some one who knows both English and French. The Servite Order is one of the most remarkable products of the thirteenth century (1233). It had seven founders, and they all belonged to Florence, and were all of them rich merchants of a town which at that time was just rising to the very highest point of its historic renown. St. Philip it was, however, who really established it. He was a Florentine himself, and lived in the same town and in the same half-century as Dante and Giotto. The Order was a part of the rich and abundant manifestation of Catholic life at a period which also brought forth the *Divina Commedia* and the *Duomo*. A *Life of St. Philip*, therefore, has the character of the day in which he lived—a day of universal Catholicism, a day of great Italian Republics, of great universities, of constant wars, and yet of much calm and quiet serving of God all over Europe. Père Soulier has gone to the best sources for his facts; it may be observed, for instance, that he rectifies the statement made in most modern biographies of the Saint, that the Council of Lyons, in 1274, approved the Servite Order. It did something very like the exact contrary; and it was not till after the Saint's death that it was finally approved by the Holy See. The style of the *Life* is easy and devotional.

8. This is a reprint of the translation of the Roman *Raccolta* made some years ago by the Professors of the Jesuit College of Woodstock, in the United States, and authorized, at its first appearance, by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences. It is a compact manual of over 500 pages. Containing, by way of appendix, prayers for Mass and Vespers, it cannot but prove a most useful prayer-book for all.

9. It is only necessary to note this new edition, brought out under the care of the Rev. Father George Porter, of the Catechism so well-known, by the name of its first translator, as “Funder's Catechism.”

10. We presume this little textbook, containing the Catechism to the end of Chap. V., a life of our Lord, special instruction on the Sacraments, and other matters which make it a complete manual for Standard III., is by Canon McKenna. Our readers will be sure to like it when they see it.

11. These excellent papers should be bought and circulated by the thousand. “The Lazy Mass”—a scolding to those who go to “nine o'clock” Mass—“The Way to Live Long”—about fasting and



abstinence—"The Carters—a Family, not a Profession"—and "Mixed Marriages"—are the names of the tracts which have been sent to us. These, and others, can be had at 6s. or 6s. 6d. a hundred. This is an enterprise worthy of all support.

### LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

IN consequence of the space required in this number for the important letter of the Holy Father, a large number of Book Notices have to be necessarily held over until April. We regret that the two first-named books did not reach us until much too late for any such Notices to be penned as they deserve.

"The Life of the Very Rev. Thomas N. Burke, O.P." By W. J. FitzPatrick, F.S.A. Two Volumes. London: Kegan Paul & Co.

"Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics." By Joseph Gillow. Vol. II. London: Burns & Oates.

"Ireland under the Tudors." By Richard Bagwell, M.A. Vols. I. and II. London: Longmans & Co.

"History of the Church." By D. Brueck. Translated. Vol. II. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

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# DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1886.

## ART. I.—THE DECAY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

1. *Popular Government.* By Sir HENRY SUMNER MAINE. Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1886.
2. *The Fortnightly Review*, Feb. 1886. "Sir H. S. Maine." By JOHN MORLEY.
3. *Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France.* Edited and Annotated by E. J. PAYNE. Oxford. 1877.

**A**MID the confusion of tongues and strife of words in our political life, it is often hard to know what to think and how to act. Are we being gradually raised up to a higher social state by a sure (if sometimes painful) process of evolution? Or have we suddenly reached the light after long darkness, and stand on the threshold of a new age? Or is it the threshold of anarchy and decay? Are we hastening towards democracy, and, if so, is this good or evil? Is the British Constitution vigorous or decaying, and in which case are we to lament? Nor is it strange if the sentences differ when the words that compose them have such different meanings in different mouths. Who, in truth, will tell us plainly what is constitutional, what is the British Constitution, what is evolution, progress, civilization, what is sovereignty, what is the people, what is popular government, or democracy, or absolutism, or liberty, or loyalty?

Still, all these terms are capable of a precise meaning, and there is such a thing as a science of politics, though we sadly neglect it. There are political principles which we ought to know, because they follow from the Christian teaching on the nature and destiny of man. For, in truth, the science of politics is simply a part of ethics; and those who refuse to admit this, or

refuse to follow the Christian ethics, wander about in the dark. Thus we see a man, second to none in culture, wit, and penetration, the American, Mr. Lowell, in his celebrated address on Democracy (delivered at Birmingham in October, 1884), fall, like some mere newspaper scribe, into verbiage, incoherence, and contradictions; and all for lack of principles.

But our present business is not with Mr. Lowell, but with another leader of opinion, the well-known writer, Sir Henry Maine. In a volume entitled "*Popular Government*," consisting of four essays originally published in the *Quarterly Review*, he has plunged into contemporary politics, and, besides showing with pitiless clearness the weaknesses and difficulties of the form of government recommended by the Radical party, gives as his opinion that there is a grave defect in our present Constitution in its liability to hasty change, and suggests a remedy from the example of America. Let us in this article examine what he tells us about the disease and about the remedy.

Now the facts of the case are something like what follows. In the United Kingdom, according to written law, there is no such thing as fundamental or constitutional laws requiring peculiar forms for their change. Thus, whether the object of the law be to abate a nuisance, like hares and rabbits, smoky chimneys, and quack medicines, or to abolish the House of Lords, the procedure is the same. But it might be answered that written law is one thing; constitutional practice, amounting to customary law, is another. This is quite true; and no doubt there is a difference in fact observed between the way comparatively small matters are dealt with and the mode of dealing with grave matters. But then the strange thing is, that while the small matters can be introduced by private members, and receive a fair examination in both Houses of Parliament, all really important matters are settled beforehand by the Secret Council, which is known as the Cabinet, and is the real Government. Free and fair examination in the House of Commons is checked by the fear of the resignation of the Ministry and a dissolution of Parliament, and is checked in the House of Lords by an unwritten law or the fear of abolition. Sir H. Maine has some striking remarks on the extraordinary institution known as the Cabinet. "It is essentially a committee of the men who lead the party which has a majority in the House of Commons." It is a small committee, numbering less than twenty; its deliberations are secret, and the secrecy is well kept. And, what is most surprising, this secret council, which Sir H. Maine compares with the Spartan Ephors and the Venetian Council of Ten, has grown up wholly unknown to the written law, and, "through a series of constitutional *fictions*, has succeeded to all the powers of the Crown, has drawn



to itself all, and more than all, of the royal power over legislation. It can dissolve Parliament . . . . it can arrest a measure at any stage of its progress through either House of Parliament . . . . and, indeed, the exercise of this power was exemplified on the largest scale at the end of the session of 1884, when a large number of Bills of the highest importance were abandoned in deference to a Cabinet decision. The Cabinet has further become the sole source of all important legislation, and therefore, by the necessity of the case, of all constitutional legislation ; and, as a measure amending the Constitution passes through the House of Commons, the modification or maintenance of its details depends entirely upon the fiat of the Ministers of the day."

The Ministers, indeed, Sir H. Maine seems to think, are controlled, or beginning to be controlled, by what the Americans call "wire-pullers," and have to follow the programme that a conference of these leaders of their party dictate. Be this as it may, the subsequent process of important legislation, we are told, is as follows. The Ministers, in a course of Cabinet meetings in November, arrange the legislative proposals to be submitted to Parliament ; next, they are put into shape by the Government draftsman, and so much depends on shape that we are to credit this lawyer with four-fifths of every legislative enactment. Then the Bills he has made ready are announced in the Queen's Speech ; and important Bills are forced through the House of Commons with the whole strength of party organization, and their discussion in the House of Lords is becoming merely nominal.

Sir H. Maine is filled with dismay at this method of legislation. "Of all the infirmities of our Constitution in its decay, there is none more serious than the absence of any special precautions to be observed in passing laws which touch the very foundations of our political system" (p. 240). And at the end of the second essay, after describing how the Franchise Bill was passed in 1884, he concludes with the ominous sentence :—

We are drifting towards a type of government associated with terrible events—a single Assembly, armed with full powers over the Constitution, which it may exercise at pleasure. It will be a theoretically all-powerful Convention, governed by a practically all-powerful secret Committee of Public Safety, but kept from complete submission to its authority by Obstruction, for which its rulers are always seeking to find a remedy in some kind of moral guillotine. (P. 126.)

But Sir H. Maine is fortunately not one of those political physicians who only tell us of our diseases and not of how to cure them. On the contrary, after the melancholy diagnosis, he brightens us up with a prescription. He suggests that we should make a distinction between ordinary legislation and legislation

which in any other country would be called constitutional ; and that, for this last kind, there should be "a special legislative procedure, intended to secure caution and deliberation, and as near an approach to impartiality as a system of party government will admit of" (pp. 125, 126). That this is no dream or impossibility he shows with irresistible force from the example of the United States ; and the bright picture he draws of the wisdom and stability of their Constitution contrasts with the lugubrious picture of our own decay.

The following is a short summary of this aspect of the American Constitution :—As a preliminary, we must understand the composite nature of the Great Republic, which corresponds to its title, the United States. For it is made up of a number of different States—thirty-eight when Sir H. Maine wrote, but now, I believe, thirty-nine—each State managing its own local affairs and making its own laws within certain wide but distinct limits, all fixed by written law. Thus, there is what we should call in England an organized and extensive system of home rule. But more than this, the Federal or Central Government represents the totality of the separate States rather than the totality of the inhabitants of the Union without regard to States. True, in the Lower House the number of representatives each State sends is according to its population. But the Lower House is avowedly subordinate ; the bulk of power and patronage is in the hands of the Upper House, or Senate ; and this is composed of two senators from each State, without any regard to size or population. Thus the small or unpeopled States of Rhode Island, Delaware, Vermont, Colorado, and Nevada, returning one or two members to the Lower House, have just the same number of senators as great States like New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, that send respectively thirty-four, twenty-eight, and twenty-one members to the Lower House. And the President—who, unlike our Queen, governs, but does not reign, and who has, besides his executive functions, a real power of checking legislation by his veto—is not chosen straight by the whole people taken in a mass, but by a complicated plan that gives a considerable relative advantage to the smaller States. So, in fact, the States have a real and recognized national life, and are anything but mere administrative provinces. And the respective orbits of the State Governments on the one hand, and of the Central Government on the other, are well marked out.

With this preliminary explanation we can now follow Sir H. Maine's description of the method adopted by the Americans to prevent hasty changes in the Constitution. They draw a hard-and-fast line between ordinary legislation and any alteration in the structure of government. We need not trouble ourselves

with the first, as we are not called on to adopt it; but the second is what concerns us. Now any such change would come under the head of a constitutional amendment, and can only be passed in a special way. Supposing, indeed, Congress by any mistake treated it in the ordinary way, as though it was a Bill about stamps or navigation, what would happen? Any State or individual that objected to the change would bring the matter before the highest judicial authority—namely, the Supreme Court of the United States—and they would declare the law unconstitutional, being beyond the powers of the ordinary Legislature, and would annul it as a usurpation. And there would be an end of it. So there can be no disregard of the law. What, then, is to be done if a change is wanted? It will be clearest to cite Sir H. Maine's words:—

First of all, the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives [the Lower House] must resolve, by a two-thirds majority in each chamber, that the proposed amendment is desirable. The amendment has then to be ratified by the Legislature of three-fourths of the several States. Now, there are at this moment thirty-eight States in the American Union. The number of Legislatures which must join in the ratification is therefore twenty-nine. I believe, however, that there is no State in which the Legislature does not consist of two Houses, and we arrive, therefore, at the surprising result that, before a constitutional measure of the gravity of the English County Franchise Bill could become law in the United States, it must have at the very least in its favour the concurring vote of no less than fifty-eight separate legislative chambers, independently of the Federal Legislature, in which a double two-thirds majority must be obtained. The alternative course permitted by the Constitution, of calling separate special conventions of the United States and of the several States, would prove probably in practice even lengthier and more complicated.

This, remember, applies to the Central Government. But, besides this, in nearly all of the thirty-eight States, each of which has its Constitution and legislative chambers, analogous restrictions are put to constitutional changes, requiring more than an absolute majority in either House, and various delays and ratifications. Details vary, but the general character of the regulations are the same.

This example of America makes it perfectly plain that there is no insuperable difficulty in distinguishing constitutional changes from other legislation, and in making these changes much more difficult to effect than the making of ordinary laws. It may be remarked by the way that if a little more attention were paid to the American Constitution and its working, and to the chief laws and customs of the thirty-nine States that compose



the Union, there would be fewer words and much more sense in our discussions about the franchise and home rule, about the laws of marriage and education, about the laws of land and debt. And undoubtedly Sir H. Maine has done a good work in making known the American plan of preventing hasty changes in legislation. And I expect he has also done good service in bringing home to many of us various features of our own Constitution which are so disguised by legal and popular language that they are liable to slip out of sight. Whether, indeed, we ought to agree with the general drift of this remarkable book is another matter, and one that is now to be considered. This drift the author makes pretty clear in his Preface. It is to show the fragile nature and great difficulty of government by the Many; nay, that it is more difficult in the shape it is tending to assume than other forms of government; that the perpetual changes it appears to demand are likely to lead to disappointment and disaster; and that we in England ought to adopt some plan like the American as a check to these changes and a remedy for the infirmities of democracy. And he does not hesitate to speak of the British Constitution as being in its decay.

Now at first sight there is much to make us, as Catholics, inclined to follow him. He recognizes the vile corruption of the present French Republic; and his remarks on the necessary imperfection of governments chosen by extended suffrages, on the delusive character of the so-called will of the people, on the contradictions of *plébiscites*, on the prevalence of wire-pulling and corruption, on the vanity of the flattery that is bestowed on democracy and the people—these remarks, which are not original indeed, but still sensible and opportune, have brought on him the reproach of repeating the familiar remonstrances of Ultramontanes and Legitimists. And has not Mr. John Morley, in the same article (in the *Fortnightly Review* for February last) in which he thus reproaches Sir H. Maine, also written that the Ultramontane Church has broken with knowledge, has taken her stand upon ignorance, and that "the worst enemy of science is also the bitterest enemy of democracy, *c'est le cléricalisme!*" Is it not plain that we must follow the lead of Sir H. Maine against our common enemy?

But stay a little. We must above all things do nothing unreasonable, and not be discomposed by reproaches to which by this time we ought to be accustomed. Mr. Morley, in his criticisms of Sir H. Maine, says some things that are not true, and others that are ridiculous; but, because in this he is wrong, it does not follow that the main position of his adversary is right. And in my opinion he shows him in his main position to be *wrong*. Sir Henry Maine, he says,

attaches an altogether excessive and unscientific importance to form . . . . it is unreasonable to predicate fragility, difficulty, or anything else of a particular form of government, without reference to other conditions which happen to go along with it in a given society at a given time. None of the properties of popular government are independent of surrounding circumstances, social, economic, religious, and historic. All the conditions are bound up together in a closely interdependent connection, and are not secondary to, or derivative from, the mere form of government. It is, if not impossible, at least highly unsafe to draw inferences about forms of government in universals.

Nothing can be more true than this. I need not add his illustrations; for any one with the smallest knowledge of history can find illustrations *ad libitum*. I will rather turn to the point on which Sir H. Maine has laid so much stress—the American checks to hasty alterations of the Constitution. They are sensible and just; I will not say that something like them might not with advantage be introduced into England; but, if I am told that they are to be the means of arresting our decay, I answer, that this is like throwing a straw to a drowning man. Sir H. Maine only touches the surface of things. Even in America, the native home of these elaborate constitutional amendments, what became of them in a great crisis when there was a conflict about essentials? They were suspended in the revolutionary period that began in 1861—Sir H. Maine tells us so, and with perfect truth points out that the War of Secession was a War of Revolution—and the Constitution was altered at the point of the sword. And to the judgment of the sword we too shall come for all that Sir Henry Maine and his formalities can help us. One of greater name, Aristotle, gave many wise counsels about political forms to the Greeks, who certainly were not less intelligent than we are; but it was of no avail to keep them from revolution and decay.

In truth, the Conservative Sir Henry Maine seems to me by his silence to be almost as anti-clerical as the Radical Mr. John Morley by his vituperation. In all this book about government, and the need of its stability, and the future of our country, there is scarcely a word about the real foundation of all authority and order, about the belief in God and the moral law; nor is there one word about Freemasonry and other secret societies, and their deadly warfare against Church and State, order and liberty. This silence is almost incredible, but it is observed, and is a portentous sign. For if we may take Sir H. Maine, as I think we may, to represent the opinions of the bulk of our wealthy and cultivated classes, then they are blinder than the French *noblesse* before the First Revolution. Take away the belief in

God, and the present holders of wealth and power have just so much title and claim to that wealth and power as their bayonets and bullets will give them, and no more; and all their appeals to rights and loyalty, all their denunciations of confiscation, of wicked riots, of treason and Socialism, are mere idle clap-trap. But, to return to the book in question, it is no wonder that, as God must not be mentioned (the word occurs, indeed, but only in the phrase "*Vox populi, vox Dei*"), the whole description of modern democracy is obscured by a fundamental confusion. In the second essay he praises the dictum of Austin and M. Scherer, that democracy is simply and solely a form of government, the government of the State by the Many as opposed to government by the Few or by One (p. 59). And he adds the following corollary:—

The advanced Radical politician of our day would seem to have an impression that democracy differs from monarchy in essence. There can be no grosser mistake than this, and none more fertile of further delusions. Democracy, the government of the commonwealth by a numerous but indeterminate portion of the community taking the place of the monarch, has exactly the same conditions to satisfy as monarchy; it has the same functions to discharge, though it discharges them through different organs. The tests of success in the performance of the necessary and natural duties of a government are precisely the same in both cases.

This is excellent doctrine—it is just what we read in Catholic manuals of political philosophy—always assuming that democracy means a form of government. And this no doubt is what it ought to mean, and what it does mean in many mouths. But then there is another and a very different sense in which it is used, and in which Sir H. Maine himself must be taken to use it if his first essay on popular government is to have any sense. The democratic principle he speaks of (p. 5) as going forth conquering and to conquer, and as being opposed by the "*Syllabus*" of the late Pope—is this, forsooth, a mere form of government? What the late Pope, just like the Pope that went before him and the Pope that has come after him, denounced, is not a form of government, but a false view of the nature of all men and the nature of all government. The common name for this view is the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. This phrase, indeed, can be used in a perfectly harmless sense, and to mean much the same as the proper and innocent sense of democracy—namely, a form of government where sovereignty is exercised by the bulk of the inhabitants, or by their representatives. Dr. Brownson in America and Dr. Barry in England have used the phrase in this sense. Whether this use is judicious we need not discuss. The point is, that on the



Continued the phrase means false doctrine, and briefly it is this—that men are not fallen, but by nature virtuous and wise; that they owe obedience to no one, but are by nature independent, and may do as they like; that all political power comes, not from God, but from them; that they obey merely because they have agreed to obey; that all rulers are merely their servants or agents for carrying out their will, and can, like any other servant or agent, be censured, or dismissed at pleasure; that the will of the people is the supreme law. Now we need not trouble ourselves to pull this theory to pieces. Enough that it is against facts and reason; that even formally it results in the dilemma of either anarchy or else the absolute rule of the majority; that its issue is the sovereignty of force. So we reach the well-known seventieth proposition of the "Syllabus": *Auctoritas nihil aliud est nisi numeri et materialium virium summa*. It is an old story. If you will not have God to rule over you, you must bow to a tyrant. No natural law is recognized; no right is secure; and, the true notion of liberty having disappeared, the word is made to mean the beggarly privilege of possessing in the shape of a vote a nominal fragment of the sovereign power. This theory in various forms has been used for a century as an engine against Christian governments; and to avoid any further mistake I will call it the Infidel Theory of government as opposed to the Religious Theory. It is this infidel theory that is commonly meant by the phrase "Sovereignty of the People." It is this infidel theory that Mr. John Morley means by democracy when he calls clericalism the arch-enemy of democracy. It is this infidel theory, and not any form of government, that has fallen under the successive censures of Gregory, and Pius, and Leo. It is this infidel theory, finally, which Sir Henry Maine in his first essay with the greatest complacency appears in part to adopt and approve. He leaves, indeed, the doctrines of natural virtue and independence to popular orators; but by eliminating all reference to God, he gives at least a tacit approval to the "newer view"—he cites that rulers, namely, are mere agents of the people, not authorities from God; and he gives with approval the doctrine of Hobbes, that liberty is "political power divided into small fragments." The true notion of liberty and of the State is in this way altogether obscured. There is no longer any security for the essential rights of man, his faith and morals, his wife and children, his house and home; for no law is recognized but that of the State, and so no rights but what the State gives; and we are delivered over to the tender mercies of Sir James Stephen and his Cesarism. Of course it may be said that Mr. John Morley with his democracy comes really to the same thing, and that your sufferings are not made any lighter by an admixture

of rhetoric about man's virtue and equality. Still, anything is better than brutal cynicism, and the worship of the people, though logically worse, is morally better than the worship of the State.

But to return to Sir Henry Maine. It is not my wish to accuse him of holding the infidel theory of government; I do not know what is his creed; but his book on popular government, which we are considering, seems to show that he does not know what the religious theory of the State is, and the all-importance of recognizing it; and thus, in spite of many acute observations, he misses the real issue and misleads both himself and his readers. Indeed, it is high time that Catholics should separate the chaff from the wheat in the writings of this attractive author. For till this sifting process is done I am not at all sure that these writings do not do more harm than good. Thus, in the distressing controversy about the sovereignty of the people that was carried on some eighteen months ago in the columns of the *Tablet*, one (lay) writer gravely asked what a previous (ecclesiastical) writer had meant by the phrase "natural law," and proceeded to give a *récharuffé* of Sir H. Maine and John Austin on the phrase, somewhat to the effect that it was nonsense. And I knew well a young student, who, after sitting at the feet of Sir H. Maine and being dosed with Austin's "Jurisprudence," and then happening (it was at the Education crisis) to hear the Archbishop of Westminster speak of the natural rights of parents and the natural law above the law of the State, thought, with the characteristic modesty of modern youth, that the Archbishop did not know what he was talking about. He found out in time that the Archbishop did know and was right, and that it was he himself that did not know and was wrong. But I fear that many never get to this second and more sober state of mind. Now, the source of the mistake is the first and most famous (though, in my opinion, far the least valuable) of Sir H. Maine's works—that, namely, on "Ancient Law." For it contains a misunderstanding much of the character of the one which we have just now examined, and which confuses democracy in the sense of a form of government with democracy in the sense of the infidel theory of government. So in "Ancient Law" he confuses the religious sense of the law of Nature—namely, the law of God as far as made known to man, not through revelation, but through their reason, on which law rest all natural rights—this sense he confuses with the infidel sense of Nature as a sort of lawgiver, laying down a proper rule of life, and conferring natural rights. This no doubt is nonsense, though we Catholics were in no need of Sir Henry Maine to find it out. But the amazing thing is, that you might read through that whole book and never guess that the words "natural law" and "natural rights" were in current

nse in the greater part of the Christian world for centuries in quite another sense. This is a lamentable mistake; and there is another, which he has borrowed from the German historical school—namely, that of going beyond the evidence, jumping again and again from the partial to the universal, from the temporary to the continuous, from the possible to the probable, from the probable to the certain. But I must no longer wander in this field of criticism and lament over so good a writer being half-spoilt for want of a little training in logic and theology; for I must return to the British Constitution and its decay.

But is it decaying? Sir H. Maine tells us it is; and although, as we have seen, he gives us a remedy for one infirmity, he alludes to others for which he offers us no remedy, and for which he does not seem to have got one. And, in fact, he has been reproached with the gloomy and desponding character of his book. Of course we might immediately say, as we have just been quarrelling with him, that because he says we are all going to the dogs, therefore we are not. But this mode of reasoning, though common, is not always satisfactory; and in this case there is the difficulty that, if we will not weep with Sir H. Maine, we shall have to rejoice with Mr. John Morley—which of the two alternatives is perhaps the worst. It seems, therefore, the best course to leave these writers, and to look at the matter on its own merits. Now the word "Constitution," though it is somewhat vague, still, when used with words like British, Prussian, American, means the sum total of the written and unwritten law, of the legal rules and moral principles, that relate to the supreme government of the particular country. Of course we cannot fully and really understand the nature of the supreme government unless we also know a good deal about the local government of provinces, towns, and villages; about the administration of justice, and the constitution of the army; nay, also, about family life, and the relations of masters and servants, rich and poor. But although we must bear all these things in mind, still, as we cannot say everything at the same moment, we can treat of the supreme government separately, remembering at the same time that two governments apparently alike may be really very different, if, for example, there is great difference between the two countries in their laws and customs on property and servants.

And now for the word "decay," which in its turn requires a little explanation. It clearly should be used for something bad, unless we are bent on misleading people. Thus, if by gradual and peaceful steps the form of government, say in Lilliput, is completely changed, as from an aristocracy to a monarchy, the new form being more suitable than the old, we must not speak of the decay of the Lilliputian Constitution. There is no decay, but



vigorous life; and vigorous life may sometimes mean change. On the other hand, there is real decay of a constitution when it suffers diminution either of its power or its virtue. The one loss leads directly, the other indirectly, to a revolution—that is, to a sudden and violent change in the constitution, a change that sometimes cannot be helped, and is the less of two evils, but still is always a great evil. Thus a constitution is in decay, if a powerful class or body has arisen within the State, and remains excluded from all share in the central government, and resents the exclusion. A strong constitution will absorb the new body, and become all the stronger. A decaying constitution will reject this body as a foreign substance, and probably end in consequence in revolution. But the other head of decay is equally to be attended to. If false principles of law and government take the place of true, if frivolous and indolent, or corrupt and vicious, or ignorant and fanatic men fill the offices of government instead of the wise and the good, then there is decay, and a liability to revolution. For it is the part of a fanatic not to stick at any means to his end; and then again if the “rational” doctrine prevails of sovereignty being only organized force, you will find it hard to persuade me not to organize, if I can, a force on my own account, and put the crown on my own head.

I hope I have made clear now what I mean by constitution and by decay. So we can return to the question whether the British Constitution is decaying or not. Now, it seems to me that the first source of decay, the loss, namely, of power, cannot be proved. Undoubtedly we have changed, and the Constitution at present is very different from that in the days of Chatham and Burke, or even Peel and Wellington. But change is not decay. What if we are now governed almost wholly and without appeal by a secret committee of the party that has the majority in the House of Commons? If that committee is composed of honest, wise, and God-fearing men, are we not as likely to be as well governed as in any other way? No doubt it is a curious form of government; but it is no exotic, no creation of a doctrinaire’s brain, but a native growth. There is nothing like it elsewhere. The practical identification of the legislative and the executive powers is its characteristic. In America, on the contrary, the executive power (the President and his Ministers) is distinct from the legislative power (the two Houses of Congress), and in great measure independent of it. And the Continental countries which have tried to copy the British Constitution have failed to work the plan as we do, either from the Crown not being altogether withdrawn from home politics; or from there being a number of parties which can be played one against another by a *skillful Minister*, instead of two great parties; or from there being

irreconcilable enmity between great parties, instead of agreement in essentials. But our two great parties are disappearing, perhaps I shall be told. Be it so. But what of it? We shall want a change in the Constitution then, no doubt. But why will there be need of bloodshed and revolution? Why not a peaceful change, a healthy growth, and adaptation to new circumstances, as we have seen before? Till you show me that this cannot be, and that our common-sense has marvellously dwindled, I will not allow that the form of our present Constitution is bad, and the Constitution for this reason in decay.

Yet it is in decay—only, for another reason. And this is, that false principles of law and government have in great measure driven out the true. We are still profiting, indeed, from the legacy of the past, but are busy preparing for our children an inheritance of disaster. For, to put the matter shortly, the religious theory of government is being driven out before our eyes by the infidel theory. Now, as I have already explained, the infidel theory has various forms, but the essence and chief malice of them all is the same, and consists in denying the authority and interposition of God, whether He speaks to us through reason in the natural law, or through revelation in the revealed law; and in making all law and all rights spring from human will alone. No Catholic, no sort of Christian, no genuine Theist, can possibly hold this theory if he once understands what it means. On the Continent the theory is often summed up in the phrase, *la Révolution*; and it is in this sense that the admirable Catholic leader in France, Count Albert de Mun, has openly declared war on the revolution; though I believe there are some Englishmen, perhaps even some Catholics, so ill-informed as to imagine that this champion of faith and morals, liberty and justice, wishes to bring back the whole *ancien régime* of the time of Louis XV., not omitting the royal mistresses and the *lettres de cachet*. Once more, the spread of this infidel theory is one of the main works and aims of secret societies in general, and in particular of that head of secret societies, Freemasonry; and against all forms and shapes of this theory, and the leagues of its promoters, the Holy See has been warning us again and again for a century past, and has tracked the deadly beast to its lair.

But am I so simple, it may be asked, as to think that the English people are going to listen to Papal Encyclicals, and shape their principles accordingly? Well, not just yet, I admit. But a select few can do the listening and learning, and then put before the others in a clear and attractive way the religious theory of government, and show how miserable is the infidel theory, and teach them to love the one and hate the other, and to cast out Freemasonry and other works of darkness. I have not, indeed,

Mr. Morley's "faith in the people" and belief that "human nature is good" in his sense and Rousseau's. But that is no reason for falling into Sir Henry Maine's despondency. On the contrary, there seem to me good grounds for thinking that the English people will not yield to the venomous doctrines with which they are being assailed. A recent Letter of the Pope ought to make us ashamed of our faint-heartedness, for he tells us how he is moved at the sight of the multitudinous good works of the English Protestants, and of their clinging, so many of them, to what fragments of the Christian faith have been left to them; and how in their good dispositions he sees hope for the future of our country and an earnest of God's favour.

And then we ought to remember that once before, nearly a century ago, the infidel theory of government sought to gain possession of England, nay, had almost succeeded, when a great and good man arose, and, appealing in a masterpiece of literature to all that was best and noblest in the nation, made the Christian principles of our Constitution for many years secure. What Edmund Burke did by his "Reflections on the Revolution in France" may be done again, as it needs to be, in our own day. And that celebrated pamphlet might in great part serve as a foundation for the new appeal to the English people. For Burke's strong point was his setting forth in fascinating words the true principles of all government. His weak point was in his facts, as distinct from his principles. He paints England and its Church as they ought to have been, not as they were; and he tries to persuade his readers that the Revolution of 1688 and its principles were not opposed to the true principles of government. It was perhaps fortunate he could thus delude himself, for the influence of his teaching was probably doubled in consequence. But it was a delusion for all that. The change in 1688 may or may not have been provoked by injustice and folly; may or may not have been beneficial in its immediate or ultimate results; it was certainly a revolution, marked by greed of wealth and power and by almost unexampled treachery; it was a violent shifting of power from the Crown to a territorial aristocracy; the form of government was changed, not by law, but by force; and what is this but revolution? In fact, the arguments of Burke by which he sought to make the change of 1688 accord with the religious principle of government have long since, by Hallam and others, been torn to pieces. But this is now a matter of little consequence; our countrymen now are not given over to the worship of a political fetish styled "The Glorious Revolution"; and it would make little difference whether we could show that the right was followed in 1688, or was not. Thus Burke's history and facts are little to us; whereas his political philosophy, and



the words in which he has expressed it, are a permanent treasure of our race and our tongue. He is pre-eminently the champion of what I have called the religious as opposed to the infidel theory of government. He looks on the formal distributions of power as little, and on the moral principles as all-important. He urges—we might think we were reading the recent Encyclical of Leo XIII. on the Constitution of Christian States—that all power is a trust from God, and that all States should have a religion. Let us hear him :

The . . . . sense of mankind . . . . not only, like a wise architect, hath built up the august fabric of States, but, like a provident proprietor, to preserve the structure from profanation and ruin, as a sacred temple, purged from all the impurities of fraud, and violence, and injustice, and tyranny, hath solemnly and for ever consecrated the commonwealth, and all that officiate in it. This consecration is made that all who administer in the government of men, in which they stand in the person of God Himself, should have high and worthy notions of their function and destination ; that their hope should be full of immortality ; that they should not look to the paltry pelf of the moment, nor to the temporary and transient praise of the vulgar, but to a solid, permanent existence in the permanent part of their nature, and to a permanent fame and glory in the example they leave as a rich inheritance to the world. . . . . All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust, and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, author and founder of society. This principle ought even to be more strongly impressed upon the minds of those who compose the collective sovereignty than upon those of single princes. Without instruments these princes can do nothing. Whoever uses instruments, in finding helps finds also impediments.

Whereas, as he shows, a large governing body is in great measure its own instrument, less liable to shame and less exposed to the possibility of punishment :

It is, therefore, of infinite importance that they should not be suffered to imagine that their will, any more than that of kings, is the standard of right and wrong.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Clarendon Press edition, pp. 108–110.

And not merely has Burke given us, as it were, a translation of our present Pope's judgment against the evil *novum jus* that threatens us ; the Papal denunciation of that other and allied evil, the *secula Massimum*, has likewise been, as it were, anticipated. But, instead of citing Burke, I will rather, on the principle "*fas est ab hoste doceri*," give the significant comment of his Oxford editor, Mr. E. J. Payne, an enemy of our faith. He says in his able Introduction :

Among Burke's historical forecasts none is more remarkable than that which relates to the organization throughout Europe of secret political societies. Contemporary critics laughed the argument to scorn; but its accuracy is testified by the history of liberal [he means liberal in the Belgian sense—i.e., irreligious] movements all over Catholic Europe and America. Thirty years more, and the world rang with the alarm. It was by the aid of these secret organizations that Mexico and South America threw off the yoke of the priesthood [and, of course, were all peaceful and happy ever afterwards]. We know the history of similar clubs in Spain, Italy, and Switzerland between 1815 and 1848; and the great power for attack provided by these means justifies the hostility with which the Catholic Church still regards all secret organizations. (P. xlix.)

I think I have said enough to show that we have the greatest orator that England has ever seen on our side in our present struggle to uphold the true against the false principles of government. And so great is the power of literature that this is no light advantage. And so, too, it is no light advantage that the supreme head of English literature is also fully on our side, and that in Shakespeare is to be found for ethics in general, and for politics and economics in particular, a whole treasure-house of wisdom. It is indeed time that we should know at last what great names are on our side, what weapons there are ready to our hand. I must not, indeed, begin quoting Shakespeare, for there would be no ending, and will only add the remarks of Coleridge given by Mr. Payne (p. xxix.) that Shakespeare, as manifested in his writings, is one of those

who build the commonweal, not on the shifting shoals of expedience, or the incalculable tides of popular will, but on the sure foundations of the divine purpose, demonstrated by the great and glorious ends of rational being; who deduce the rights and duties of men, not from the animal nature, in which neither right nor duty can inhere, nor from a state of nature which never existed, nor from an arbitrary contract which never took place in the memory of man nor angels, but from the demands of the complex life of the soul and the body, defined by reason and conscience, expounded and ratified by revelation.

Let us, therefore, not be deluded by Sir Henry Maine or by any other authority, and be made eager about forms and contrivances of government, neglectful of the spirit and the reality. It is easy, if you dislike a form of government, to show its difficulties and abuses. For all are conducted by men, and the fallen nature of men is continually showing itself. It is easy, therefore, to depict the bribery, the frauds, the caucuses, the manipulations, the bombast, the lying, the petty tyrannies, the mean ambitions, of political life in democratic America. But such a picture is of the same value as that which other writers draw for us of the

eighteenth-century monarchies of Western and Central Europe—the imbecility, extravagance, arbitrary tyranny, corrupt courts, rule of mistresses and flatterers, and I know not what else. Others will tell you the evils of bureaucracies such as in India or Russia—the gulf between ruled and rulers, the corruption of the lower officials, and the arbitrary deeds of local tyrants, for which no redress is possible, all the members of the bureaucracy being bound by a tacit league to support each other. A plutocracy, again, such as ruled at Rome in the youth of Cicero, or in England after the first Reform Bill, with indescribable misery of the poorer classes; or an aristocracy, as in England after 1688; or an oligarchy, or this form or that form, can be depicted in the same way. But remember, all you prove is, that the particular form of government is no panacea, does not change human nature, is liable to be made an instrument of our evil passions, is in constant danger of lapse, in constant need of reform. You do not prove it bad in itself. It may have grown unsuitable; indeed, where there are great changes in the arts this is likely; the new means of communication, railways, telegraphs, the cheap press, and the new system of warfare, may well require new forms of government. But man is not new; and, whatever be the new form of government, he requires the same help against his evil passions as before. But revolution, as distinct from reform, is essentially an unchaining of evil passions.

In conclusion, therefore, let us be tolerant with one another in all matters that are not essential, and allow each to think as he judges best about forms of government in general and in particular, whether the form of the British Constitution should be changed or not, and, if so, how; for example, whether or not we should change our centralized for a federal system, whether or not we should have a second chamber or one constituted like our present one, whether or not any settled adult should be excluded from the franchise, whether or not the Crown should have once more greater powers, whether or not the executive should be a more permanent body than at present and more independent of the Lower House, whether or not we should adopt some system like that of America for making Constitutional changes difficult, and many other like questions. Let each have his own opinion on these matters, and follow his own view. But how pitiable if differences on these matters, which are by comparison but trifles, should prevent all Catholics, nay, all Christians, joining together against their common and irreconcilable foe, and striving to keep or restore the Christian Constitution of our country. Let us be united against godless schools, godless colleges, godless universities; against the scandalous law of divorce; against the propaganda of blasphemy and of filth; against the doctrine of the

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State being the source of all law and right, and the corollary of the lawfulness of revolution. And as to secret societies, let us, both as dutiful children listening to the sovereign Pontiff, and as reasonable men listening to the evidence—and the evidence is before us, the texts, the documents, abundant, conclusive, accessible, before our eyes unless we close them—let us declare against every secret society an inexorable war. Of course we may fail; and then indeed the British Constitution would be in decay. Then indeed

Strength should be lord of imbecility,  
And the rude son should strike his father dead;  
Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong  
(Between whose endless jar justice resides)  
Should lose their names and so should justice too.  
Then everything includes itself in power,  
Power into will, will into appetite;  
And appetite an universal wolf,  
So doubly seconded with will and power,  
Must make perforce an universal prey,  
And, last, eat up himself.

*Troilus and Cressida*, act i. scene 3.

But shall we fail? I think I have given good reasons for confidence; and assuredly we shall be less likely to fail if we are united.

C. S. DEVAS.

## ART. II.—THE ARCHDUCHESS ISABEL.

1. *Lettres de Philippe II. à ses Filles, les Infantes Isabelle et Cathérine, écrites pendant son voyage en Portugal.* Publiées d'après les originaux autographes conservés dans les Archives Royales de Turin. Par M. GACHARD.
2. *Unpublished Letters in the Brussels Archives.*

TRAVELLERS who have visited Belgium with an eye to its history and traditions cannot fail to have been struck by the loving remembrance in which that country still holds the joint sovereigns known generally as "the Archdukes," and of them in particular the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia. We believe that there is as yet no published biography of this princess; and yet her character, the epoch at which she lived, and the part taken by her in European politics, as well as in the regeneration of her own long desolated provinces, merit for her

no small share of attention from such as deal with the past. The contrast between Isabel and her royal father, and the favourable effects of that contrast on the people whom she governed, are alone worthy of some study.

The daughter of Philip II. by his third wife, Elizabeth of France, she inherited the charming and virtuous character of her mother, together with some of the best qualities of her grandfather, Charles V. She was born in August, 1566, after some years of marriage, when Philip had almost despaired of other issue besides the ill-conditioned and ill-fated Don Carlos. He rejoiced greatly, therefore, over the birth of Isabel, notwithstanding her sex; indeed, he assured his wife that he was even more content than if the child had been a son. The unaccountable etiquette of the Spanish Court, however, did not allow him to be present at the Infanta's christening, which ceremony he witnessed from a window. At a month old Isabel was already pronounced a beauty. "She is very handsome," wrote Tourquevaux, the French ambassador, to Catherine de Medicis, on the 15th of September; "having a fine forehead, and a nose rather large, like that of her father, to whose mouth, however, hers bears no resemblance, although it is true that some call it rather large also." \*

In October, 1567, another Infanta was born, who received the name of Catherine; and a year later the good Queen Isabel de la Paz, as the Spaniards called her, because she had been part of the price of the Cateau Cambresis treaty, died in prematurely giving birth to a third daughter, just baptized before its flicker of life expired. Philip did not long mourn Elizabeth de Valois. In 1570 he married Anne of Austria, when futile attempts were made to persuade the little Isabel that the new queen was her real mother; but she was not to be deceived, for, wrote Tourquevaux, "she had the mind and judgment of a girl of fifteen." The child was in tears when she made the acquaintance of her new stepmother, but Anne kissed both her and Catherine affectionately, and treated them in every respect like her own daughters, until her death in 1580. The only complaint made by their grandmother in France on the subject of their bringing up was, that she heard they did not have enough country air, as the Queen lived like a nun, and seldom went out of her apartments.

Philip II. had behaved with unnatural hardness towards his eldest son; but he seemed to concentrate a double portion of affection on the two daughters of Elizabeth de Valois. A whole

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\* Letter of September 13, 1567, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Quoted by M. Gachard.

series of letters, written by him to Isabel and Catherine during his progress through Portugal in the years 1581-82, have lately been edited and published by the indefatigable M. Gachard, and must needs astonish all who have considered the acts and history of the sombre monarch of the Escorial. Here the stern ruler, the hard master, the unscrupulous intriguer appears in the light of a loving and thoughtful parent; he is fatherly, kind, solicitous, nay, even playful and humorous. So true is it that no character is consistent throughout, and that there are dark and light threads in the woof of every human soul. We have greatly studied the life of Philip II., yet we may honestly say that until the publication of these letters we had never thoroughly "known him at home."

At the time when he wrote them the Infantas were just emerging from childhood into youth; he had left Spain for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Portugal, lately conquered for him by the Duke of Alva, and he was there joined by his widowed sister, the Empress Mary, her daughter Margaret, and her son, the Archduke Albert, who was not at that time supposed to be the destined spouse of the Infanta Isabel. That letters of Philip's should be bright and entertaining no one would believe who had not read these communications to his daughters. Here he describes his own dress on the day when he received the oaths of fidelity, and when they made him wear brocade and cloth of gold; he talks often and familiarly of certain old servants who accompanied his Court, especially of one Madalena, whose exact office is not known, but whose humours the king tolerated to a degree hardly credible. "Madalena is very desirous of strawberries, as I am of hearing the song of nightingales, though it is true that I hear them now and then from one of my windows,"\* he writes; and a little later, "It seems to me that Madalena is no longer so vexed with me as she was; but she has been ill for some time, and in a very bad humour . . . she is in a sad state; feeble, old, deaf, and half silly. I think all this is the consequence of drink, and that she is glad for that reason to be away from her son-in-law. I have not seen her to-day; I imagine that her ill-humour will prevent her from writing to you," &c. Elsewhere the king speaks of a gold chain and some bracelets which his sister and niece had given to Madalena on her being bled, in accordance with an old German custom. He also mentions other old servants with benevolence; but what will chiefly strike the reader is the interest which he takes in the progress and pur-

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\* Letter II. and Letter XIII.



suits, not only of Isabel and Catherine, but also of their little brothers and sister, the children of Queen Anne. Her offspring had mostly been puny and sickly; her eldest son, Fernando, had already died in 1578, and Diego, who was five years old in 1581, was then heir to the crown. Philip writes to his daughters that Diego may wear a short frock, "though it is not to walk in, to judge by the slowness of all the children to walk;" and speaks of a tooth which had just been cut by Prince Philip, and which seems to have been the first, though he was three years old. Singularly enough, Philip cannot remember the ages of his sons, and asks the Infantas to recall them to him. It is pleasing to find that the two princesses seem to have acted like a pair of young mothers to the little children, looking after their wardrobes, and seeing that their apartments were warm in winter and cool in summer. Philip II. took with his usual *sang froid* the death of Don Diego from small-pox in 1582, thanking God that he had preserved the lives of Catherine, Philip, and the little Princess Mary, who had all been attacked by the disease. Yet the smallest details respecting his children seem to have been full of interest for him. He tells the Infantas not to be proud because they are taller than their cousin Margaret, "for it is that she is little, and not that you are well-grown." He bids them teach Margaret to speak Spanish; he finds some fault with the orthography of one of Isabel's letters. It is a pity that the royal sire did not occupy himself more with this matter, for of all the bad handwritings which perplex the historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that of Isabel is perhaps the worst—large, clumsy, blotted, and too thickly sanded. It cannot be said, however, that Philip himself showed his children a good example in this respect.

He describes the weather, the scenery, the churches, and processions, in one of which there were some representations of devils, the description of which seems to have frightened the little Infante Don Philip. "I don't think he would have been afraid of them," wrote the king, "for they were good devils; one saw them a long way off, and they were more like great dolls than devils; certainly they were harmless, since they were not real ones." He sends his children a sweet letter in a box, desiring to know exactly what it is; he asks them what flowers are out in the fields and gardens around Aranjuez; he is evidently a man who delights in details. Unfortunately he burned his daughters' letters, but we cannot be sufficiently grateful to the Infantas for having preserved his own.

Soon after Philip's return from Portugal the Infanta Catherine was married to Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, the position of

whose States made his alliance necessary to the king.\* Of Isabel's marriage there had already been much talk, though the talk had come to nothing. The Empress Mary desired her hand for her eldest son Rodolph, but whether the young Emperor demanded a dowry which Philip was unwilling to give, or whether Philip was really reluctant to part so soon with the best beloved of all his children, the project was never carried out, although he had given his formal consent to the match when with his sister in Portugal. All accounts agree in representing Isabel as handsome and charming, with very pleasing manners, although, says an ambassador, she lived a retired life "like a religious." Her portrait by Rubens, now in the Musée Royal at Brussels, is a *beau idéal* of gracious dignity. Tall and powerfully built, brown and rosy, she bore, in person as in character, far more resemblance to Elizabeth, her mother, than to Philip, her sire. She had neither the white Hapsburg complexion nor the blue Hapsburg eye. She was broad, bonnie, buxom; her hazel eyes shone with benevolence and her mouth was expressive of candour and mercy. For many years this fair princess was destined to no more stirring life than that of her father's secretary. She was the only person to whom the old king would speak freely. Seated in his grim, hermit-like cell, like a garden flower planted in a sunless nook, she brightened the last years of his life, listening to his explanations of political events, overlooking innumerable papers, and scrawling notes in her bad hand. Thus the flower of her youth passed, till at last, says a Venetian ambassador, she declared, laughing, that it would be better to forget her birthdays than to fête them. But it was her father's ambition rather than his selfishness which retained her thus at home unwed. All this time he was plotting to seat her on the throne of France as Queen Regnant over that unchivalrous nation which invented the Salic Law. After the death of Henry III. he flattered himself that this law might be ignored, at least by the Catholics, in favour of the heiress of Henry II.'s eldest daughter. This was the cause of his spending enormous sums on the League which should have been spent on Flanders, and of his driving Farnese to fight in France when his armies and his genius were urgently required in the Provinces. On the assembly of the States-General, Philip sent them a splendid embassy, with a demand that Isabel should be either declared or elected Queen of France; and on this proposal being

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\* Like Isabel, Catherine was fondly attached to the husband chosen for her by her father. Indeed, her death was proximately caused by her anxiety for the Duke when ill during a campaign. She died in 1597, leaving five sons and four daughters.

rejected the ambassadors requested that the choice of a king, to be also the husband of the Infanta, should be left to Philip. Nay, they even tried to procure the election of one of the archdukes. The French Catholics, however, were not more willing than the Huguenots to give their country to Spain, and they gladly accepted as real the conversion by which the freethinking Henri de Bourbon purchased the throne, on July 25, 1593, thereby cutting off for ever the chances of all Hapsburgs and Guises.

Thus, after spending millions, and risking the safety of Flanders, to establish his favourite daughter at Les Tournelles and the Tuileries, Philip was still in the enjoyment of her society at the Escorial. Now that there was no longer a great destiny before her, he was glad to retain near his person the prop and consolation of his otherwise loveless old age; although it has been said that even Isabel did not entirely escape the ineradicable suspiciousness of his nature, and that he was jealous if he saw her conversing apart with her brother, the Prince of Asturias.

But Philip felt his end approaching, and was unwilling to leave his daughter without an establishment in life. He had thought of marrying her to the Archduke Ernest, but Ernest had already preceded him to the tomb. He therefore fixed on Ernest's younger brother, Albert, who had creditably governed Portugal, and was now engaged in the more arduous task of ruling the Low Countries. Philip took the great resolution of conferring these provinces on his daughter and nephew as an independent sovereignty, which, however, was to lapse again to Spain on the death of Albert, should the marriage be without issue. The act of donation, and Prince Philip's deed of renunciation, were signed at Madrid on May 6, 1598.

Albert was a bishop and a cardinal, but the Pope dispensed him from his vows in consideration of the good reasons which existed for the marriage, and on July 18 he solemnly laid his cardinal's hat and robes on the altar of Notre Dame de Hal. On the 26th he convoked the States-General, who had never been legally assembled since the abdication of Charles V. in 1554. The Belgians, having failed, chiefly through their own folly and disunion, to emancipate themselves from the power of Spain, were thankful to accept a quasi-independence at the hands of Philip. Jean Richardot, who had been first discovered and placed in office by Don John of Austria, and who had now risen to be President of the Council, pronounced a fulsome panegyric of the Hapsburg family in general, and of Isabel and Albert in particular, and the archduke, having received the oaths of fealty, set out for Germany to see his brother, the Emperor, and to escort to Spain the Archduchess



Margaret, who was to marry the Prince of Asturias. On their journey they learned the death of Philip II., but this made no difference to Albert, to whom the greatness of this world was already secured.

Seldom was a man so fortunate who had so little courted fortune. The archduke had pursued an even course all his life, accepting such good things as came in his way, but making no efforts after honour and glory, as his brother Mathias had done, with very ludicrous results. An honest and conscientious personage was Albert, and if no extraordinary mental gifts marked out his path to greatness, his probity at least merited it well. An independent sovereignty was now to be his, and the fairest of living princesses, the flower of European royalty, was assigned to him as his partner for life.

The affection, however, with which Isabel regarded the husband chosen for her by her father, denotes a singular mixture of warmheartedness with philosophical coolness in her character. She had, of course, seen a good deal of Albert, who had resided much at the Spanish Court; and just and amiable though he was, there was not much in him, beyond these qualities, to inspire love in a woman's heart. He was small and stiff, with an exaggerated Hapsburg physiognomy, and no originality of mind. Whether in the beginning she was really attached to him, or whether she only accepted him out of habitual obedience to her father, it is certain that she took Albert with a good grace, and was his dutiful and loving wife to the end.

Their wedding was grand rather by proxy than in reality. At Ferrara Pope Clement VIII., attended by a train of seventeen cardinals, met the royal party, and on November 15, 1598, after Pontifical High Mass, he married the Archduchess Margaret to Philip III. as represented by Albert, and Albert to Isabel as represented by the Duke of Sessa. The new queen and her mother had seats and canopies of cloth of gold and silver, Albert one of damask and satin. They communicated after the Mass, and the Pope bestowed on Margaret the Golden Rose.

The value of time had never yet been learnt by the Hapsburg family, in spite of many sharp lessons, and the august party made a long stay at Milan; a delay very irksome to the States, who were longing to know what independence would be like. It was not till the end of February that Albert and Margaret reached the coast of Spain. Their entrance into Valencia was magnificent and tedious in the extreme. Philip and Isabel looked on from a window in the Plaza d'Assen; and as the entrance lasted four hours, it is difficult to surmise whether the *patience* of the actors or of the spectators was the more sorely

tried. Preceded by a train of splendidly mounted nobles, Margaret rode alone on a white palfrey, under her gilded canopy; her mother, the Archduchess Mary Anne, and Albert following immediately after. Next came the queen's ladies on hackneys, attended each by a cavalier, according to the Spanish custom. When the procession reached the Cathedral, the King and Infanta descended from their position and bestowed a warm greeting on their spouses. The marriages were completed the same day.

On the evening of June 7 Isabel bade an eternal farewell to her native land. The king and queen accompanied "the Archdukes," as the Infanta and her husband were henceforth generally called, and the Archduchess Mary Anne, on board their galley. Philip loved his sister with a great affection, and would only take leave of her at midnight when the galley was just about to set sail. Through the luminous gloom of the summer night the daughter of Philip II. caught her last glimpse of the arid coasts of Spain. It is not recorded that she expressed much regret. There was nothing sentimental about Isabel, who was wont to take things as they came, and who was not unwilling to assume a recognized and important position in the world. Her work, albeit a difficult one, was now cut out for her, and she entered with contentment on this new phase of her hitherto uneventful life.

It was on September 5 that the archdukes made their "joyous entry" into Brussels. The weather was rainy, but failed to damp the ardour of the people at welcoming once more to their capital Dukes of Brabant who were all their own. The entry was not more gorgeous than many another which had taken place in their days of servitude, but there was a novelty in the occasion which excited fresh enthusiasm. Three miles from Brussels, the Infanta and her husband were met by the magistrates of the city, the guilds, and the three Estates of Brabant. The nobles wore robes of red velvet, the *bourgeois* the same colours in silk and cloth; the guildsmen were attired in white and blue. Escorted by this brilliant multitude, and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, the archdukes entered the city at four in the afternoon, passing under a triumphal arch with pictures of the fifteen provinces hung on one branch, by which figure their donation to the archdukes was rather obscurely represented. A magnificent canopy was held over the sovereigns, who dismounted at St. Gudule, and paid their devotions there. They then made that devout progress through the city requisite for a properly ordered *Joyeuse Entrée*, passing through several more triumphal arches, and between a series of scaffoldings, on each of which a maiden was posted to represent a province. Eager crowds looked on

with shouts of joy while the Dukes of Brabant crossed that Grande Place where so large a portion of the history of the last forty years had been enacted; where Egmont and Horn had shed their blood for their country; where the mob had forced the trembling States to depose a viceroy appointed by the sovereign, and to throw themselves into the arms of the Dutch insurgents; where the son of the martyred Egmont had collected his troops with the express purpose of delivering up the city again into the power of Spain; and where, since that time, three more royal governors had passed on their triumphal entry into the subjugated town. Now the land had its will, and its independent sovereigns were taking possession of its capital. That the people set up their shows and roared for joy proved nothing. As we have said, they had done as much and more in honour of every one, of whatever politics or nationality, who had come to rule them since the time of Requesens. The flowers had been more abundant on the day when Don John of Austria commenced his brief reign; the allegories more intricate at the entrance of the puppet Mathias. But in the hearts of the people there was now a joy founded on reasonable self-congratulation, and far exceeding the ephemeral delight consequent on sight-seeing, and bell-ringing, and unlimited largesse of confectionery. Belgium was now independent of Spain; such was the thought, the idea rather, that filled with joy the heart of everyone who retained a spark of patriotism. Though Isabel had the misfortune of being the daughter of Philip II., yet she was in truth also the descendant of the ancient Dukes of Brabant and Counts of Flanders; and her full-blown smiling face had little in common with her father's pale and sombre countenance. Her husband bore far more resemblance than herself to Philip, but Albert's physiognomy was forgiven him for the sake of his being a German by birth, and the brother of the Archduke Ernest, who had been beloved at Brussels. Thus there was nothing to diminish the heartiness with which the thronging people cried, "*Vivent les Ducs de Brabant!*" At Sainte Gudule the archdukes took the oaths formerly administered to the independent dukes, on the gorgeous missal used by their predecessors, and which now may be seen at the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, bearing a singular mark of the use made of it at their coronation. They swore on a resplendent page where the crucifixion was represented in gold on a rich red ground; but the September day was hot, their robes were heavy, and their fingers lifted off the red paint in ten distinct places, of which fact ocular evidence may be had to this day.

The new sovereigns began to rule a ruined country, with two wars on hand and an exhausted exchequer; but Isabel, and in a lesser measure Albert, had a large fund of common sense, and



their start was a good one so far as unfavourable circumstances, and the incubus of Spain, permitted. Their first act was to reassemble the States-General. They also entered bravely on the war with Holland. On horseback, beneath the walls of Ghent, Isabel harangued the soldiers whom her consort was about to lead to battle against Maurice of Nassau; and although Albert suffered defeat at Nieuport, the subsequent advent of Spinola, with plenty of money and brains, enabled the archdukes, as we have seen elsewhere, presently to bring the two years' siege of Ostend to a triumphant conclusion in 1603.

The country which the archdukes had come to rule was indeed in a terrible state. Provisions were dearer in Flanders than in any other part of Europe. English cruisers intercepted the Flemish traders, and Dutch sea-dogs awaited them close to their own ports. The fields were unsown, the churches were half in ruins, the woods were full of wolves; that which had been the richest and most prosperous land in Europe was now the most famine-stricken and forlorn. The people looked for relief to their new rulers, nor looked in vain.

Isabel's common sense made it very clear to her that peace with the neighbouring nations was highly desirable for the obedient Netherlands. A country exhausted by thirty-five years of internecine war was not in a condition to be further crippled by the depredations of external enemies; and if the war with the Dutch was to be carried on at all, the provinces certainly could not afford to waste their strength on quarrels with foreign nations. They had Spain to back them up, it is true, but none knew better than Isabel the state of the Spanish exchequer, and that her brother's influence was an incubus rather than an aid. Each enemy, too, meant another friend for the Dutch; whereas, if she could contrive to isolate the belligerent States, and turn every man's hand against them, there might be some hope of the war coming to an end one way or another.

Peace with England seemed to her, and seemed rightly, the grand desideratum, so far as external policy was concerned. Some attempt in this direction had been made by Cardinal Andrew, of Austria, after the death of Philip II., but nothing was effected until the accession of the archdukes. Elizabeth, of course, knew perfectly well that Spanish influence still dominated the Netherlands, notwithstanding their so-called independence; but she, too, was weary of that desultory and informal war, and of the encouragement given by Spain to the belligerent Irish; for the Irish war was the curse of her old age, and Spain kept it alive. The archdukes wisely refused to enter into any *pourparlers* until the negotiation was actually on foot, and Richardot and Verreycken met the English envoys, Beale and Edmondess, at

Boulogne, on May 18, 1600. They were joined by Balthasar de Zuñiga on the part of Spain, and it is not surprising to learn that the negotiations were nearly broken off on a question of precedence, which seemed to the archducal envoys of so much importance that they would not go on with the treaty until they had referred the point to the Courts of Spain and Brussels.\* The archdukes proposed the sensible expedient of the Spanish and English ambassadors entering the council-room together, and sitting on chairs of equal splendour; but to this Spain would not agree, and in the meanwhile Albert's position was much damaged by the battle of Nieuport. The upshot was that no progress was made during the lifetime of Elizabeth. The accession of James I., the commencement of

"The peaceful times of good Queen Jamie,"

was the opportunity of all such as desired to disarm England of her thunderbolts.

Softness and effeminacy seemed to usher in the new century. The great, wicked, gifted, lion-hearted, masterful queen, and the dread hidden king, with his vast designs and strange occult power, who had so long been her antagonist in the world's arena, were alike in their graves, and their places were filled by mere travesties of royalty. James I. had all the weakness of Philip III. without his goodness. When he shambled to his new throne, with all his greedy train behind him, men felt that the heroic age was past.

The Infanta Isabel told her husband that now was the time to bring some good out of the negotiations with Edmondes. The position of the archdukes had indeed suffered through their defeat at Nieuport by Maurice of Nassau, but had been more than regained by the taking of Ostend. Immediately, therefore, on the accession of James, the archdukes sent the Prince-Count of Arenberg to congratulate him, and to sound his feelings about the peace. James replied that, as King of Scotland, he had always been at peace with Spain and Flanders; but that he could make no treaty with the archdukes unless it included Spain. Thus foreign powers, as well as private agreement, persisted in tying the weight of Spain round the neck of the archdukes. In the meantime the States and the King of France had each sent an embassy to James, who, however, was rude enough to the envoys of the Dutch, no one being a greater

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\* "Nous avons esté en paine . . . sçachans la vanité de ceste nation [the English] et la raison que nous avons à n'escouter. . . . Ils crayndroyent d'estre aygrement réprins par leur maitresse" [Elizabeth, if they should abate their dignity on such a point]. Richardot and Verreycken to Albert, June 7, 1600. (MS. in Brussels Archives.)

stickler than he for the royal prerogative. Moreover, he was pleased by the politic action of the archdukes, who released all their English prisoners as the subjects of a friendly prince. Rosni, however, the clever and unscrupulous agent of Henry IV., nearly defeated their projects. He and Arenberg vied with each other in bribing the whole Court. Rosni carried the day, spent 80,000 crowns, and persuaded James to sign a secret treaty with France, binding himself to aid the States clandestinely; and this in defiance of Secretary Cecil himself. But Rosni knew not the Punic faith and changeable nature of the king, who was again treating with Arenberg, and his coadjutors, Grobbendonck and Richardot, so soon as the fascinating French envoy turned his back. That Philip III. would marry one of his daughters to a son of his own was the hope of James; and if Cecil wished to play false to the Dutch it was in order that the young Infanta might have Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht for her dowry. On no other condition would he let Spain regain them, although he would not have objected to restore them to the archdukes, if those princes had had children, of which there seemed no likelihood.\*

Isabel, however, thought that by cleverly managing James, an advantageous peace might be concluded with the rebels. Philip III., too, was desirous of an accord with England, and sent Don Fernando de Velasco, Constable of Castile, to London, he having passed through Brussels on his way. It was on this occasion, as is well known, that Catesby and Winter sounded the Spanish ambassador as to the measure of help which might be expected of Spain, and finding him cold in the cause of the English Catholics, resolved to carry out their desperate plot. The question of the English Catholics was another matter in which Spain hampered the action of the archdukes. Isabel would have tried to stipulate for the free exercise of the Catholic religion in England, but she only obtained that boon for such as had been born her subjects; † for the Duke of Lerma, who governed Spain, had

\* "Si Dieu eut donné à nos princes des enfans, une grande partie, voire toute la diffidence, eut cessé, et fust esté aisé de les persuader à s'y employer." Grobbendonck to the Archduke, November 8, 1604. (MS. in Brussels Archives.)—The Infanta made many pilgrimages to Hal, entreating that she might have issue, but her prayer was never granted.

† How this stipulation was carried out is shown by a letter from the Mayor and Justices of Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire, to the Council, January 11, 1621:—"Anna Hayward . . . refuses to come to church, and pleads exemption from the oath of allegiance as born in the country of the Archdukes, whose subjects are by treaty to have toleration in religion. James Perrot requests, on behalf of the town, that if A. Hayward's plea be allowed, she may be ordered to quit the town, where as recusant has been known since the Reformation, as her residence would encourage Jesuits and seminaries to come."—Domestic State Papers.



no heroic views, and valued the material benefits of a comfortable peace with England higher than the glory of relieving his oppressed co-religionists.\* Moreover, throughout the peace discussions, the Belgian envoys were indignant at finding the interests of their country entirely thrust into the background by their Spanish coadjutors, who alone were regarded as of much importance at the English Court. Arenberg and his colleagues insisted chiefly on the restitution to the archdukes of the cautionary towns in Holland which the Dutch had entrusted to Queen Elizabeth; the Constable, on the contrary, was hottest on the curious question of the Indian trade.

During the war the English sea-rovers, half traders, half privateers, had boldly invaded the invented monopoly which the Spanish monarchs imagined themselves to possess in the East and West Indies. So jealously reserved to Spain was this commerce, that even the archdukes were excluded from it by the act which ceded the Low Countries. No gleam of political economy had ever penetrated the land of the Cid. This science was discovered in the North, and the North cultivated it the more readily because it opened up fields which were supposed to be in the clutches of the Southern maritime powers. To keep out the daring invaders by treaty was the vain hope of Velasco, who cared but little for the towns, which were the first thought of the archdukes. Richardot, however, advised his masters, unsupported as they were by Spain, to yield. "These towns would be no use to us while the war lasts," he wrote, "since we could not maintain them. . . . Also it would be more conformable to the dignity of the archdukes that the English, and not the Dutch, should possess them, and more profitable also, since the King of England would be able by these means to bridle the States." James said with truth that he could not restore the towns without loss of honour,† and what was worse in his eyes, loss of money; and the archdukes finally directed their envoys to yield the point, making the best terms they could.

The upshot was that the towns were left to James to do what he liked with them, and the Indian trade abandoned into his hands, and that the English Catholics gained nothing by the peace. Such fruits did James reap from the strength of his predecessor, and Philip and Isabel from the weakness of theirs.

This lame peace was signed with one of the most fantastic ceremonies ever devised to suit two religions at once. We cannot refrain from giving some account of it, as rendered by one of

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\* *A propos* of James's honour, Caron, the Dutch agent, was at that very time levying troops in England for the service of the rebel States.

† Richardot to Albert. (MS. in Brussels Archives.)

Isabel's envoys. James was determined that all the world should know and admire when the war of thirty years came to an end. On the morning of Sunday, August 29, the Spanish and Belgian ambassadors,\* dressed in a blaze of jewels and embroidery, were conducted by several noblemen to Whitehall, through streets crowded with sightseers. The peace was not popular in London, but the delight of the citizens in a pageant carried the day. James and the Prince of Wales met the envoys in a saloon, and conducted them to the chapel, where pews with brocaded curtains were provided for the Spaniards, and *labourets* for the representatives of the archdukes. No ecclesiastical personage of any description took part in the ceremony which followed, but five choirs sang in exquisite harmony certain motetts and verses in English, which had first been heard at the wedding of Philip II. and Mary Tudor. Other chants in praise of peace followed, and then the treaty was signed. In front of the king's seat was a table, on which stood two gold plates, two chalices, and two Bibles of St. Jerome's edition, printed by Plautino, according to an agreement which had been made for the satisfaction of both parties. The king moved to the table, followed by the envoys; the treaty was kissed and sworn to by every one in turn, and then James returned to his place holding the hands of Velasco and of Richardot, while "the people without," hired apparently for the occasion, shouted "Peace, peace, peace, God save the king." A banquet and ball followed, at which the foreigners were much struck by the splendour of the plate, and the beauty of the English ladies.

In 1605 the Gunpowder Plot threatened seriously to trouble the newly made peace, as James insisted that Spain and the archdukes had cognizance of the affair, and demanded the extradition of Owen, Baldwin, and Persons, who had fled to Flanders. He said with great asperity that he had believed the archdukes to be absolute sovereigns, but now saw that they were only lieutenants of the King of Spain. Albert and Isabel, however, showed a good deal of spirit in the affair, and indignantly disclaimed any complicity in the plot on the part either of the Pope or of themselves. "The Pope abominates the conspiracy," they wrote to their envoy Grobbendonck, "and has admonished the English Catholics never to be mixed up in such affairs."† As to the Jesuit

\* Arenberg excepted, who was suffering from a bad attack of the gout, perhaps brought on by his envy of the pre-eminence and brocaded pews of the Spanish ambassadors.

† "Il a escript au Nonce d'avertir aux anglois catholiques d'icy qu'il desire qu'eux les catholiques d'Angleterre se comportent modestement et paisiblement sous l'obéissance de ce Roy." March 25, 1606. (Brussels Archives, MS.)

Fathers, they had not been convicted of any crime, and nothing more could be done than to request their Provincial to keep his eye on them until the case had been investigated. With respect to Owen, the archdukes wrote "that an English Catholic gentleman, who had well served the late king in his army, and had lived long in Flanders without reproach, was not to be believed guilty of such a plot, and must have fled only because he was accused."\*

Nothing would induce Albert and Isabel to deliver innocent men up to the torturers of the Tower and the Star Chamber. They pursued the same course when, two years later, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled into their dominions to escape the consequences of the plot fathered on them by the designing Government of James; although the mean policy of Spain finally obliged the archdukes to send their guests into the States of the Church. Isabel's kindly and noble nature made her the refuge of the oppressed and persecuted of all nations. To her Court, later on, fled the Princess of Condé, to escape the wicked designs of Henry IV.; and the poor princess never ceased to extol the magnanimous hospitality of the Infanta, whom she declared to have inherited all the virtues of Elizabeth de Valois.

But it is the home government of Isabel and Albert which is their chief glory. In this matter they receive scant justice from the Liberal historians of their country, and overflowing measure from the Catholic ones; but the true criterion is the memory which they left behind them, and which still covers them with honour among the mass of their compatriots. To give repose to the land so long impoverished by war, the archdukes concluded that twelve years' truce with Holland of which we treated in a former number. Their next step was to reorganize the law and the executive, which task they accomplished in 1611, by framing the code known as "the perpetual edict." The arts revived beneath their reign in the long desolate land of Memling and Van Eyck. Every one knows the favour which the archdukes extended to Rubens; how they were wont to visit his studio, and how he was their ambassador to Charles I. and Marie de Medicis. A Belgian historian, Monsieur Hymans, has taken occasion thereby to say, with scant justice, that their prestige rests solely on their encouragement of the arts: "*Le génie de Rubens, la protection qu'il reçut de leurs mains, a sauvé la popularité des archiducs.*"† It is somewhat unreasonable to assert of rulers who restored peace, law, and religion to their

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\* March 25, 1606. (Brussels Archives, MS.)

† "*Histoire de la Belgique,*" p. 294.



country, that their renown rests solely on the favour they accorded to a painter, however great.

Science and literature also flourished under the sway of the archdukes, who restored to the University of Louvain those cherished privileges which the Duke of Alva had abolished, and assisted on one occasion at a lecture by Justus Lipsius, to whom they extended their enlightened favours. The famous Bollandus, and other celebrated men of letters, contributed to the glory of their reign.

We have said that the first measure of the archdukes was to assemble the States, which had not been regularly convoked since the accession to power of Philip II. in 1555. Taxes were modified, churches were rebuilt, schools were established. It was the Infanta who brought the reformed Carmelites of both sexes to Brussels. She had known Saint Theresa when herself a child, and the veneration inspired by the mystic doctress of the church had never diminished in Isabel's pious heart. She saw that constant prayer, as well as constant work, was needed for the reform of the country which she ruled. She sent for Mother Anne of Jesus, who left Spain with six of her nuns, and was provided by the archdukes with a house and a church, in which latter Albert deposited the remains of his patron and namesake, once Bishop of Liège, killed in 1192. Three years later the Carmelite Fathers were introduced. The secular clergy also profited by the liberality of Albert and Isabel, who considerably augmented the revenues of St. Gudule on condition that several anniversary Masses were celebrated for the souls of their predecessors, Dukes of Brabant.\* Another of their good works was the extirpation of the usury practised by certain Lombard merchants, who lent money to workmen on the security of their wages, at an interest of from 22 to 32 per cent. This outrageous abuse was abolished, and a "mont de piété" established in its stead for the benefit of the poor. Houses of ill fame were pulled down, and chapels built on the sites.†

Nor did Isabel neglect more frivolous means of gaining the affection of her subjects, imitating in this respect her grandfather Charles rather than her father, Philip, who had always loved to be as a Great Mogul, hidden from view and tormenting his subjects from a distance. Isabel was cordial, good-natured, ready to talk, willing to shoot at popinjays, and fortunately able to hit them. One year she promised the guild of cross-bowmen to shoot with them on the occasion of their annual feast

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\* "Histoire de Bruxelles," vol. i. p. 165. † *Ibid.* p. 170.  
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in May. High on the tower of the Sablon Church the bird was fixed, and was successfully brought down by the adroit archduchess, who was forthwith proclaimed queen of the guild. Also the town presented her with a prize of 25,000 florins, which she employed in a foundation of dowries for twelve young girls of the Sablon parish, on condition that these girls should accompany the church procession, in uniform, and wearing garlands, every Whit-Monday.

The day came when Isabel had to govern alone in name, as she had long done in reality. She had been a model wife.\* She was the archducal brains; yet Albert's name was always put foremost, and generally alone, in papers of State. She was the true ruler, yet she seemed continually to submit. They were a just couple; and though in most things his superior, Isabel's grief was acute when death took her husband from her side, on July 13, 1621.† The bells of Brussels tolled for an hour three times every day for six weeks, by order of the archduchess; and she was said to have given Albert the most splendid funeral that ever princess honoured her spouse withal. He was laid in the chapel of the Miraculous Host at St. Gudule, in the tomb where Isabel afterwards joined him. The people of the Netherlands mourned him with sincerity, for he had been kind and virtuous in life, and such qualities are never without weight in a nation's eyes. Absurd as are some of the phrases of the panegyric which Eric Puteanus pronounced over Albert, it was still true that "he constrained even his enemies to confess that his actions had always been irreproachable. His life was well regulated, just, and holy, and may be called a school of virtues, since he himself was an example of well-doing to all his subjects. To banish vice from his provinces, he closed against it the door of his Court. . . . Having lived in righteousness all the days of his life, why should he fear death? Let those fear it who render it terrible by an evil life."‡

Albert had traded well with the few talents that were given him, and he went to his reward, leaving his spouse to confront the raging sea which was beginning once more to surge around

\* The French resident, M. Péricard, in 1620, wrote that the archduke, then recovering from an illness, was beginning to go out in his carriage "with the Infanta, who is his inseparable companion." Quoted by M. Gachard, "*Lettres de Philippe II.*," p. 57.

† Philip III. had closed his harmless career in the April of the same year.

‡ "*Pompe Funèbre de l'Archiduc Albert.*" This curious old volume contains a series of engravings illustrating the almost interminable procession of churchmen, nobles, soldiers, magistrates, and servants who followed Albert to the tomb. "The Earl of Argyll (Argill), a Scot, and O'Neil, Prince of Ulster, Earl of Tyrone (an Irishman)," were among those who bore the coffin.

the Netherlands. Nominally, she was only Regent now, and not a sovereign. We have said that it was an article of the treaty by which Philip III. ceded the Provinces, that should she have no children, the power of Spain was to be reasserted. Prepared by her whole training for offuscation, she submitted cheerfully to bear a burden from which she reaped no benefit, and in March, 1623, convoked the States-General that they might take an oath of fidelity to the reigning Spanish sovereign, Philip IV.

Her position was most arduous. Her talents as a politician caused Spain to look to her for help and guidance in a most delicate crisis of history. Europe was again aflame with war. In 1618 the Bohemian Calvinists had seized the city and castle of Prague, where they also crowned as their king Frederic, Elector Palatine, and son-in-law to James I. James was in despair, but the enthusiasm of the English Protestants obliged him to send an army to help the Bohemians, who were routed by the now veteran Spinola and the Duke of Bavaria. Frederic was a refugee at the Hague in 1620, but the spark which he had lighted set Europe aflame for many a year to come. It is grotesquely amusing to read that so astute a man as President Jeauin, in conversation with the archducal envoy at Paris, Peckins, expressed the opinion that "the war in Germany would go off in smoke."\* James endeavoured to obtain peace through the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta Maria; a project which received much approbation from Isabel, who saw in it a means of strengthening the position of Philip IV., checking an European war, and bettering the condition of the English Catholics. But the imprudence of Charles and Buckingham, on their harebrained visit to Madrid in 1623, broke off all hopes of the Spanish match, and thenceforward James directed his efforts to stir up the enmity of different nations against the house of Austria. Although the Spanish Court had thought to disarm French hostility by the marriage of the Infanta Ana with Louis XIII., and of Philip IV. with the Princess Christine, Cardinal Richelieu clandestinely helped the German Protestants with men and money; until the accession of Charles I., and the open aid which he supplied to the French Huguenots, led to a temporary agreement between France and Spain. Had Isabel lived, to match her astuteness against that of Richelieu, it is likely that the tremendous conflict between France and Spain which ended in the loss of Artois would not have taken place. She was always working a double work, one on behalf of her

\* "La guerre d'Allemagne s'en ira en fumée." Peckins to the archdukes, March 1, 1619. (MS. in Brussels Archives.)



family, that great devotion which lay so deep in the hearts of all who came of Austrian blood ; the other for her provinces ; nor did she slacken in her vigilance because she was growing old. She corresponded indefatigably with her agents ; she was familiar with all the details of her army. But clouds gathered thickly over her latter days. The twelve years' truce with Holland expired in 1824, and Buckingham, who governed England at that time, hastened to conclude a defensive league with the belligerent States. The Dutch rushed gladly back into a war which had always been popular in Holland ; and though the Infanta took Breda, she lost Buremonde, Venloo, Maestricht, and Bois-le-Duc. Want of money hampered her actions, and age and work told on her physical strength, yet she was always the same Isabel—equable, pious, hardworking, practical.

She died in harness. Since the death of Albert she had renounced festivities, and even worldly dress. Her later portraits represent her in the attire which she always wore during the last ten years of her life, the habit of a Carmelite tertiary. Her only relaxations were an occasional picnic pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Laeken, with the ladies of her household and some Béguine nuns, returning in the evening to the Old Court, whose brown gables and turrets then covered the space where the Palais Royal now stands ; or an expedition to Hal. Thus her life was one of hard work only varied by devotion. Death was to her the welcome shade of evening, signifying rest from long and ceaseless labour. She had been declining in health for some time, and towards the end of November, 1633, she became seriously ill. On the 30th she received Extreme Unction, in the presence of Margaret of Valois, the first wife of Henry IV., banished from France, but kindly received at Brussels by the compassionate Isabel. She who, more than fifty years before, had stealthily visited Belgium for the purpose of winning it from Spain for her brother Alençon, now returned thither in her extreme old age, a homeless refugee, an unsuccessful and withered woman, but a coquette still, flaunting in rouge, wig, and false teeth ; and stood by the death-bed of that just and upright princess, whose life had been the antithesis of her own. Isabel had nothing to fear from death, which was in every way a relief to her. "It was with joy," says a Belgian historian, "that she saw that death approach which would terminate the arduous labours that bowed her down." \*

Seeing one of her servants shed bitter tears, she said, laughing, "Look at that man, who wants me not to die!" Suddenly she remembered that there were papers in her desk which required

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\* Charles Juste, "*Histoire de la Belgique*," vol. ii. p. 146.

her signature before they should be sent away. She bade her attendants support her head and guide her hand, signed the papers, and died.

Thus at midnight on the 1st of December, 1633, in the sixty-seventh year of her age, passed away the daughter of Philip II., doing her duty to the last. No better epitaph, no higher praise, could be coined even by the fulsome panegyrists of the seventeenth century. Isabel had intended to be buried with the same pomp as Albert had been, twelve years before; but such was the emptiness of her treasury, that her executors were obliged to bury her rather as a private individual than as a sovereign. She was laid at Albert's side in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament at St. Gudule, where their remains still repose in that Eucharistic Presence, Whom they honoured so devoutly in their lives.

Notwithstanding her personal poverty and the ravages of war, Isabel left her capital in a flourishing condition. Even M. Hymans, in distinct contradiction of his own sentiments before quoted, renders her the justice to admit that Belgium reaped the benefits of plenty and commerce from her reign.

Belgium [he says] had nearly a quarter of a century of calm . . . . and the people would have thanked Heaven could they have retained the honest prosperity which marked the end of Isabel's reign. The capital . . . . in 1630 counted more than 70,000 inhabitants, and the manufacture of carpets, cloth, and goldsmith's work, favoured by liberal laws, brought a considerable revenue to the inhabitants. . . . . The religious orders, protected by Government, opened their schools to the people. How brilliant was the country at that time, notwithstanding its hard trials, compared with what it was destined to become in less than thirty years after the death of Isabel.\*

Such is the testimony of a Liberal historian to the powers of government possessed by this noble ruler.

If not exactly what the world calls a great princess, Isabel failed of such greatness rather through circumstances, and especially through her unavoidable subordination to Spain, than through any defect in her own character. She was upright and unselfish in all the relations of life. Her memory is yet green among the people whom she governed, notwithstanding that she was a Spaniard, and the daughter of that monarch whose name had been so hateful in the Provinces. Portraits of Isabel, and gifts bestowed by her on churches and other institutions, abound in Belgium; especially does the beautiful little reliquary, presented by her and her consort to the Chapel of the Precious Blood at Bruges, recall their memory every Friday, as the holy

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\* "Histoire de la Belgique," pp. 299, 300.

relic in its silver shrine is borne among the kneeling people. Overlooking the scene from one of the stained-glass windows, which are recent, but splendidly executed, may be distinguished the majestic figure of Isabel, in a blue petticoat, a long pelisse, and a large ruff; beside her stands the archduke in armour. Brussels contains several relics of the beloved archduchess, besides her tomb in St. Gudule, and her portrait in the Royal Museum. At the Musée des Antiquités may be seen her horse, well stuffed, and perfect except the nose, worn out by the ravages of time. The same defect naturally enough exists in the archduke's horse, also there with its housings. But a yet more interesting and very characteristic relic of Isabel is preserved at the Bibliothèque Royal, another spot eerie with memorials of the great departed. It was Isabel who established at Brussels the confraternity of ladies called "The Slaves of the Blessed Virgin Mary," and the Royal Library contains the illuminated roll of the members, their arms, and signatures. At the top of the first page, in characters of unspeakable clumsiness, formidable to historians of the seventeenth century, yet dear to them as the autograph of one of the best of princesses, are written these words:—

"ISABEL CLARA EUGENIA,  
*Esclava de la Virgen Maria.*"

Nor, in her case, was the title an empty boast.

We may fittingly conclude this notice of the Infanta Isabel with the eulogy of the Conseil d'Etat, in their announcement of her death to the fifteen Provinces: "Her death was the mirror of her life, which you know to have been full of piety and other incomparable virtues, worthy of the love and respect of all the world."\*

A. M. GRANGE.

### ART. III.—PROFESSOR JOWETT'S "POLITICS OF ARISTOTLE."

*The Politics of Aristotle.* Translated into English, with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Essays, Notes, and Indices, by B. JOWETT, M.A., Master of Balliol College, &c. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1885.

THE "Politics" of Aristotle is the one of his works most closely akin to modern thought. In it we have the traces of speculation which expand in later treatises under the light of

\* Taken from the "Actes des États-Généraux, 29 déc. 1621."



larger experience, and the crude forms of concrete embodiment in which the more complex organizations of the modern period are, as it were, "blocked out" for inspection. The work of Professor Jowett is one of high interest, the more so as he writes under a full sense of the simultaneous likeness and yet unlikeness of the old to the new, and seeks, wherever they can be found, the due modern equivalents for the sometimes antiquated symbolism of the ancient formulas.

The edition before us appears to be incomplete, containing only the former portion of the full second volume, which is to contain a series of essays, occasionally referred to as containing special elucidations of particular points. We learn from a note on p. 1 of the Preface that these are to be nine in number, and will discuss such subjects as the life of Aristotle, the structure and formation of his accredited writings, the style, language, and text of the "Politics," Aristotle as a critic of Plato, &c. On this last point the editor allows his judgment to peep out pretty frequently in what is already before us—viz., that he oftener than not quotes to misrepresent, and misrepresents in order to condemn his predecessor. The plan of the work comprehends a special "Introduction" to each book in succession, in which what should be a clean skeleton of its argumentative structure is exhibited. We find, however, packed between the ribs, a good deal of commentary and illustrative padding—e.g. on pp. lxii.-iii., lxxxix.-xc. This seems a grave fault of arrangement. We pass from the main line of an Aristotelian argument continuously to a siding which runs us through reflections on the Middle Ages and the French Revolution—valuable no doubt, *sed nunc non erat his locus*. But if the blemish was to be allowed, some notice of the curious double and triple parallel forms of the argument (as if divers recensions of it, some condensed, some enlarged, had been compiled from the notes of different pupils at a lecture), such as especially distinguish book iv., but are traceable also in books iii. and vii., might have found a place here. But to resume the editor's plan: to the thus padded skeleton of each book there is prefixed an italicized summary of the general purport in a few lines. After this Introduction comes a fairly free translation in current English of the text of Bekker's first edition, in the margin of which, again, we have a running summary, presenting each link of the argument in a compact form. Thus we have the work really projected on four different scales; the most condensed being the italicized summaries, the most enlarged having the proportions of the actual work. An index, certainly copious, and as far as we have been able to test it, veracious, completes vol. i. The portion of vol. ii. now before us contains "Notes" on the difficulties of the text, chiefly structural and grammatical, but

occasionally philosophical, with a similar index to them. In these we occasionally find "second thoughts" correcting the renderings in vol. i.—e.g., on iv. 1, 4, vol. ii. p. 148.

The whole is an endeavour to put the student, with as little trouble to himself as possible, in possession of the treasures of thought which the book contains; to enable him to extract and digest the kernel, without wasting time in cracking the nut.

It is of course unfair to complain of defects in a work at once so copious and yet of which the last instalment has not reached our hands. We will only say on this head that we expect to find in the Essays more of the correlation of the "Politics," with the kindred works, the "Ethics" and the "Rhetoric" than we so far are able to trace; as well as a more searching inquiry into the genesis of the "Politics" as a distinct work, the priority or posteriority of its various parts, the extent to which they cohere or clash, and, where the latter is the case, which view represents the maturer mind of the writer. Pending this, our only quarrel with the editor is on particular passages, where he seems to have failed to seize the sense of his author, or has even confused it. But it is fair to add that most, or the most important, of these are such as divide the suffrages of the learned, and perhaps will continue to do so.

There is a good note on the defensible character of "usury laws." It might be perhaps reinforced by the parallel of rack-rents. Sir Henry Maine has given in his "Village Communities" some valuable traces of restriction of rents by custom in ancient societies, which has left its trace in modern manners. Since land as well as money is an article of first-rate necessity, and not only ancient custom but very modern statute has recognised a limitation of rack-rents, it seems not unreasonable to limit rates of usury also.

On the vexed question of the "Delphic knife" little is really known. That it was applicable to more than one use is clear from the context in i. 1-3; and this is about all that can be absolutely stated. But one may add an illustration from Sir Hudibras' dagger, which

Was a servicable dudgeon,  
Either for fighting or for drudging;  
When it had stabbed or broke a head,  
It would scrape trenchers or chip bread, &c.

Shortly afterwards occurs the difficult word *ὀμοκάπους* or *ὀμοκάπρους*. The former is rightly adopted, but probably not rightly rendered by "companions of the manger." It is cited by Aristotle as from Epimenides, who, being a Cretan, probably used Doric forms; so that the *ά* might represent the normal *η*, and the word be normally *ὀμοκήπους*. The *α* would then be of course

long, and the word be fit for a hexametral ending, in which measure Epimenides wrote. Whereas ὁμοκάτους with á short would be impossible, unless by arbitrarily doubling the μ it became ὁμοκάτους. This latter seems an unlikely alternative. Reading ὁμοκάτους, the sense would be "sharing the same cultivable area" (κῆρος), which carries us back to the ancient village communities, some of which, as the editor shows, were extant in Greece at or near the period of Aristotle.

In i. 2, 10, the editor reads ἀζυξ ὦν ὡσπερ ἐν πετεινοῖς, as shown by rendering it "may be compared to a bird that flies alone;" but records in the note ii. p. 8, an overwhelming balance of authority for the other reading, πετροίς. He refers to an epigram in the Anthology, which has been generally interpreted of the game of πετροί, but remarks, "the game is not, however, called πετροί." As, however, he does not urge that it is "called" anything else, the remark is pointless. Games often change their names—e.g., whist in the last century was known as "swabbers," and until stereotyped by accumulating authority, often varied greatly in the mode of play. It is evident, however, that in any game which depends on combinations of pieces on a surface, the exposed piece must either take or be taken, being at the mercy of hostile combinations. This seems exactly to yield the needful point of illustration for the isolated human being in the text. On the contrary, ἀζυξ . . . ἐν πετεινοῖς would, from all that we know of ἀζυξ, probably mean "unmated"—a novel phenomenon among adult birds. The sense of "non-gregarious" is not here apt, because many such birds are non-predacious, but are yet what the human ἀζυξ would *not* be, perfectly able to take care of themselves. It seems therefore that, alike on external and internal grounds, the reading followed here is the worse.

In i. 3, 4, a serious mistranslation occurs, although the point is subordinate only. Aristotle is comparing the tool with the slave or minister (ὕπηρτης), and says, "if the shuttle would weave" spontaneously, there would be no need of hands to guide it. He then distinguishes productive agency (ποιητικόν) from practical (πρακτικόν), and says that of the latter the slave, &c., is the tool. In the course of this argument he remarks: "Now, the tools, so called [as shuttle, &c.], are those of productive agency; whereas this [the slave-tool] is a property (κτῆμα) for practical use." Then follows a sentence which illustrates, not both these as contrasted (in which sense the editor seems to take it), but the former of the two only. Aristotle goes on to insist on the distinction of ποίησις and πρᾶξις, and to show that, as each needs its tool, the slave, who is a κτῆμα, serves the uses of πρᾶξις, and is related to his master, as a part to its whole. Our editor renders the clause above italicized by "whilst a possession (κτῆμα) is an



instrument of action"—making κτήμα, in short, the subject, which we believe the sense requires to be part of the predicate.

The famous *crux interpretum* in i. 6, 1 . . . 5 (vol. i. pp. 9-10, and ii. p. 19), seems to us wrongly explained. Aristotle has been at the end of i. 5 stating his own theory: "It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right" (δικαίον). Let us call this A. It is opposed on two grounds: (a) by those who contend that all slavery which is (νομῶ) conventional—e.g., by warlike conquest—is right; and (b) by those who contend that all slavery is wrong (ἀδικον). He next shows incidentally how (a) and (b) argue against each other: (b) alleges that (a) infringes a higher moral principle (like impeaching a statesman of unconstitutional proceedings, remarks Aristotle), and that he adopts the monstrous (δεινόν) view, that brute force is the test of moral desert. But both (a) and (b) have a moral element in common, remarks Aristotle, whereby they overlap (ἐπαλλάττειν), for both involve moral grounds (ἀρετή); since the violence (βία) of conquest is not without moral superiority (μὴ ἄνευ ἀρετῆς), and he might have added, but leaves understood, that the moral ground of (b) is obvious. Thus they are thrown back on defining the right (τὸ δίκαιον), which (a) does by laying it down to be the rule of the stronger (τὸ τὸν κρείττονα ἄρχειν), (b) by making it mere humanity (εὐνοία). But the moment these divergent views of right stand clearly defined from one another (διαστάντων γε χωρὶς τούτων τῶν λόγων), they are both obviously untenable (thus he does not say, but implies), and thus both (a) and (b) are refuted, and both the opponents of A shown thus to have neither force (ισχυρόν) nor plausibility (πιθανόν). He then gives further reasons why those who argue in favour of all slavery by right of conquest are wrong: (1) the war itself may be unjust, (2) it may reduce to slavery a man who is wholly unworthy of being enslaved.

Now, Prof. Jowett does not seem to see that the argument between (a) and (b) is incidental, but by taking it as a substantive part of the author's argument, alters the proportions and obscures the relations. He does not recognize the links which, here important, Aristotle leaves to be understood or implied, as above stated. He does not grasp the meaning of διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο, which he renders, "in order to make a distinction between them;" and continues, "some assert that justice is benevolence; to which others reply, &c." "Them" should here refer to "virtue" (as he renders ἀρετή) and "justice." But it is not "to make a distinction between" these terms that the two counter-definitions of τὸ δίκαιον are given, but because the question between (a) and (b) about slavery has resolved itself into the simpler question,

"What is τὸ δίκαιον?" Further yet, he does not see that the τοῖς μὲν . . . τοῖς δ' are the same two previous opponents, (a) and (b), and by the rendering "some" . . . and "others" effectually confuses the relation of these counter-definitions to the argument between them. It is true that Prof. Jowett does bring it all round to the same general conclusion in his notes by saying, "But all these views are untenable" (although he has not clearly shown what or why), "and so Aristotle shows negatively that his own view is right." That is so; but we defy any one to arrive at that conclusion by the links which the editor supplies. The Greek text is undoubtedly not pellucid, but as compared with the English is transparency itself.

On i. 9, 8, οἶον σίδηρος κ.τ.λ., "for example, iron . . . and the like," one might expect in the notes the well-known illustration of Aristophanes ("Nub." 249), σιδαρύοισιν ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, and the scholiast's quotation there from Plato Comicus, also Aristides (t. iii. 241), Βυζάντιοι σιδήρῳ νομίζουσι, Καρχηδόνιοι σκύττῃν.

In the rather difficult passage, ii. 4, 8, about the dilution of family affection in the Platonic Republic, where wives and children are no man's own, the editor gives (notes, p. 50) the choice of two constructions; but his second one is at least incomplete, since it leaves οἰκειότητα without any regimen assigned, although it is the most important word. We think that neither of his proposed schemes hits the truth. The words αὐτε, συμβαίνει καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων τούτων διαφροντίζειν ἥκιστα ἀναγκαῖον ὃν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἢ πατέρα ὥς υἱῶν, ἢ υἱὸν ὥς πατρός, ἢ ὥς ἀδελφούς ἀλλήλων. We regard the last three clauses ἢ . . . ἢ . . . ἢ, as imperfectly apposed to the οἰκειότητα of the previous clause, the concrete being in fact apposed to the abstract—"to esteem very slightly the relationship arising from these terms, whether a father as related (οἰκεῖον) to sons, or son, &c.," is then the sense. One may add that the last ὥς has got displaced: it should follow ἀδελφούς.

On iii. 3, 6, the question of a State's identity as parallel to the same concerning a river—those who have hunted up the traditional fragments of older Greek philosophy refer to Heraclitus the saying, "The rivers into which we go are the same and not the same," referring to the perpetual change of constituent particles. A reference to Plut. de El ap. Delphos, c. 18, where it is given, might be worth adding in the notes *ad loc.* Further, *ib.* 3, 7, we think the editor has correctly handled the doubtful passage, ἵστί δι' κοινωνία πολιτῶν πολιτείας γινομένης ἐπίρας τῷ εἶδει κ.τ.λ., both as regards structure and meaning.

On iii. 4, 17, we note a want of coherence between text

and notes. The rendering, "A woman would be thought loquacious if she imposed no more restraint on her conversation than the good man," seems quite right. But the illustration from the speech of Perikles, commending the sex when the least was said about them (Thucyd. ii. 45), looks as if the editor had here a little "mixed" his notions of active and passive. His better illustration would have been the retort of Aias to Tekmessa (Soph. Ai. 293), γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σίγη φέρει. Talk in mixed company—not by female tongues alone—seems intended by Aristotle. The editor is quite right in disregarding the readings or suggestions, ἄλαλος, ἄλλος, &c., for λάλος here.

In iii. 5, 9, a slight mistranslation of the text, "The object is to deceive the inhabitants," is corrected in the notes to "The object is that the privileged class may deceive their fellow-citizens" (τῶν συνοικούντων). It might be usefully added that the point of view seems to be the foundation of a new colony, when the terms of the co-foundation are supposed to be studiously kept in the dark. In 12, 6, we note a misprint, "height in general may be measured either against height or against freedom." For the second "height" read "wealth" (πλοῦτον). But in the line before, the text is corrupt in the word μάλλον, probably a copyist's blundering anticipation of ἐνάμλλον following. The translation skips it as if recognizing this, but some notice of it would have been proper in the notes.

We encounter a difficult passage in vii. 12, 1, 2, in which the editor seems to have been misled by a wrong division of the chapters or sections. He makes a principal pause at the bottom of his p. 227 (vol. i.), in which the question of walls, their use and ornament, is discussed by Aristotle. But the first sentence of p. 228 belongs to this, and the principal pause should be where he gives a colon only. That he has been misled somehow is plain from the fact that the μὲν and δέ, those poles of Greek structure, are here violated, against which trespass he himself protests in a note on a sentence a few lines below (notes, p. 277). Instead, therefore, of "The arrangements should be as follows," we should read—"And these matters one might well arrange as above" (καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦτον ἂν τις διακοσμήσει τὸν τρόπον). Then follows in the Greek, τὰς δὲ τοῖς θείοις ἀποδεδομένας οἰκήσεις, which begins a new section regarding the sacred buildings and persons. In this new departure our editor displaces the first two clauses, seemingly to humour his previous dislocation of the sense. In the difficult sentence *now infra*, containing the phrase καὶ τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, we cannot now pause, save to say that the note, p. 277, explains *obscurum per obscurius*.

As a specimen of translation, admirable on the whole, although



qualified by the inexact rendering of one phrase, we may note the following from vii. 13:—

We have said in the "Ethics," if the arguments there adduced are of any value, that happiness is the realization and perfect exercise of virtue, and this not conditional but absolute. And I use the term "conditional" to express that which is indispensable, and "absolute" to express that which is good in itself. Take the case of just actions: just punishments and chastisements do indeed spring from a good principle, but *they are good only because we cannot do without them*. It would be better that neither individuals nor States should need anything of the sort; but actions which aim at honour and advantage are absolutely the best. The conditional action is only the choice of a lesser evil, whereas these are the foundation and creation of good.

The italicized clause should be more exactly, "and yet they are forced, and have a forced character of goodness." The difficult phrases ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, τὰναγκαῖα, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ ἐπιπορίας are here successfully managed. But the references in the notes to the "Ethics," here pointedly referred to, are jejune. In Nic. Eth. iii. 8, §§ 1-5; x. 9, §§ 4, 9, 10, pertinent matter will be found; as well as in x. 6, § 2, which alone is quoted. It may be added that in the Greek rendered by the above, αἱ δίκαιαι τιμωρίαι καὶ κολάσεις is probably corrupt for αἱ διὰ τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ κολάσεις, which makes the contrasted examples greatly more perspicuous; "actions done through [fear of] punishments and chastisements" will then be the easily intelligible subject of the clause italicized above.

In vii. 16, 10 we find a passage of much difficulty, we fear mistaken by the editor. Aristotle has been discussing the best age of either sex for marriage, and says: ἐτι δὲ ἡ διαδοχὴ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς μὲν ἀρχομένης ἔσται τῆς ἀκμῆς, ἐὰν γένηται κατὰ λόγον εἰθὺς ἢ γένεσις, τοῖς δὲ ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς ἡλικίας πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἐβδόμηκοντα ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν, rendered—"Further, the children, if *their* birth takes place at the time that may reasonably be expected, will succeed in their prime, when *the fathers* are already in the decline of life, and have nearly reached their term of threescore years and ten." The words italicized show that τοῖς μὲν and τοῖς δὲ are contrasted by the editor as "children" and "fathers"; whereas the Greek suggests at once that they subdivide children only, classing some as born early, others as born later; and the context is agreeable to this, taking ἀρχομένης τῆς ἀκμῆς to refer to the father in his intellectual full vigour (1335, b. 32). The διαδοχὴ of the children (αἰῶνες, as fathers, alone seem counted) means their arrival at puberty; reached by a son born when his father was 35, at

38 + 14 = 52 for the father's age, and by one born when his was 55, at 55 + 14 = 69 for the same.

In viii. 3, 12 occurs a doubtful word, *γραφικὴν*. There we read: "With a like view they may be taught drawing, not to prevent their making mistakes in their own purchases, or in order that they may not be imposed upon in the buying or selling of articles?" We pause to ask, what possible influence on shopping and merchandise "drawing" would exercise? We scan the notes in vain for any suggestion of an answer. It seems likely that Aristotle, governed by a sense of etymology, slid unconsciously from the sense of *γραφικὴ*, "writing," to *γραφικὴν*, "drawing"; but more likely still, that the passage has been "doctored" by some shallow mind through which his work has filtered. The duplicate treatment referred to above is nowhere more conspicuous than in this and the *paul. supr.* viii. 3, 7. Compare the use of *γράφαντας*, *γράφουσι*, and *γραφὴν* by Herodotus in the same sentence of his History, iv. 3f.

Not knowing what may be in store for us in the essays already referred to as promised, we can only censure omissions from the notes, which they may possibly supply, on the ground of arrangement. We think, then, that as notes, p. 5, on i. 2, 5, illustrate the Hesiodic line about "house and wife and ox for plough," from Wallace's "Russia"—"The natural labour unit (*i.e.*, the Russian peasant family of the old type) comprises a man, a woman, and a horse," the same line of illustration might have advantageously been followed at greater length, especially as regards the *κῶμη* which follows in the same section, upon which a wealth of knowledge has lately been accumulated by Sir H. Maine and other writers. Aristotle himself is believed to have written a now lost treatise on "Barbarian Customs," whether or not subsequently to his "Politics" is not certainly known. Probably his rigid distinction between Greek and Barbarian would have prejudiced his philosophical acumen against deriving from such customs any light to be thrown upon the political *primordia* of Greece. He includes, indeed, the Cyclops, "in which the individual savage gave the law to his own household" (i. p. 20), but he does so rather because the cycle of Homeric song had brought it within the sphere of illustrative material, than because it had a value of its own.

We read (notes, p. 8)—"The rise of the village from the family explains also the existence of monarchy in ancient Hellas, for in the family the eldest rules." Here is exactly the point at which our knowledge of the *patria potestas*, with its ancient Teutonic, Slavonic, and modern or very recent Indian equivalents, might have been usefully drawn upon. Thus Baron von Haxthausen, in his "Studien," vol. ii. p. 132 foll., remarks—

"The unity of the family and the community of goods formed the primitive character of the Slavonic society. . . . The family had its centre of unity in the Head, in the Father; it could not exist without its head. . . . If the father was no longer in existence, the eldest brother took his place, invested with the same paternal power. The same writer regards the "House community" of the Southern Slavs in the Balkan as containing the same elements precisely, but with a precarious duration—mostly for three generations, often for more. Three generations is also the general limit of the Russian family, and its Hindu correlative. Then it sends forth what Aristotle would call its ἀποικίαι, and dissolves by depletion. We see here a very close parallel to Aristotle in i. 2, 3, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κύμη ἀποικία οἰκίας εἶναι, οὓς καλοῦσι τινες ὁμογάλακτας, παῖδας τε καὶ παίδων παῖδας. Διὸ καὶ τοπρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἐτι τὰ ἔθνη ἐκ βασιλειομένων γὰρ συνῆλθον· πᾶσα γὰρ οἰκία βασιλεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου· ὥστε καὶ αἱ ἀποικίαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. And then follows the passage already referred to as cited from the home-life of the Homeric Cyclops. How close Aristotle seems to have been here to the right track, in which an ounce of experimental observation would have been worth pounds of that logical deduction from imperfect specimens seen through a poetic medium, which forms the staple of his account of the early elements of human society! But the earliest forms of property and society were unknown to him. He does not appear to have heard of "marriage by capture," and does not distinguish "endogamy" and "exogamy" (i. xix.-xx.).

The "scholarship" (in the technical sense) of this edition on the whole is rather below the mark to which the Oxford chair of Greek had accustomed us. Nor do such works, even if their own verbal accuracy were perfect, seem to us likely to raise the standard of that acquirement. The vein of scholarship which was struck pure a generation or more ago by such men as Gaisford and Blomfield, is now largely blended in general culture, gaining perhaps in breadth what it loses in fineness. The custom was to cultivate ancient philosophy as founded on a knowledge of the philosopher's own language; now, Prof. Jowett's vol. i. would supersede that wholly, while his notes in vol. ii. would rather help to engraft some knowledge of the language on an independent acquaintance with the philosophy. Each method has some merits peculiar to itself. The older formed rare fruits in such higher minds as enjoy the Platonic double outlook towards philosophy and language. The latter is likely to conduce to the greater knowledge (or at any rate the lesser ignorance) of the greater number, and to enable single-barrelled mediocrity to shoot as a weapon of precision within its own limited ranges.



#### ART. IV.—THE PATRIARCH OF THE “ACTIVE ORDERS.”

THE leading characteristic of our age is activity: the continual progress in science and all that tends to the material comfort of man is proof enough of this. Even in religion this feature has become very predominant, and on all sides new communities and new confraternities are ever springing up. Congregations of religious women, devoted to the active works of charity, are now to be found in every country of the world, and in some Catholic countries in almost every parish. These congregations are mainly devoted to nursing the sick and educating young children. Marvellously has their number increased during the present century, with the history of which they seem bound up: the first of them, however, was founded nearly three hundred years ago by one of whom but little is known in England. This man, the Blessed Peter Fourier, was one of those great saints raised up in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the work of reform, and the founding of orders and congregations to cope with the new dangers which threatened the Church of God. His life, were it but better known, could not fail to extort admiration, even from those most inimical to his faith, in a country where activity of all kinds is so appreciated by men of every class and creed. Himself a Canon Regular and an exemplary parish priest, he reformed the monasteries of his Order in Lorraine, and founded a congregation of canonesses, whose great object was to give a gratuitous education to poor girls. This alone would be sufficient to excite our interest at a time like the present, when the minds of all thinking men are occupied with the question of education; and this interest should be increased by the knowledge that the venerable Order to which he belonged was widely spread in these lands during the “Ages of Faith.”

Peter Fourier, more commonly known as “Le Bon Père de Mattaincourt,” was born at Mirecourt in Lorraine, on November 30, 1565, of parents who for their loyal services to the Duke of Lorraine, their sovereign, were ennobled. When fifteen years of age he was sent to the University of Pont-à-Mousson, the rector of which was his relative, Father John Fourier, of the Society of Jesus. During the time he spent at the university he was remarkable alike for his piety and for his literary accomplishments. In 1586 Peter was clothed with the habit

of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine in the ancient abbey\* of Chaumouzey, near Epinal. He edified his brethren "by his irreproachable life and extraordinary austerity," and was admitted to profession in 1587. Two years later he was ordained priest, and afterwards spent several months in prayer and penance, in preparation for his first Mass. Then, by command of his superiors, he again went to the University of Pont-à-Mousson, this time for a further course of theology. He developed an extraordinary ability for the study of patristic theology, and became so proficient in it that he would often quote long extracts from S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, S. Augustine and S. Gregory, giving the exact reference. At the same time his knowledge of the "Angel of the School" was so profound that his companions were accustomed to assert that should the *Summa* of S. Thomas be lost, it could be restored by Peter Fourier. It was at this time that he became united in bonds of friendship with two men who, like himself, were to be reformers of the Orders to which they belonged. These were Servais de Lairuels, who brought the practice of the Premonstratensian Canons more in accord with the constitutions of S. Norbert; and Didier de Lacour, reformer of the Benedictines of Lorraine, and founder of the illustrious congregation of S. Maur, to which belonged Mabillon, Montfaucon, and so many other great writers on ecclesiastical subjects, and which would have enjoyed an unfading celebrity had it produced nothing but its edition of the Fathers. These three friends must have encouraged each other, and each aided the others' work, as did three other friends of this age—S. Philip, S. Charles, and S. Ignatius. The Abbey of Chaumouzey had fallen from its first fervour, and when Peter returned to it from Pont-à-Mousson in 1595, he found that Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine and Papal Legate, was attempting a reform of the house. Peter lived an austere and mortified life, and helped the work, so dear to his heart, by his prayers and example. This mode of life was but little pleasing to the canons, who are said to have meditated an attempt to poison him, as did the monks of Vicovaro S. Benedict. They did not, however, yield to this

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\* In the "Catholic Dictionary" it is implied under the heading "Abbot," and distinctly asserted under that of "Prior," that the Superiors of houses of Regular Canons were never called Abbots. This is incorrect. In England alone there were at least twenty abbeys of Canons Regular, without including those belonging to the Premonstratensians. Two Abbots, not Priors, sat in the House of Lords. As examples of abbeys still in existence may be mentioned those of S. Peter and S. Agnes at Rome and S. Florian in Austria. Pennotto and Zunggo, historians of the Order, and Benvenuti, a writer on Canon Law, were Abbots. This is but a small matter, but may put on their guard those who go for information on this subject to the "Catholic Dictionary."

temptation, but determined to send him from the abbey, and therefore gave him his choice between three parishes served from it. He rejected two of these because they were rich benefices,\* and chose the poor and lowly parish of Mattaincourt, in the Vosges, often called the "Little Geneva," which was from his connection with it to acquire a fame co-extensive with the Catholic Church. Peter took possession on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, in 1597, and began his ministrations on the Feast of Corpus Christi of the same year. Finding his parish the prey of Calvinism and given over to vice, he set himself to reform it. By his example and charity he won the hearts of all; so that within three years of his arrival there were no "poor strangers," as he called those alienated from the Church, in the parish, and the converted people were leading good lives.

Peter, however, as his biographer Bedel, a Canon Regular and contemporary, tells us, saw that to work a lasting reform the children should be trained under Christian influences from their infancy; an instructive lesson for all in these times, when the question of the education of our poor is uppermost in our mind. Peter

fasted, kept vigil, prayed, wore hair shirts, said mass every day, so that he might obtain from on high a blessing on his labours, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, to see the fittest and surest means of happily attaining his object. After much prayer he concluded that there was nothing better to be done than to take the children in hand, even from the cradle, to keep them carefully from sin, and to bring their hearts under the influence of virtue, so soon as their mother's milk was denied them, hoping that when the old sinners, who till then filled the land, should die, their place would be taken by children so well nurtured that the world would be changed in fifty years.†

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\* This custom of serving parishes from canonical abbeys is still kept up in Austria. From one—that of S. Florian—priests are supplied for thirty-six parishes. Every member of every congregation of CC.R.R. is eligible for any benefice. Before acceptance the permission of his religious superiors only is required, and no Papal dispensation is needed. (See Benvenuti, "De Capacitate CC.R.R. ad Beneficia Ecclesiastica Secularia." Romæ. 1732.)

† "A ceste intention il jeusne, il veille, il prie, se mette de haïres et de cilices, dict la messe tous les jours, afin d'obtenir d'enhaut la bénédiction sur ces travaux, et les graces du S. Esprit pour recognoistre les moyens les plus propres et assurés pour atteindre heureusement à ceste fin. Apres plusieurs prieres il conclut qu'il n'y a pas d'expedient meilleur que de prendre la jeunesse dès la sortie du berceau, la seurer soigneusement du peché, et arrouser son cœur des influences de la vertu au mesme instant que le lait cesse de rafraichir ses leures, esperant que ces vieux pécheurs qui pour lors occupoient la terre venans à mourir, et des enfans si bien instruits prenaient leur place, le monde changeroit de face en moins d'un demy siècle." ("Vie du T. R. Père Pierre Fourier," par J. Bedel.)



Having come to this conclusion, on the eve of S. Sebastian (Jan. 19), 1598, a day specially commemorated amongst his religious, he prayed that fit instruments might be found for the carrying out of the work. Moved by his sermons, five young women determined to renounce the world, and to give themselves up to the practice of virtue and good works under the guidance of their pastor. Peter in this saw the answer of Heaven to his prayers, but proceeding slowly and cautiously, he sent them to the Abbey of Poussey,\* the house of a community of noble secular canonesses, that they might be tried and trained. When, after submitting them to severe trials, he was assured of their stability and single-mindedness, he wished them to return to Mattaincourt, to live together in one house, and to teach the girls of the parish. He applied to Monsignor de la Vallée, Bishop of Toul, in whose diocese Mattaincourt was situated, for permission to carry his desires into effect. The bishop, however, was startled by the novelty of the scheme, and delayed giving an answer for some months: at length, after he had taken advice and Peter had pleaded his cause before him and a number of priests, secular and regular, he gave the much-longed-for permission in 1599, a year memorable in the annals of the Christian Church as being that in which the parent institute of the "Active Orders" received its first approval. Peter then recalled his young community to Mattaincourt, and hired a house for them to live in. Their numbers increased rapidly, and this induced Madame d'Aspremont, one of the canonesses of Poussey, and aunt to the Bishop of Toul, to offer another house at S. Mihiel, in the diocese of Verdun. This made it necessary for the whole

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\* This celebrated abbey was founded in 1026, and was formerly a convent of Benedictines. *Secular canonesses* were communities of ladies unbound by vows; they could leave the chapter to marry, but whilst members of it were occupied in teaching and other good works, and maintained the Divine office in choir. We do not know if there are any still existing in Germany, but in France they flourished till the beginning of this century. The writer of the article on this subject in the "Catholic Dictionary" speaks of these convents "as being little more than an agreeable retreat, enabling ladies who did not wish to marry, or *who had out-lived their charms*, to live in the society of persons of their own rank much as they would have done in the world." (The italics are ours.) As many canonesses left the convent to marry, the injustice of this description is obvious; and if the writer of the article finds ladies in the world, as a rule, occupied as were the members of these chapters, he is singularly fortunate in his acquaintance. Perhaps, though, he has drawn his ideas from those chapters, the members of which, "ladies of princely or noble rank, followed the example of their male relatives, and repudiated the Catholic faith" ("Cath. Diet."), instead of from the faithful ones, which were houses of virtue and fit to be used by men like Blessed Peter for the training of his future religious.

question of the institute to be again investigated, this time by the Cardinal Eric de Lorraine, Bishop of Verdun. After a full inquiry, permission was granted for a community to be formed at S. Mihiel, and half of those at Mattaincourt were sent there. The numbers of the two communities continued to increase, so that when in 1603 a petition was sent to B. Peter from the town of Nancy, asking for some of his workers, he was able to accede to the request, and formed a third community by sending some from S. Mihiel and some from Mattaincourt. He appointed as superior of the house of Nancy, Alix Leclerc, the first of the original five, who died in 1622 in the odour of sanctity. In this same year (1603) the Cardinal Legate, Charles of Lorraine, issued letters-patent approving the institute. In 1613, the first house in the kingdom of France, as it was then constituted, was opened at Chalons, and Isabelle de Louvrois, who like the Venerable Alix Leclerc was one of the first five, appointed its superior. So far the institute was not an Order, and many of its members were not enclosed; thus free to take upon themselves the performance of all active works of charity, they did not confine themselves to education, but were accustomed to visit the poor and the sick in their own homes. Pope Paul V., however, determined to permit them to take vows, and by bulls dated 1615 and 1616 erected the institute into a religious order. The rule followed was that of the Canons Regular. B. Peter relates in the *Esprit Primitif* that they looked throughout the Church for a rule already approved by the Holy See and followed by saints—a rule "full of sweetness, charity, and the love of God," and that they chose "that of the great Saint Augustine." \*

The approval of the Holy See was not easily obtained, on account of the difficulties in the way of permitting the instruction of externs, and at the same time maintaining the enclosure.† To insure the latter, Pope Paul made some very stringent regulations so that the faithful might not be scandalized by a startling innovation. He prescribed that a hall should be erected outside the conventual enclosure; that to this hall there should be two doors,

\* "En cherchant parmi toute l'Eglise une regle de religion bien approuvée, et ci-devant suivie de plusieurs saints et saintes, et qui soit des plus parfaites, et pleines de douceur, et de charité et de l'amour de Dieu, et des plus conformes à leurs intentions elles se sont arrêtées à celle du grand Saint Augustin."

† "By the law of the Church at that time scholars became cloistered, like the nuns, for the period of their stay in the enclosed convents, and could not return there at all if they came even once out of enclosure, or enter another without a distinct permission from the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Public day schools taught by nuns were of course impossible." ("Life of Mary Ward," by M. C. E. Chambers, vol. i. p. 259.)

one opening into the cloister, the other into the world. These were never to be both open at the same time. The outside door was opened first, and the children entered; this door was then locked, and the nuns entered. So soon as the classes were finished, the nuns left, and then, the door to the cloister having been locked, the children retired.\* By this means the spirit of the enclosure was kept, whilst the nuns were allowed to engage in active work for and amongst those living in the world. Thus was permitted by the Holy See the first step towards the great work of religious women labouring amongst women—that of permitting persons living in the world to enter and leave the cloister day by day: the rest followed in due course. But the difficulty in obtaining permission for this admission of externs into the enclosure was so great that Fr. Guinet, who conducted the affairs of the Congregation in Rome, made a vow to fast on bread and water till it was granted, which was not for two years. Nancy was the first house to embrace this rule, and thus the first whose members were bound by vows; S. Mihiel followed next, and then Chalons. In 1625 a further change was made in the institute by Pope Urban VIII., who permitted the nuns to take a fourth solemn vow binding themselves to the *gratuitous* education of poor children.† At the same time the institute was erected into a congregation of Canonesses Regular of Saint Augustine, under the title of Notre Dame. The congregation of Notre Dame increased apace, and before the death of Blessed Peter in 1640 it had spread over France, into Westphalia, and even to northern Italy. In all there were thirty-two convents, mostly with about forty canonesses in each, though in some there were as many as seventy.

Side by side with the religious there continued to be societies of pious women living in community and engaged in active work—at first not bound by vows, but later on, when permitted by the Holy See, taking simple ones: notably in Canada, to which country the work of Blessed Peter Fourier spread in a remarkable way. M. Chomédey de Maisonneuve, brother of Sister Louise, one of the canonesses of Troyes, was appointed Governor of Canada. He was a pious man, and contemplated taking his sister and some of the other canonesses to Montreal, Ville Main as it was then called. Circumstances prevented this, but at their request Margaret

\* *Vale Zungo*, "Hist. Gen. Can. Reg." (Ratisbonne, 1745), vol. ii. p. 286.

† In this they differed from the Ursulines, who "have for their immediate and more distinctive object the education of the upper and middle classes—the poor only forming a matter of secondary consideration." (*Natalie Nagle: her Life and Labours*, by Rev. W. Hutch, D.D.) Another institute—that of the Blessed Virgin—having education for its special object, was "approved" in 1703.



Bourgeoys, President of the *Congrégation externe*, or Confraternity of our Lady, attached to the convent of Troyes, and directed by its canonesses, gladly went; and on the feast of S. Catherine, 1657, opened a school at Montreal, in which, in accordance with the principles of Blessed Peter and his congregation, the poor were taught gratuitously. The school was a great success; but Margaret felt the need of fellow-workers, and therefore returned to France to seek for them among the members of the *Congrégation externe* of Troyes, to which she had formerly belonged. The canonesses assisted her, and three members of the confraternity volunteered for the work, to whom a fourth was added from Paris. Having returned to Montreal, she opened a boarding as well as a day school, and also a society for poor girls who had left the latter, similar to the confraternities attached to the convents in France. This confraternity still exists, and numbers about five hundred members. Fresh workers volunteered, and in 1676 these noble women were formed into the "Congregation of Notre Dame," after many difficulties, arising chiefly from the non-enclosure, had been overcome; and then the venerable foundress declared that God had permitted her to accomplish "the design of the religious of the Congregation of Notre Dame"—i.e., of the canonesses founded by Blessed Peter Fourier. The congregation was definitely constituted and its rule approved in 1698: the members take the *four* vows like the canonesses, but simple ones. Though this congregation is perfectly independent of the canonesses,\* "yet it is truly the work of the nuns of Troyes by the hand of their pupil; those of the congregation of Canada are indeed the daughters of Blessed Peter Fourier, and of the mother Alix Le Clerc."† Margaret Bourgeoys died in 1700; the cause of her canonization was introduced in 1871, and she was declared Venerable in 1879: the cause of her beatification, like that of Ven. Alix, is in progress. At the death of Ven. Margaret there were ten houses in Canada; there are now ninety-six, spread over the whole of British North America and the United States, with 876 professed members—all under a Superioress-General, who resides at the Mother House of Montreal. They have schools of all kinds for rich and poor.

The French Revolution nearly destroyed the Order in France, but with quieter times it revived. Some few houses never ceased to maintain regular observance: amongst others, that of Molsheim, in Alsace, kept up its discipline; this community was obliged to leave Dieuze on the outbreak of the Revolution, but

\* Neither institute is in any way connected with the more modern congregations bearing the same name.

† Chapuis, "Histoire du B. Pierre Fourier."

only to move to Molsheim, so that it never left French soil, and traces its history uninterruptedly to Blessed Peter. In Germany, Holland, and Belgium too, the Order flourished; but on the breaking out of the Bismarckian persecution the German nuns moved to Holland.

Provision is made for the education of the higher classes as well as of the poor, and in France at any rate the daughters of the *élite* of society are educated by the canonesses of Notre Dame; who in Paris, amongst other houses, have the great educational establishments of Les Oiseaux and Le Roule. The education given to the poor has never been confined to books. Blessed Peter himself says in his account of the "the primitive and legitimate" spirit of the institute, that first of all the girls were to be taught to fear and love God, and then all the duties of a good Christian. After this, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the different kinds of manual work suitable to girls, and such as would be a means of livelihood to them: the kind of education, in short, for which Catholics are now contending in England.

The spirit of the Order is best described by the saintly founder himself. After having told his nuns that, though they might have served God unbound by vows, they had embraced their state of their own free will, he continues:

Having become religious, you might have contented yourselves with working out your own salvation as so many others do; but since you would be more pleasing (to God) if you also toiled to save others, you must try to do so. Since there is no way by which you could save more souls than by teaching little girls, it seems to me that if you are willing to undertake the work you ought to determine to teach them, taking them in their baptismal innocence, and keeping them in this state of purity for their whole life. And since God would be better pleased if you were bound to this work of teaching in such a way that you would be unable to give it up, beginning to-day and leaving off to-morrow, you must find a way of engaging yourselves irrevocably and for ever. And lastly, since it will be more pleasing to God to teach gratuitously, and purely for love of Him, you must teach for nothing, poor and rich alike.\*

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\* "Estant religieuses vous pourriés vous contenter de faire vostre salut comme tant d'autres, mais parceque vous plüssiés davantage si vous travailliés encore à sauver les autres il y faudra tacher, et d'autant qu'il n'y a pas moyen pour vous de sauver plus de personnes qu'en instruisant les jeunes filles il me semble si vous en vouliés prendre la peine qu'il vous faudroit resoudre de les enseigner et faire en sorte que les prenant toutes innocentes comme elles sortent du Baptême, vous les conserviés dans cette netteté tout le long de leur vie, et parceque Dieu a plus agréable que l'on soit obligé a cette instruction en sorte qu'on ne puisse jamais la quitter, que d'enseigner aujourdhuy et cesser demain, il faudra s'il y a moyen trouver quelque façon de s'y engager irrevoc-

We have here an epitome of the spirit of the "Active Orders" of women in the Church, given by him who may rightly be regarded as their Patriarch. Bedel tells us that the canonesses of Notre Dame acted up to it, and that they believed that convent to be most flourishing in which the work of teaching was most vigorously performed.\*

We have seen that the Cardinal of Lorraine made an attempt to reform the Canons Regular. His efforts were not crowned with success, and after his death the Holy See commanded the Bishop of Toul to make another attempt. The bishop asked that Blessed Peter might be associated with him in the work, and after this had been granted made a visitation of the Canons Regular in his diocese. Six only were found anxious for reform, and these the bishop determined to send to some house where they might be trained by Peter. As abbot *in commendam* of Pierremont, the bishop wished to send his small community there; but the opposition of the canons of this abbey rendered his scheme abortive, and he turned his eyes to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Pont-à-Mousson, the abbot of which was Peter's old friend Servais de Lairuels. The worthy abbot and his community would gladly have helped on the reform, but Charles, Duke of Lorraine, heard of what was passing, and interfered to prevent Blessed Peter and his companions going there. As commendatory abbot of the "Canonica" of S. Remi at Lunéville, he offered them an asylum in that house, and compelled its reluctant inmates to submit. The noviciate of the reform was established in 1623. To the original seven others were soon added, and on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1624, the first professions were made. The abbey was then handed over to the newly professed, the former abbot and his canons retiring, and receiving pensions. From Lunéville the reform spread, and within four years it was accepted by eight abbeys in Lorraine. These were in 1629 approved by the Holy See as the Congregation of "Our Saviour." Peter was elected General, but declined the post, which was then conferred on his friend Father Guinet. Father Guinet died in 1632, and then, after two

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cablement et pour tousiours, et enfin attendu qu'il sera plus agréable à Dieu d'enseigner sans aucune recompense, et purement pour l'amour de luy que de prendre de l'argent, il faut enseigner pour rien, pauvres et riches indifféremment."

• "Mais ce qui les distingue c'est de chercher Dieu par la voye de ceste instruction, et comme la difference est toujours la piece la plus pretieuse comme la raison chez l'homme, elles font plus d'estat de ceste instruction que de toutes les autres occupations de leur institut, et croyent, sans se tromper, que ce monastère est le plus fleurissant de ce riche parterre, où cest exercice est en plus grande vigueur, et plus soigneusement conservé."



unanimous elections, Blessed Peter was constrained to take his place; he accepted the post as unwillingly as the great legislator of his Order, S. Augustine, accepted the bishopric of Hippo.

To know something of the history and spirit of the Order to which a saint belongs enhances our interest in the story of his life, and enables us to appreciate the hidden sources of his action. Every Order has its own work and its own spirit; and Peter Fourier, in his zeal for apostolic works, his tender love of the Immaculate Mother of God, whose praises were on his dying lips, and his devotion to the Divine Office, was a model Canon Regular. As no history of this venerable Order exists in English, it will be well here briefly to note a few facts relating to it\*—a task the more grateful on account of its former splendour in these lands, and its revival in our midst in these later days. We learn, then, from the Bulls of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and from the writings of the great historians of the Church, that the Order of Canons Regular was instituted by the Apostles themselves. Thus Benedict XII. says it was founded "by the glorious disciples of Christ in the primitive Church;"† Pascal II. that it was "instituted by the Apostles;" whilst S. Pius V. writes: "And so, we think, beloved sons, that the Canons Regular of the Lateran congregation, *who took their origin from the Apostles*, and who were a second time born to the world by the way of reformation from the same Augustine their reformer, rightly claim that they should, in processions and other public acts, precede all other ecclesiastical persons, secular or regular."‡

Suarez asserts that in apostolic times there were three great centres of the regular clergy—Rome, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. At Rome they were founded by S. Clement, Pope and martyr, for whom, after his victory, a shrine "was prepared by angelic hands," who third after S. Peter ruled the Universal Church, and whose name, S. Paul told the Philippians, "was written in the book of life." The regular clergy flourished, and about the year 492 were established by Pope S. Gelasius in the

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\* It is needless to say that the origin and nature of the Order is admirably dealt with in "Suarez on the Religious State" (translated by F. Humphrey, S.J.). Accounts of different houses, too, are to be found in Dugdale's "Monasticon," and of the canonesses in Murphy's "Terra Incognita;" but beyond these we know of nothing which can be relied upon.

† Bulla, "Ad decorem," 1339.

‡ "Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, dilecti filii, Canonici regulares congregationis Lateranensis, qui ab Apostolis originem traxerunt quique ab eodem Augustino eorum reformatore iterum per reformationis viam mundo restituti, merito pretendere possunt, se omnes alias personas ecclesiasticas, tam seculares quam regulares in processibus et aliis actibus publicis procedere debere." (Bulla pro can. Lat.)

Patriarchal Basilica of S. John Lateran, where they lived in common "secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam." S. Gelasius had been a disciple of S. Augustine, the illustrious Bishop of Hippo and doctor of the Church, whose reform and rule he introduced among the clergy of his cathedral. From S. John Lateran, "the mother and mistress of all churches," the reform spread, till at length the rule of S. Augustine was universally accepted by the Canons Regular, and the saint himself venerated as their *legislator*.\* The Lateran canons were reformed by Pope S. Gregory the Great, and there are good reasons for believing that the missionaries sent to England by him belonged to this Order. They were again reformed by Alexander II., who introduced some canons from S. Frigidian of Lucca, a house of strict observance. The Canons Regular served the Basilica of S. John Lateran from the time they were put in possession by Pope S. Gelasius till 1331, a period of eight hundred years. Boniface VIII. replaced them by secular canons, and later on an attempt was made to have the basilica served by regulars and seculars at the same time. This was not a success, and an Italian historian gives a quaint description of one of the quarrels which ensued.† It was on the feast of Corpus Domini,

\* In the "Catholic Dictionary," to which reference has been made already, the writer of the article on "Augustinian Canons" wonders how, if S. Augustine formulated a rule, S. Benedict could be regarded as the founder of Western *Monachism*. The answer, however, may be found by referring to the article "Monk" in the same Dictionary, where it is correctly stated that "the rule of S. Austin was perhaps rather designed for regular clerks than for monks, who for a long time after their institution were all laymen." The distinction between "Monk" and "Regular Cleric" is drawn out at full length by Suarez, who tells us that there are four differences between the two, of which the first is "that an Order of Clerics is in itself ordained for Divine mysteries, while an Order of Monks is not so ordained" (see Suarez on "Religious State," translated by Humphrey). S. Thomas, too, treats of the distinction in the *Summa* 2a. 2e., q. 189, art. 8. No one contends that S. Augustine composed a rule, only that he formulated, and probably reduced to writing, a rule promulgated by the Apostles (see Possidius' "Vita S. Augustini," cap. 5). It is not always necessary either for an institute to have its rule in writing: e.g., the Oratory was for many years after approbation without a written rule (see "Life of S. Philip," by Cardinal Capecepatro). It may be remarked, too, that the writer of the article in the "Catholic Dictionary" takes a different view of the history of the Canons Regular from that maintained *inter alios* by Pius II., Benedict XII., Eugenius IV., Sixtus IV., Pius IV., S. Pius V., and Suarez.

† "Dell' anno Domini 1440 di Maggio la testa del corpo di Cristo, li Fraticelli di Santo Joanni volevano portare lo corpo di Cristo, e li canonici non volevano, perchè lo volevano portare essi. Per questa casione fu levato il tumulto, e furon cacciati da Santo Joanni a furore di Popolo, e furono cacciati colle pietre, e quelli fraticelli si difendevano molto bene: e per questa casione andarono da Papa Eugenio, e parte ne rimase nel

1440, and the regular canons (*fraticelli*) wished to bear the sacred Host in the procession, as did also the seculars (*canonici*). The dispute caused the mob to break into riot, and the regulars were driven from the basilica by the people, who threw stones at them, but the historians relate that the "fraticelli" defended themselves "molto bene." The Pope decreed that the regulars should be restored to the basilica, and accompanied to it by the Conservators of Rome, and the mayors (*caporioni*) of the districts into which the city was divided. In 1446 Eugenius IV. gave them sole possession of S. John Lateran, which act was confirmed by Nicholas I., but they were eventually displaced, and the basilica made over to secular canons. There were formerly forty-five abbeys and seventy-nine other houses of this congregation in Italy, besides many convents of canonesses (Pennotto). All that remained were seized in 1866 by the Piedmontese Government. After the capture of the Eternal City by the agents of the revolution in 1870, the greater number of the canons of the Lateran congregation were expelled, though a few were left to serve the churches. There are two churches belonging to this congregation in Rome: "S. Pietro in Vincoli," where the chains which bound the Prince of the Apostles are kept, but which is chiefly known to tourists for the "Moses" of Michael Angelo; and that of "Sant' Agnese fuori le mura," where the lambs are blessed on the patronal feast. The revolution which has nearly destroyed this Order in Italy has been an unwitting benefactor to England, for through it the Congregation of the Lateran is now established in this country. In Jerusalem, the Order was established by S. James the Apostle, and first bishop: and the Congregation of the Holy Sepulchre flourished for long in this city. Driven away by the Moslem, the canons were restored by Godfrey de Bouillon, the first Latin king, and remained till the final loss of the Holy City, when they sought a refuge in Europe. James de Vitry, a Canon Regular of Oignies, afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem and Cardinal, relates that the Canons Regular served, amongst other churches, that of the Holy Sepulchre, one on Mount Sion, and another on Mount Olivet. The Patriarch was abbot of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by the canons of which he was elected. At Alexandria, the Canons Regular were instituted by S. Mark, the disciple of S. Peter, and Evangelist; the institute was soon adopted in the neighbouring countries, and, as is stated by Eusebius of Cæsarea, spread over the whole East.

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Passato, e allo Papa li seppe molto rio: e però comandò allo Patriarca, e allo castellano, che fussero rimessi li Fraticelli in Santo Joanni, e furono ad accompagnarli li Conservatori e 26 Caporioni." (Marangoni, "Istoria della Cappella di S. Sanctorum," p. 192.)



In Europe the canons quickly multiplied, and many congregations were formed. The chief of these was that of S. John Lateran, the history of whose origin has already been related; to this was united in 1823 the congregation of S. Saviour of Bologna. Of the many others, four may be mentioned as specimens of the rest: "S. Ruf" took its origin from the clergy established at Avignon by S. Rufus, a disciple of the apostles and companion of S. Lazarus and S. Mary Magdalene, and at one time had five hundred abbeys; to this congregation belonged Adrian IV., the only English Pope: "S. Victor and S. Geneviève," which had thirty abbeys and one hundred and twenty other houses in France, besides many convents of canonesses, and to which belonged Hugh, Adam, and Richard of S. Victor: "Windesheim," founded by Gerard of Daughter, numbered amongst its sons Thomas à Kempis, the author of the "Imitation of Christ": "Prémontré," instituted by S. Norbert in 1120, eleven years after its foundation had five hundred religious in the mother house alone.

The Canons Regular profess a life whose end is essentially "apostolic." In the fifth century, as we know from Cancellieri, their chief work was the "administration of the sacraments and the offering of public prayers:"\* it is the same now. The "public prayers," or liturgical offices, are offered with the accompaniment of the greatest possible splendour. But the canons do not confine their labours to the strictly ecclesiastical works; nothing, unless it be incompatible with the duties of clerics, is rejected. Thus, for example, the hospice of the great S. Bernard is maintained and served by them; as was formerly the hospital of Santo Spirito in Rome.

To the various congregations many illustrious men have belonged. Amongst these have been thirty-six Popes, including S. Leo the Great, whose "Tome" is inseparably connected with the Council of Chalcedon; S. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland; S. Remi, apostle of the Franks, and probably S. Augustine, the apostle of the English; S. Isidore of Seville, who is spoken of by the eighth Council of Toledo as "the excellent doctor,

\* "Ut tradidit Panvinus, Rasponio concinente, Gelasius Papa circa annum cxxxi. clericos, qui ab arctiori vite instituto canonici, id est regulares vocati sunt Laterani collocavit, qui Presbyterorum veterum tam Cardinalium quam non Cardinalium loco, Basilicæ Lateranensi speciatim addicti quotidie deservirent, in administrandis præcipue sacramentis, et publicis precibus fiendis." (Cancellieri, "De Secretariis," tom. iii. fol. 1595.) And again: "Canonicorum porro prisce illis temporibus præcipuum, ut dixi, munus erat, sacramenta plebi Dei administrare. Nam in psallendo minus erant occupati, quum eo tempore psalmodiam adhuc fidelis populi frequentarent." (Ibid. fol. 1597.)

the late ornament of the Catholic Church, the most learned man, given to enlighten the latter ages, always to be named with reverence;" S. Ildephonsus, Archbishop of Toledo, and S. Lawrence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin; Peter Lombard, the "Master of the Sentences," and Adam of S. Victor, the mediæval poet; S. Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, who whilst he was scholasticus of the Church of Rheims "was looked upon as the light of churches, the doctor of doctors, the glory of the two nations of Germany and France, the ornament of the age, the model of good men, and the mirror of the world;" \* S. Dominic, who founded the Order of Preachers to which he gave the rule of Saint Augustine, and who, *whilst yet a Canon Regular* † of the Church of Osma, suppressed the Albigensian heresy, and instituted the devotion of the Rosary. To these must be added four of the nineteen martyrs of Gorkum; and at least one of those English martyrs whose cause is now before the Holy See.

As one of the great objects of the canonical Order is the performance of the liturgical offices, so one of its chief characteristics is its devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. S. Isidore of Seville and S. Ildephonsus of Toledo wrote treatises in defence of her perpetual virginity; S. Ildephonsus and S. Norbert received remarkable favours from her; "The Children of Mary," perhaps the largest confraternity in the Church, and the Rosary, its most popular devotion, are due to the canons. In their churches votive Masses in her honour are frequent. May we not trace to the influence of this Order some customs of Catholic England, the "Dowry of Our Lady," in which "it must not be forgotten that the psalmody of the Divine office continued uninterrupted, even in the smaller parish churches, from their first erection in Saxon times to the Reformation," ‡ and in many, if not all, of whose cathedrals the Little Office and votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin were daily said in addition to the Office and Mass of the day, even on feasts of Our Lady. § Before the destruction of the monasteries by Henry VIII. the canons possessed three hundred houses and some of the finest churches in England. Amongst these were Carlisle and Bristol, Bolton and Hexham, Wroxton and Newstead, Plympton and Christchurch, Darley and Walsingham. To the shrine of "Our Lady of Walsingham" pilgrimages were

\* Alban Butler, who quotes an old writer without giving his name.

† Lacerdaire, "Histoire de Saint Dominique."

‡ Bridgett, "History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain," ii. 159.

§ Rub. Brev. Sarisbur.

That, the most celebrated shrine of Our Lady in England, was founded in 1061. The chapel was in all respects like to the Holy House of Nazareth, which was translated to Loretto in 1294. The chapel stood apart from the Priory Church; foreigners of all nations and many

only less frequent than to that of S. Thomas of Canterbury, who was an alumnus of the Canonical Order. A friend of S. Thomas—S. Gilbert of Sempringham—founded the only pre-Reformation religious institute of distinctly English origin. The Order of Gilbertines included both men and women, who lived under the same roof, though of course entirely separated. To the women he gave the rule of S. Benedict, to the men that of Canons Regular.\* To the Abbey of Darley, which has been already mentioned, was attached a school at Derby, founded in 1160, by a Bishop of Lichfield; this school is still flourishing, and is the oldest in the kingdom. There were two mitred abbots—Waltham and Cirencester—who sat among the peers of England. In *Ireland* the Order took the same position as that of S. Benedict in England, and nine of its abbots and priors sat in the Parliament of Ireland—namely, those of Christ Church and All Hallows Dublin, Kells, Connell, Louth, Athassel, Killagh, Newtown, and Raphoe ("Cath. Dict."). At the time of the Reformation the canonical houses in Ireland outnumbered all other religious communities put together; the surest way to preferment was to belong to this Order, and nearly all the cathedrals and large churches were served by its members (Helyot). It has already been mentioned that S. Patrick was a Canon Regular; there are proper second nocturn lessons and "Martyrology" for him in the Breviary of the Lateran Congregation, in all of whose churches a Plenary Indulgence may be gained on his feast. S. Frigidian, who was Bishop of Lucca, and founded the Congregation of Canons in that city *circa* A.D. 556, was an Irishman. In *Scotland* many of the chief monasteries belonged to the canons; amongst others, S. Andrews, whose prior was mitred, and took precedence of all abbots and priors in the Scottish House of Lords; Seone, in which abbey the kings of Scotland were crowned; Holyrood House, founded

princes went in pilgrimage to it, so that Blomefield says "the number of her devotees seemed only to equal those of Our Lady of Loretto in Italy." He also says that the common people in their simplicity believed "that the Milky Way was appointed by Providence to point out the particular place and residence of the Blessed Virgin, and was on that account generally called *Walsingham Way*." Erasmus, that within the chapel all was "bright and shining, glittering all over with gold, silver, and jewels." At the Reformation the shrine was destroyed, and the miraculous image publicly burnt. (Northcote's "Sanctuaries of the Madonna.")

\* The Gilbertines were, with perhaps the exception of the Premonstratensians, of all Canons Regular the least devoted to clerical and "missionary" works. They approached more nearly to the monastic state; that is, to the solitary and contemplative life. S. Gilbert wished them to approximate as nearly as possible to the Cistercians.



by David I. in 1128; Jedburgh, Cambuskenneth, and Iona, where was a convent of canonesses, "which was probably founded before the Benedictines had any settlement in that isle."\* It is worthy of note that two eminent members of the Congregation of S. Victor—Adam and Richard—were Scots.

The Canonical Order is once more taking root in the "Land of Saints." In England at the present time we have a Province of Lateran Canons, houses belonging to two congregations of Premonstratensians, and also a solitary representative of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. There are two congregations of canonesses, that of the Lateran established at Newton Abbot and at Barnet, and that of the Holy Sepulchre at New Hall.† The Lateran canonesses lived in exile at Louvain during the days of persecution, but returned to England at the beginning of the present century. They have perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in their church; whilst the canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre are engaged in the work of education.

But to return to the life of the Blessed Peter. His activity was not confined to education, nor to the formation of his two congregations. The work connected with these latter necessitated his having a curate during the later years of his life; but, except when *obliged* to be away from his parish, he was himself constantly engaged for the good of his people, and especially of the poor. Speaking on this point in a panegyric, Lacordaire, the eloquent Dominican, once said:‡

The poor came to him naturally: he never refused to see them; had he nothing else for them, he had always Fourier. On the great feasts of the year, when the rich were surrounded by their friends, he thought of his poor, and prepared a little feast which should recall to their minds with pleasure the mystery of the day. If there were

\* "Practical Observations upon Divers Titles of the Law of Scotland, &c." By James Spotiswood of that Ilk, Advocate. Edinburgh. 1734.

† Since the above was written the writer has been informed that the English Canonesses Regular of Bruges are about to establish a community at Hayward's Heath. These canonesses are engaged in education.

‡ "Le pauvre venait à lui naturellement, il ne le refusait jamais car, n'y eût-il rien, il y avait encore Fourier. Dans les grandes fêtes de l'année, lorsque les riches s'environnaient de leurs amis, lui songeant à ses pauvres, et leur préparait un petit festin qui leur rappelait avec joie le mystère du jour. Si quelque noce avait lieu dans sa paroisse il allait y chercher la part de ceux qui n'ont plus de nocees au-bas, et il les faisait entrer par leurs bénédictions dans la famille nouvelle que lui-même avait benie le matin. Il avait coutume de se tenir chaque jour au devant de la porte pendant quelques heures, si grand froid qu'il fût, afin qu'on l'abordât sans primes et que les plus timides ne vinssent pas à craindre de le déranger. Quoi qu'on voulût de lui, sauf le mal, il était prêt et riant."

a marriage feast in the parish, he went to it to seek a share for those for whom there were no feasts here below, whom by their blessings he made to join the new family which he himself had blessed in the morning. It was his custom to stand for several hours a day outside the door of his house, however cold the weather might be, so that he might be found without difficulty, and that the most timid should have no fear of putting him to inconvenience. He was ready and willing to do anything, except evil.

This charity united him heart and soul with his flock, every member of which was devoted to him: so great was the love of his people that, did it become known that a stranger was about to visit him, they sent to his house abundance of meat and wine and fruit, luxuries unknown in the daily life of Blessed Peter. New ideas for the relief of the poor and the afflicted were constantly being put into practice by him; amongst these was the "*Bourse de Saint-Evre*." At Mattaincourt, as elsewhere, it often happened that a worthy tradesman was reduced to poverty on account of a failure due to no fault of his own. To provide against this, Peter established a kind of friendly society—without any subscription, however—of which *all* his parishioners were members. The "*Bourse*" became possessed of much property from legacies and donations, and this property was administered by a committee of the leading merchants of the parish. When a tradesman experienced losses, he made known his need to the administrators of the funds, who inquired into his case. Did this prove worthy of relief, he received a sum proportioned to his necessities; this he returned if afterwards he became prosperous, but in that case only, for should he not be successful the loan became a gift.

The Blessed Peter had even more at heart the spiritual needs of his beloved children, and for their benefit founded at Mattaincourt two guilds or sodalities: one of men, under the patronage of Saint Sebastian; the other of women, in honour of Our Lady, and with the title of the "*Immaculate Conception*." This confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, founded as it was two hundred years and more before the arch-confraternity of the same name was established at Lourdes, was quite in accordance with the traditions of his Order. It was, in fact, a revival of a sodality founded at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century by the Blessed Peter de Honestis, a Canon Regular of the congregation of Ravenna, under the name of the "*Children of Mary*" ("*Figli e Figlie di Maria*"). The first woman to join the new society was Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, of Canossa fame, who died in 1115, when the holy founder was Prior of Santa Maria in Portu. This confraternity of the "*Children of Mary*," which appears to have

been the earliest of the now numerous sodalities in honour of Our Lady, anticipating as it did the "*Prima Primaria*" of the Roman College by well-nigh *five centuries*, was re-established during the present century at Rome, in the Church of St. Agnes-without-the-Walls, by Dom Albert Passeri, Canon Regular and Vicar General of the Lateran Congregation.

Blessed Peter never, till he had made Richelieu his enemy, left his parish except to "visit" the monasteries under his charge, or, by command of the Bishop, to give those wonderful missions in the villages of the Vosges by which he reclaimed whole districts from Calvinism. When the unscrupulous French Minister wished to annex Lorraine, Peter, having been consulted by the Duke, advised a line of action which resulted in his country preserving its independence for another century. During the ensuing war the machinations of Richelieu compelled him to leave his parish and his native land. He retired to Gray, in Burgundy, in 1636, and died there on December 9, 1640, repeating the words "*Habemus bonum Dominum et bonam Dominam.*" During his exile he occupied himself in teaching the poor boys of the parish, when he could, choosing the duller; at the same time, some of his nuns, who had followed him, taught the girls.\* There, as at Mattaincourt, his private life was very austere—in his own house almost that of a Trappist. He took but three and a half hours' sleep a day, and this brief period he passed on a chair or a bench—never in his bed, which was only retained in his room to conceal the austerity of his life—he never indulged in a fire, except when he was ill or when strangers were present: till too old to do so, he always went on foot, even for the official visitations of the convents of his two congregations; when this was no longer possible, he used a humble cart: and he ate but once a day, towards evening, and then only a meagre meal of bread, water, and vegetables. In conclusion, one other custom of his must be mentioned: so imbued was he with the spirit of his Order, that even when alone, at Mattaincourt, he used daily to recite the Divine Office publicly in the choir of the parish church.

After his death the canons of the congregation founded by him obtained permission to remove his body to Pont-à-Mousson. The people of Gray opposed the removal so strenuously that the authority of the civil power had to be invoked; this resulted in a compromise, by which Blessed Peter's heart remained in the place of his exile, whilst his body was borne away by the canons of

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\* There is a convent of these nuns still at Gray, established in the house in which Blessed Peter lived and died. The small room in which he died is preserved, and is now used as a chapel.



his reform. The journey was one long triumphal march, and no further difficulties were encountered till Mattaincourt was reached. Overtaken by night, the canons were reluctantly compelled to rest there, and the body of the exiled pastor was deposited in the church he had served for so many years. Next morning the canons wished to proceed on their journey, but they were prevented by main force from removing the body; they appealed to the Duke, who commanded the inhabitants to give up to the canons the body of their General. The men of Mattaincourt obeyed, saying they would not resist their sovereign; but the women and children filled the church, and would allow no one to approach the body. The Duke of Lorraine then placed troops at the disposal of the canons; the people in reply barricaded the church and the approaches to it. When the canons again tried, the men offered money, lands, goods, in short all their possessions—they offered to become the serfs of the abbey—if only the body might be left with them. The women loudly protested that God evidently had wished the body to remain at Mattaincourt, to which place it had been so unwillingly brought. The sons of Blessed Peter could no longer resist; the troops retired, and the body remained in the midst of those who so truly loved their "Bon Père" that they were ready to give up everything, even life itself, rather than part with his remains. The body was buried in the parish church, and has remained there to this day. The "Martyrology" relates that Peter became illustrious for prophecy and miracles, and that therefore in 1730 Benedict XIII. published the decree of his beatification, and permitted his feast to be kept on July 7 in Lorraine, and by the various congregations of Canons Regular. Miracles are still worked at his shrine, which is the object of many devout pilgrimages; and as the process of canonization is progressing, we may hope soon to have in the Calendar of the Universal Church the feast of a saint who, by instituting the "Active Orders," has been so great a benefactor to the poor of Christ—who was so exemplary a parish priest, and who excites a special interest at this moment, when the free education of the poor is claimed by the anti-Christian revolution as its peculiar idea and work.

*P.S.*—The writer of this short sketch of the life and work of the Blessed Peter Fourier wishes gratefully to acknowledge the valuable assistance he has received from the Regular Canons of the Church of S. Mary and S. Petrock at Bodmin, and the Superioress-General of the Canadian Congregation of Notre Dame.

## ART. V.—BURMA AND THE FARTHER EAST.

1. *Mission to the Court of Ava.* By HENRY YULE. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1858.
2. *History of Burma.* By Sir ARTHUR PHAYRE. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.
3. *Across Chryssé.* By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN, F.R.G.S. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1883.
4. *Burma and the Burmans.* By ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN, F.R.G.S. London: Field & Tuer. 1885.
5. *British Burma and its People.* By Captain C. I. F. S. FORBES. London: John Murray. 1878.
6. *The Burman: his Life and Notions.* By SHWAY YOE. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.
7. *Reisen in Birma.* Von Dr. ADOLF BASTIAN. Leipzig. 1866.

THAT south-eastern spur of the Asiatic mainland which stretches a protruded claw so far down to the Indian Archipelago, has had a semi-mythical renown in many tongues as the Golden Land of the Far East. Here the biblical Ophir has been placed by some; here the Aurea Chersonesus, or Chryssé, of Ptolemy, still survives in modern parlance with the misleading magic of its name; and here the sacred language of the East itself has localized a like epithet, since the Burmese delta lands are termed, in old Pali writings, Suvanna Bhumi, or Region of Gold. Yet in truth it is not here, but in the Chinese border-province of Yunnan, that the precious metal is really found, and only the scanty washings from its reefs of ore are swept down in the drift of the Indo-Chinese streams. The Golden Peninsula nevertheless, though not in this respect justifying its name, is a region where Nature, in spendthrift mood, lavishes her largesse from full hands. The air of the jungle is faint with the musky breath of balms and spices, while centenarian teak-forests, still more prized of commerce, flourish in unexhausted productiveness; mines of sapphires and rubies, amber, silver, and jade tempt the imagination, and iron and petroleum the more practical desires of man; on the teeming soil grain flung at haphazard fructifies almost without the aid of husbandry, and the annual deluge of the south-west monsoon, at once irrigator and fertilizer, nourishes

the superabundant rice crop whose overflow supplies the world. Yet a sparse and semi-indigent population seem to profit little by the bounty of the earth, and the thatched bamboo hovel of the native looks doubly sordid beside the stately majesty of the tropical forest.

Burma is indeed in all respects a land of incongruities, where moral and physical contradictions are met at every point. There gold and tinsel glitter side by side, majesty merges in monstrosity, and the gorgeous vies with the grotesque. There the most dreary of creeds, whose hope is negation, whose heaven annihilation, is celebrated with the most glowing pageantry of worship, and mighty shrines aflame with gems and gilding are raised to one who in the belief of his votaries has ceased to be. There, where human life is so little regarded that a man may publicly drown without a hand stretched to save him, the monk strains his drinking water lest he swallow a gnat, and the triple-dyed murderer will not slay a mosquito.

Towards these tempting tropical regions of Indo-China two Western Powers have turned emulous steps of conquest, creeping along the coasts until they have well-nigh divided the littoral between them. France, on the east, has by a series of annexations commenced in 1862, secured all the maritime provinces of Cochin China, from the delta of the Cambodia river to the mouth of the Song-Koi, the Red River of Tonquin. England, on the opposite side of the peninsula, has extended her elastic frontiers from the head of the Bay of Bengal, round its whole farther shore, stretching a long arm southward to get a grip on the great ocean thoroughfare of the Malacca Strait.

Between these two encroaching Powers had hitherto lain the great Asiatic Empires of the Peacock and the Elephant, under the twin despotisms of Ava and Bangkok. The trumpety splendours of the former we have just seen shiver into dust at the challenge of civilization, like the walls of Jericho before the blare of Joshua's trumpet. The similar end of the latter cannot be long delayed, the only doubtful point being to which of the expectant neighbours its forty-one provinces, equal in area to the Austrian Empire, will eventually fall a prey. Already commercial rivalry, the stimulus of national ambition, is beginning to centre round the sacred realm of the Golden Mountain, and competing engineers of both nations are planning routes and highways through Siam and its dependencies. The expansive tendencies of the two Western Powers will eventually obliterate the intervening territory, and its partition will be regulated by the relative force of pressure from either side. Thus Indo-China promises to be a second field for international rivalries similar to those in action on the Perso-Afghan border, since India, in outgrowing her Hima-



layan bulwark, has developed a vulnerable point at either extremity.

An ancient Burmese prophecy foretold the fall of the native princes as soon as a people wearing hats should settle in the land, and ships ascend the Irawadi without oars or sails. The fulfilment of this prediction has come none too soon, for in the crimes of the recently dethroned monarch, the iniquities of the House of Alompra had attained their full measure of completion. So obvious was the gain to humanity from his removal, that the action of the British Government has passed almost unquestioned. A plausible pretext for hostilities was never wanting against such a neighbour, and an arbitrary fine of nearly a quarter of a million imposed on the Bombay-Burma Company, as a preliminary to confiscating their property, was an outrage of sufficient magnitude to supply one. It may be shrewdly conjectured that the simultaneous conclusion of a Franco-Burmese commercial treaty was at least an equally potent factor in precipitating a rupture, while the desire to open up to British trade the great untapped markets of the Far East supplied an ulterior motive for anticipating possible competitors. The decisive swiftness with which the blow was delivered fairly outstripped remonstrance, and national jealousies were struck dumb by the unassailable logic of an accomplished fact.

Yet the territory won by an almost bloodless campaign forms no inconsiderable addition even to the British dominions, since Upper Burma, with an area of 192,000 square miles, was little inferior in extent to Imperial Germany, and the united provinces form a fourth of the Indian Empire. The estimated figure of three and a half millions of population—less than that of London—for this vast and fertile region, proves how much bad government can do to neutralize the beneficent intentions of Nature.

Three river-valleys, running north and south, constitute the natural divisions of inland Burma, and the intervening mountain ranges form its vertebrate system. The Yoma, or backbone of Arakan, parts the province of that name—a strip of littoral along the Bay of Bengal—from the Irawadi Valley, while the Pegu Yoma divides the latter from the adjoining valley of the Sittang. The broken ranges of the Salween hills intervene between the river from which they take their name and the basin of the last-mentioned stream, completing the triple subdivision of the country. This, however, is lost near the sea, where the expanding river-valleys merge into a great littoral plain, created within recent times by their combined deposits. Barely rising above high-water mark, and in its eastern portion sloping from the sea inland, these mud-flats are converted in the rainy season

into a series of lagoons, where the villages, reared on piles, are islanded amid the waters, and boats form the only means of locomotion of the amphibious inhabitants.

Despite the size and volume of the other two Burmese rivers, the Irawadi alone forms a highway to the interior. The Salween, which traverses 16° latitude and 14° longitude, in its course from the Tibeto-Chinese plateau to the Bay of Bengal, runs in a channel too steep and broken for navigation, and only by steamers of light draught can even its lower reaches be ascended as far as Shwaygyeen (Golden Island), seventy miles from the sea.

The Sittang, which zigzags in serpentine coils through its 350 miles of valley, is strangled at its mouth by a more singular obstacle. Its funnel-shaped estuary, headed by a narrow and sinuous ravine, forms a trap for the meeting tides of the Indian Ocean and Tenasserim shore deeply embayed in the Gulf of Martaban, and a great bore or tidal wave, with a crested front near ten feet high, drives up the gorge at a rate of twelve miles an hour, lashed to increasing fury by the twisted shores that meet and check it by turns. No craft can face it and live, and a ship conveying a detachment of Sepoys during the first British occupation, foundered with all on board in the bore of the Sittang.

Thus the Irawadi, so called from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, remains the sole key to the upper country, and all life and activity are concentrated on its banks. Navigable for 840 miles from the sea, it carries the steamers of the Irawadi Flotilla Company up to Bhamaw, at those iron gates of China for which modern commerce would so gladly find an "open sesame." Here it has still a width varying from a mile to a mile and a half, according to the season, and is navigable for large boats to a point 150 miles higher. Its total length must thus be considerably over 1,000 miles from its supposed, but hitherto unexplored, sources in the flank of the great Tibetan plateau.

Its valley, synonymous with Burma proper, is in its upper half impounded between lofty mountain ranges, forming a cul-de-sac with a single outlet to the sea. The steep slope of the Central-Asian tableland to the north, rising in the north-east, to a group of peaks 18,000 to 20,000 feet high; the outlying spurs of the Manipur highlands and ribs of the "backbone" of Arakan to the west; the 5,000-foot scarp of the Shan tableland to the east, form a continuous series of barriers, traversed only by the rudest bridle-paths, with the added dangers of attack from semi-savage inhabitants.

The Irawadi flows mainly through a wide and fertile champaign, diversified by secondary ranges, which at some points approach

the river and contract its bed. Where it quits the enclosing mountains, about eighty miles from the sea, it bifurcates into two main branches, ramifying in a network of minor channels, to form a delta with a spread of 150 miles along the coast.

The country heretofore known as British Burma consists of its lower basin forming the province, anciently the kingdom of Pegu, with a narrow strip of shore on either side the river, between the mountains and the Bay of Bengal, divided into the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim. A coast-line of 1,900 miles, with an area less than that of Great Britain, results from this conformation. The almost total absence of roads throughout Burma renders land transit practically impossible, and restricts traffic and locomotion to the rivers with their creeks and affluents.

But three seasons are recognized in Burma—the cold, lasting from November to March, distinguished at Rangoon only by a keener freshness in the morning air, as the thermometer rarely descends below 50° Fah.; the hot, from March to July, at the height of which the midday temperature averages 90° Fah.; and the wet season, which covers the intervening time. The annual rainfall at Rangoon is 100 inches, while that figure is doubled at other coast-towns, and eleven inches have been registered in thirteen hours.

The Burmese language is monosyllabic, belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family, and the meaning of the same combination of letters is capable of indefinite variation by vocal inflections very bewildering to the European ear. Ethnologists, among many heterogeneous fragments, distinguish four principal races: the Burmese, who claim Indian descent, but are believed to have come from north of the Himalayas; the Peguans, Mons, or Talains, identical with the Annamese, and conjectured to be the earliest inhabitants; the Karens, now a hill-tribe, probably also indigenous; and the Shans or Tais, supposed immigrants from Southern China, a widely diffused nation comprising the inhabitants of Siam.

The number and splendour of the Burmese monasteries and pagodas testify to the devotion of the people to the Buddhist creed; yet its abstract dogmas do not exclude the more primitive worship of spirits or demons, known in the East as Shamanism. The *nats*, as these invisible genii are called, seem to be the personified powers of Nature, and have a wild and extravagant mythology of their own. Invoked on all occasions with multi-form rites of sacrifice, they have their special shrines near every village, rude sheds or mere bamboo cages hung to the trees, in which small offerings of food, tobacco, or betel-nut are laid. Witches and wizards, believed to hold converse with them, are esteemed, yet dreaded, and their intervention is invoked in all



the affairs of life. The sink-or-swim test of English witch-baiting is also practised in Burma, in exactly similar fashion, by flinging the supposed sorceress into the nearest pond; while the mediæval fable of her transformation at will into animal form, accompanied by the liability to suffer in her actual body any wound or damage inflicted on her borrowed shape, is also current in this remote corner of the globe. The witch, when banished from her native village, must be separated from it by one, two, or more streams, according to the potency of her spells, which are neutralized—again as in Western fable—by running water. The belief that the souls of those violently put to death become nats to haunt and guard the spot leads to a more ghastly practice, also widely extended—that of burying victims alive under newly founded cities or palaces, to secure them spiritual wardenship.

Such superstitions are perhaps a reaction from the intangible abstractions of the official creed, since Buddhism presents the unique phenomenon of a religion of atheism, recognizing no Supreme Being or personal ruler of the universe. Gautama himself, revered as a sage rather than worshipped as a divinity, is believed to have passed into that state of negative beatitude or annihilation—*nibbhan* or *nirvana*—which implies no active consciousness of, or response to, human invocation. The motive and reward of virtue is supplied by belief in the transmigration of souls into animal or even inanimate forms, though without continuity of consciousness. The moral value of previous lives is summed up as the “*kan*,” or past being of the individual, and his recompense or punishment, as the case may be, consists either of an ascending series of happier metamorphoses, or of a corresponding retrogression in the scale of existence. The previous lives of Buddha, 550 in number, afford endless subjects for the sacred drama, under the name of birth-stories.

Buddhist cosmogony, based on the evolution of matter from its own inherent properties, asserts the alternate destruction and reconstruction of the universe through a perpetual series of cycles, water being always the reproductive agency, and generating the protoplasmic scum, whence the germs of life are developed once more.

The *theng-being*, or yellow robe of the Burmese monks, called *pohn-gyees* or *phoongyees*, is held in universal reverence by the people, and their monasteries, called *kyoungs*, distinguished by the many-spired and pinnacled triple-canopied roof, may be seen under the shade of their sacred groves in the neighbourhood of all towns and villages. They serve the purpose of schools where gratuitous education is given to all the Burmese youth, among whom illiteracy is consequently rare. Initiation into the monastic order is a ceremony undergone by every Burman, being regarded

as a certificate of admission into the pale of humanity. The little aspirant—for the investiture generally takes place in early boyhood—is conducted to the monastery by a *cortège* like a bridal procession, and the occasion is celebrated with great festivity. In some cases the parents take the boy home immediately after, but he is more generally left for a week, or even for the whole Buddhist Lent—from July to October. It is a common practice for the piously disposed to pass this season every year in a monastery, as by doing so considerable spiritual merit is acquired. The monkish vows of celibacy, poverty, and obedience are never more than temporary, and the exceptions are those who wear the yellow robe for life. Among the special insignia of the monks is the awana or yap, a fan made of the leaves of the talipot-palm, whence they are sometimes called talapoina, its use being to shield their gaze from distracting objects. As they live by mendicancy, the begging-bowl is another of their symbolical appurtenances. The robe, whose dye comes from the jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), is supposed to be made of shreds and patches to signify poverty, but a single cut with a scissors sometimes takes the place of the literal fact. The Buddhist rosary is made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, or "Indian shot," said to have sprung up from the blood of Gautama.

In the early morning the yellow-robes may be seen sallying forth from the kyoungs, and wandering through the streets to receive in their begging-bowls the offerings of the faithful in the shape of rice and vegetables. These are generally abundantly supplied, so much so that the pious mendicant will sometimes share his alms with the brute creation, emptying his bowl by the wayside, and starting on a fresh round to have it replenished. The fare of the brotherhood is supposed to consist of the broken food thus collected, but it is whispered that in some kyoungs a professional cook is kept, to serve it up in more appetizing form. The routine of the monasteries consists of an eight o'clock breakfast after the morning stroll, and a second meal also in the forenoon, monastic discipline proscribing food after midday. The rest of the day is passed in chatting, sleeping, or meditating, as the taste of the individual may dictate. No sacerdotal functions beyond an occasional exhortation are performed by the pohn-gyees, and there is strictly speaking no Buddhist priesthood, neither sacrifice nor public worship being offered. There are no distinctions of monastic orders, but the monks are divided into two hostile sects or schools, called Mahah-gaudee, and Soola-gaudee; the former admitting considerable relaxation of the rule, the latter advocating its austere observance.

Tame fish, which throng in shoals to the bank when summoned by a familiar call, are found in the Irawadi, near the island

monasteries, the Buddhist reverence for animal life being shown by the monks in the care of these strange pets.

There are a few communities of Burmese nuns, odd-looking figures with their white robes and shaven heads, who also live by begging, but do not trouble themselves with education. They are generally elderly women, and are bound by only temporary vows.

The profuse ornamentation lavished on the kyoungs may be imagined from the subjoined description by Mr. Scott (Shway Yoe), of the Royal Monastery of Mandalay :—

At the foot of Mandalay Hill, just outside the eastern gate of the city, it extends over an area of a good many acres. Every building in it is magnificent; every inch carved with the ingenuity of a Chinese toy, the whole ablaze with gold-leaf and a mosaic of fragments of looking-glass embedded in a resinous gum, while the zinc roofs glitter like silver in the sun, and the golden bells on the gable spires tinkle melodiously with every breeze. The huge posts are gilt all over, or covered with a red lacquer; the eaves and gables represent all kinds of curious and grotesque figures. The interior is no less elaborate, the panels of wall and ceiling are, some carved, some diapered with the mosaic mirror-work, glistening like silver with a rough gold network thrown over it. The wood carving is particularly fine, the effect in some places, where the birds, pecking, taking wing, alighting, and in every variety of attitude, are so cut as to appear to underlie the profuse flower scroll-work, being particularly clever. The amount of gilding spread thickly over every part of the kyoung alone represents many hundred pounds.

The manuscripts stored in the monasteries are in Pali, the sacred language of this part of the East, and are written on palm-leaves with a stylus, a cloth soaked in oil being rubbed over the surface to render the writing permanent.

The popular saying that the chief products of Burma are pohn-gyees, pariah-dogs, and pagodas seems to have a fair foundation of fact, and the last category of characteristic objects is certainly numerously represented. Generally built solid, or at most with a small chamber at bottom, they are so far symbolical of the religion to which they are dedicated—an elaborate structure with nothingness at its core. The name pagoda—a corruption of the Cinghalese *dhagoba*, from the Sanskrit *dhatu gharba* (relic-shrine), is not applied to them in Burma, where they are called Payah or Zaydee, from the Pali *chaitya* (offering-place). The fundamental idea of the pagoda is the folded lotus-bud, emblematical of the human avatar of Buddha, and this archetypal form is the substructure of all the extrinsic ornamentation. The most celebrated of these shrines is the Shwe Dagon Payah, the monster pagoda of Rangoon, a goal of pilgrimage to all the natives of Further India. Here the last spur of the Peguan



Yoma has been carved into a terraced base, whence, in Colonel Yule's words, "the golden bulk of Shwe Dagon has for two thousand years,

Shot upwards like a pyramid of fire,

across the dismal flats of the delta."

Scaled with gold, and crowned with the glittering htee or umbrella, encrusted with gems and hung with bells, the gift of Mendohn Min, Theebaw's royal predecessor, its burnished mass has a perimeter of 1,355 feet, and rises from its triple terrace guarded by leogryphs and other monsters, to a height of 321 feet. A favourite object of royal munificence, one king of Burma devoted his own weight in gold, 12 st. 3 lb., to regilding it, the outlay amounting to £9,000. Its mighty bell, the Mahah Ganda, "great sweet voice," had a narrow escape of being carried off as a trophy by the English to Calcutta, but its unwieldy mass of twenty-five tons capsized the float transporting it, and slipped into the river, whence the English engineers could not succeed in recovering it. The natives, some years later, having received a scornful sanction from the authorities, achieved the feat with their simple appliances, and restored it in triumph to its place. This monster is far surpassed in size by the bell of the Mengohn Pagoda, in Upper Burma, weighing ninety tons, of which Colonel Yule declared that it would require a battering ram to bring out its tone, and which is second only to the "Great Monarch" of Moscow presented by Catherine II. The Burmese bells have no clappers, but are struck with sticks or deers' antlers, the object being to call the attention of the spirits to the fact that worship has been offered.

Superstition rules every stage of life in Burma, beginning with the selection of the name for an infant. Choice is limited by the accident of birth, names beginning with certain letters being set aside for the different days of the week. These are called, as in Europe, after the seven planets, an eighth or dark planet called yahen being interpolated for the latter half of Wednesday. The calculation of the horoscope (za-dah) is an indispensable preliminary to beginning life, and, being carefully preserved, has the authority of a baptismal certificate. Innumerable rules of conduct are derived from the day of nativity, such as that the intermarriage of people born on certain days is unlucky.

The tattooing of the centre of the body from the waist to the knees is universal among the Burmese men, the pattern, pricked on the skin with a stylus charged with lampblack, remaining permanently traced in dark-blue. Most elaborate designs are chosen from books of samples kept by the sayahs or artists in

this line, but the process is so painful, causing subsequent irritation, and even fever, that it is seldom completed at once, but done at intervals, square by square. Talismans of various kinds are also inserted under the skin, showing externally as projecting knobs, and money is sometimes kept in the same way.

The boring of the girls' ears at thirteen or fourteen is celebrated as a family festival, and the ornamentation inserted, consisting of plugs or cylinders, expands the orifice so much that the universal cigar is sometimes kept in it. Long strips of silk or cotton wound round the body form the national dress, supplemented in the women by an open jacket. The hair, whose length is a matter of pride, is piled on the head in a topknot, sometimes adorned with flowers, or bound with a coloured kerchief.

In striking contrast with the splendour of the religious edifices in Burma, is the rudeness of domestic architecture. The house is a structure of planking, or bamboo and matting, raised on piles and roofed with dance, or leaves of the toddy-palm, a form of thatch so combustible that a hook is always at hand to remove it bodily in case of fire. The furniture is equally unpretending: no chairs or tables are used; and some rugs and mats by way of bedding and seats, a large lacquer dish called a *byat*, and a mortar for husking rice, with a few earthenware bowls and jars, form the principal articles needed for setting up an establishment.

The meals, generally two in number, taken at eight A.M. and five P.M., are of a corresponding frugality. A mass of rice served in the great lacquer dish forms the *pièce de résistance*, and is flanked by bowls of curry, a vegetable soup with chillies and onions, salt and oil, as its basis, and young bamboo shoots, stems of aquatic plants, succulent arums, asparagus, and aromatic or acrid leaves of mangoes or tamarinds for its miscellaneous ingredients. The roasted eggs of the iguana and green turtle are among favourite dishes, as are two still stranger dainties, the large red ants called *kahgin*, fried in oil, and the pupæ of the silkworm after the silk has been unwound, said to taste like roast chestnuts when cooked in similar fashion. The insipidity of rice-diet apparently leaves a craving for strong flavours, and Burmese delicacies are all of overpowering potency. Durrian, their favourite imported fruit, whole cargoes of which were transported by the Irawadi steamers for the royal table, is described as a garlic custard with superadded whiffs of the foulest gases; while *nga-pee*, the national condiment *par excellence*, prepared from dried and pressed or pounded fish, resembles, according to Colonel Yule, "decayed shrimp paste." Little care indeed is used in the curing process even of the better kind in which the larger fish are dried and pressed whole,

while the inferior preparation of shrimps and miscellaneous small fish, brayed in a mortar, attains an advanced stage of decomposition in manufacture. Hence the native boats, in which it is commonly stacked in bulk, exhale an intolerable stench, and even packed in jars on the Irawadi steamers its presence is disagreeably self-evident. So large is the consumption of ngapee, that 13,500 tons, value £90,000, have been imported from Lower to Upper Burma in a single year.

The so-called "pickled tea," or le'hpet, is not in reality prepared from the leaves of the tea-plant, but from those of another shrub, *Eleodendron orientale*. It is manufactured by the Shans and Paloungs of the hill country, whence it is floated down on bamboo rafts, and its sale formed a royal monopoly valued at 90 lakhs, or £900,000. Mixed with salt, garlic, some grains of millet, and a strong dose of assafoetida, it forms a *bonne bouche* which only a Burmese palate can relish.

A quid of betel-nut, mixed with lime and the astringent cutch, is never absent from the Burman's cheek; and equally inseparable, even from the lips of women and children, is the large green cheroot, composed of chips of wood, sugar, and a dash of tobacco rolled in a teak-leaf, and attaining the formidable proportions of six to eight inches long, with a diameter of an inch. The increase in opium-smoking, and in importation of spirits under English rule, have exercised an unfortunately demoralizing influence on the population.

Domestic life in Burma approaches the European standard more nearly than that of any other Eastern country. Polygamy is not practised, and family relations, despite the facility afforded for divorce, are kindly and genial. This is due in great measure to the position occupied by women, who, so far from being secluded or suppressed, enjoy equal rights of property and control with men. Singularly intelligent and capable, they find a congenial field for the exercise of their faculties in trade, and while small articles of food or luxury are on sale in almost every Burmese house, girls of good position do not think it derogatory to keep a stall at the bazaar, as much for pleasure as for profit.

Considerable freedom of choice is allowed in respect to marriage, and a Burmese courtship, lasting sometimes for years, is not very dissimilar from a European wooing. The swain, accompanied by a friend, pays his visits after nightfall, and is received in state by the young lady adorned in all her finery, and without the visible intervention of parents, whose supervision is, however, exercised from an adjoining room. The marriage is a purely civil celebration without any religious formality.

Cremation is practised in Burma in the case of the rich or distinguished, the body being consumed on a pyre. A strange



analogy with ancient Greek and Egyptian custom is the usage of placing a gold or silver coin in the mouth of the corpse, called, too, *kado-ahah* (ferry-toll) or *nibban-kado* (death-ferry), just as it was classically termed "the obolus of Charon."

Although caste distinctions are not recognized in Burma, there are pariah classes socially ostracized by the rest. Foremost among these are the *para-gyoon*, hereditary slaves of the pagodas, devoted to the service of those edifices, and perpetually excluded from association or intermarriage with any other order of the community. Similarly proscribed are the *pah-gwet* (called from a ring tattooed on the cheek), jailers, lictors, and executioners; the *sandalas*, coffin-makers and grave-diggers; the *lamaing*, or tillers of royal lands; all lepers, deformed and mutilated persons; and the *ta-doung-sa*, a caste of vagrants compelled to beg their bread and wander from place to place. Fishers and hunters who violate the Buddhist law by taking life are regarded with aversion, though not considered as actual pariahs, and the *yabains*, silk-worm-breeders of the forests, are regarded in a similar light. There are no other class distinctions, and the simplicity of Burmese life levels much of the inequality between poverty and wealth. The joyousness of the national character shows in the variety and animation of popular and religious festivals. The New Year, falling in the first half of April, is ushered in by the Water Feast, with an interchange of greetings in the shape of douches and shower-baths; and a little later is held the *nga-hloht-pwe* in honour of the rescue of the fish from the danger of being left high and dry after the rains, and their transference in jubilant procession to the river. In November comes the *sohn-daw-gyee*, when all the houses of each street or quarter in its turn are laid open at night, decorated with hangings and lights, tapestries, carpets, silver vases and refreshment-tables; the girls seated behind rows of lamps, and laden with their own and their friends' jewellery, forming a conspicuous feature of the spectacle. In the same month comes the *tawadehntha*, when the ascent of Buddha into heaven is celebrated by a three days' carnival, and a fluttering and bedizened crowd escorts to the pagodas the time-honoured offerings of great pasteboard spires glittering with tinsel, and "*padaythas*," trees hung with shining trinkets or sometimes with solid rupees, then called "*ngway* (silver) *padaythas*," and worth from five hundred to a thousand of the coins they bear.

The close of Lent, at the end of October, is celebrated with universal illuminations; cornices of coloured lamps define the pyramidal outlines of the pagodas; Mandalay is for three nights ablaze with variegated light, and millions of oil lamps with *bamboo floats*, launched in shoals from every river-side village, con-

vert the Irawadi from Bhamaw to China. Buckeer into a sea of quivering flame. Joyous crowds under some pious pretext invade even the halls of the monasteries, and the blank gaze of the seated Buddha in the sacred niche nowise checks the mundane merriment of a night of revel.

Theatrical performances, held in the open air, and sometimes enacted by puppets, are the most popular of secular amusements, the subjects of the plays, according to some travellers, being such as the Lord Chamberlain might find it easy to object to. Horse-races are also much frequented, and the annual boat-race on the Irawadi, when the competing craft represent different villages and townships, is watched by a crowd not less eager and far more demonstrative than that gathered on Barnes Bridge to see the finish of the Light and Dark Blues. Lithe and hardy, though undersized, the Burmans are crack oarsmen, and the crews of the royal barges, forty to sixty strong, are said to be the finest in the world. Some of the population lead a permanently amphibious life and do an itinerant trade on the rivers, where they may be seen navigating their floating homes under the shade of extravagantly wide bamboo hats. Though shrewd in bargaining, the Burman is prodigal in spending, and money slips rapidly through his fingers, whether spent in gaming, entertaining, or endowing pagodas.

The early history of Burma consists of wars with China, variously recounted by the historians on both sides. The claim of the latter to regard her neighbour as tributary rests on a treaty dated December 13, 1769, which does not, however, seem to bear out the pretension. The Burmese monarch, magniloquently described as "the Lord who rules over a multitude of Umbrella-wearing Chiefs in the Great Western Kingdom, the Sun-descended King of Ava and Master of the Golden Palace," seems in the preamble placed on the same level of dignity as "the Master of the Golden Palace of China, who rules over a multitude of Umbrella-wearing Chiefs in the Great Eastern Kingdom." Nor is there any implied subordination in the text of the treaty, whose main article is as follows:—

Peace and friendship being established between the two great countries, they shall become like two pieces of gold united into one, and suitably to the establishment of the gold and silver road [commercial intercourse], as well as agreeably to former custom, the princes and officers of each country shall move their respective sovereigns to transmit and exchange affectionate letters in gold once in every ten years.

The interchange of presents here agreed on took place down to a recent date, and though it is asserted that the return gifts of China came, not from P'ekin, but from the provincial govern-

ment of Yunnan, this distinction seems a very shadowy foundation for the pretence of suzerain rights to rest upon. The claim of the Celestial Empire to annex the northern portion of Burma, including Bhamaw and adjacent territory for fifty miles to the south, following an ancient frontier-line long superseded, is equally untenable.

Upper and Lower Burma originally formed the rival kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, with the Peacock, and the Henza, or Sacred Goose, as their respective symbols. Their fusion dates from the revolt of the former, then a conquered province, under the leadership of Alaung-pra or Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty. Born in 1720, of the despised community of those who live by the chase, the Burmese William Tell soon made the name of Muthsebo, "the Hunter-Captain," a rallying-cry of national liberty instead of a byword of reproach. The handful of followers who at first supported him grew into an army which his genius enabled him during a five years' struggle to lead to a series of victories, resulting in the reversal of the previous relations of the two provinces and the final subjugation of Pegu by Ava. The French and English, then rivals for the supremacy of Hindostan, took opposite sides also in the Burmese contest, the former supporting the cause of Pegu, the latter that of the revolted province.

But the excesses of the house of Alompra, among whose descendants a strain of madness has developed since the beginning of this century, rendered impossible the maintenance of this early dynastic friendship with the rulers of Hindostan. "Of all the Eastern nations with which the Government of India has had to do," wrote Lord Dalhousie in a celebrated minute, in 1856, "the Burmese are the most arrogant and overbearing." This character they have steadily maintained, and a series of insults and provocations have brought about the annexation of the entire empire of Ava, as the result of three Burmese wars fought at intervals of nearly thirty years. By the treaty of Yandabo at the conclusion of the first, in February, 1826, the provinces of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim passed under British rule, while the second closed in 1853 with the sacrifice by Burma of Pegu, including the whole Irawadi delta. Upper Burma, thus cut off from the sea, was rendered practically impotent, and its facile conquest as the result of the third and latest expedition justifies Lord Dalhousie's assertion, thirty years previous, that he held the remnant of the kingdom of Ava "in the hollow of his hand." The brief proclamation of January 1, 1886, in which Lord Dufferin announced the incorporation of Theebaw's dominions in those of Her Majesty, relegated to the shadow-land of the irrevocable past one of the *most typical* of Eastern monarchies.



His Majesty of the Golden Foot, rejoicing in an amplitude of titular redundancies, was a despot absolute and unlimited. No hereditary nobility counterbalanced his supremacy, and all official dignitaries were the creatures of his will. The deliberations of the Hlot-daw, or Royal Council, in which all executive and judicial authority centred, and the Byadeit, or second deliberative Committee of State, were equally under his control, their members being nominated and dismissed at his pleasure. The first of these was composed of four Ministers, with the title of Woon-gyee—literally “great burden;” their assistants being termed Woon-douk—“prop of the burden.” The second consisted of a like number of Atween-woons—Ministers of the Interior—acting also as private secretaries to the king.

The royal revenue, about £800,000, raised by a system of extortion, was principally based on the ngway-daw—“royal silver”—a house or family tax amounting to about 7s. 6d. a head, and assessed on a Doomsday Book compiled in 1783. Fisheries and various forms of culture were also taxed, and mines, timber forests, and trade in “pickled tea” formed royal monopolies, while the whole labour of the country was also at the arbitrary disposal of the State. Each province, township and village had its governor or sub-governor, and the revenues of the several districts were assigned to members of the royal family, ministers, or favourites, expressively termed myo-tsa—“eater of the town.” From these appanages are derived the names of the Burmese monarchs, always territorial and never personal appellations. Thus Theebaw Min is simply Prince of Theebaw, that province having been the one “eaten” by him before he became the general devourer of the country at large.

A universal conscription, limited by bribery, recruited the ranks of a pantomime army, by no means destitute of fighting qualities, but rendered grotesque by a parody on European discipline and equipment. Officers mounted on elephants, followed by umbrella-bearers, grooms and chargers, made an imposing show, but the rank and file, chatting and smoking as they shuffled along, with helmets carried indifferently on their heads or on their bayonets, uniforms awry, standards, now erect, now trailing, were the veriest ragamuffins that ever shouldered musket. The picked troops, called a-hmo-daw, were a standing militia—hereditary soldiers of the Alompra dynasty. Drawn from certain districts, lying chiefly to the north of the capital near the cradle of the race, and exempted from other forms of taxation, these serfs of the spear, tattooed with a dragon between the shoulders, furnished the royal guards, and were the only real soldiers in Burma.

The current of the Irawadi links together several clusters of feudal capitals abandoned by the caprices of the Burmese Court.

after having been the scene of its fantastic splendours. Tagaung, destroyed by a Mongol invasion before the Christian era, was the first of the series, and Old Pagahn, which rose on its ruins about 107 A.D., the second. An existence of six or seven centuries did not secure this metropolis from eventual desertion, and its name and rank were transferred to another site 200 miles lower down the river. New Pagahn, whose most ancient shrine dates from 850 A.D., was *par excellence* the city of pagodas, and the ruins of some 900 still rise above the jungle for eight miles along the river-bank, extending inland for two or three. Many thousands of these edifices are said to have been sacrificed to the defence of the city in 1284 A.D., when its turn for destruction came at the hands of invading Tartars and Chinese. The proud name of Jayapura (City of Victory) bestowed on its successor Tsagain, did not avail to save it from a like fate sixty years later, when its honours were inherited by the historic city of Ava. Founded in 1364, on a site known as Angwa, or fishpond, its familiar name has survived its official or sacred title of Ratanapura (City of Gems), and is identified with the culminating splendours of the Peacock Throne. It survived until destroyed by an earthquake in 1839, although the seat of government oscillated between it and its latest rival, Amarapura, the City of the Immortals. Here a population of 90,000 were gathered when, in 1858, the caprice of Mindohn Min, Theebaw's predecessor, who disliked the noise of the steamers on the river, commanded a general migration to the swamp and jungle-covered plain of Mandalay, a few miles higher up. The Chinese settlers, whose houses were of less fragile structure than the shanties of the natives, and who had built themselves a substantial joss-house, alone refused to obey, and their quarter still forms an extra-mural suburb to the present capital.

The approach to Mandalay thus lies past the ruins of its predecessors, and the beautiful scenery of the Irawadi Valley gains an added charm from the remains with which it is so thickly studded that Mr. Crawford, the British Envoy, counted 200 temples from one point on the Tsagain hills. Colonel Yule describes as follows the view from a jutting promontory near Pagahn to which he says nothing on the Rhine could be compared :—

Northward the great river stretched, embracing innumerable islands, till seemingly hemmed in and lost among the mountains. Behind us, curving rapidly round the point where we stood, it passed away to the west, and was lost in the blaze of dazzling sunset. Northward rose the little barren broken ridges of Tsagain, every point and spur of which was marked by some monastic building or pagoda. Nearly opposite to us lay Amarapura, with just enough haze upon its

temples and towers to lend them all the magic of an Italian city. A great bell-shaped spire rising faintly white in the middle of the town might well pass for a great *Duomo*. You could not discern that the domes and spires were dead masses of heathen brickwork, and that the body of the town was bamboo and thatch. It might have been Venice, it looked so beautiful. Behind it rose range after range of mountains robed in blue enchantment. Between our station and the river was only a narrow strip of intense green foliage, mingled with white temples, spires and cottage roofs. The great elbow of the river below us, mirroring the shadows of the wood on its banks and the glowing clouds above, had been like a lake were it not that the downward drift of the warboats, as they crossed and recrossed, marked so distinctly the rapidity of the kingly stream.

The ruins of Ava, with its temple spires rising from a thicket of gardens and jungle; those of Tsagain, buried in a mass of tamarind-trees; isolated villages, monasteries and pagodas rising direct out of the flood-waters, and steep crests coroneted with towers, combined to form a scene which the writer thought could not be surpassed by the Lake of Como, and which those who had seen Como declared was not.

The temples of Pagahn are singular among Oriental remains, from their resemblance in general outline to Christian churches of the Italian Gothic order. The ground-plan of the Ananda, still used as a place of worship, is a perfect Greek cross, and the distant view of the Ganda Palen, another of these buildings, when seen from far down the Irawadi, gleaming in white plaster, with its numerous pinnacles and tall central spire, 180 feet high, suggested to Colonel Yule "a dim vision of Milan Cathedral." The employment of European artificers has been conjectured to explain such an anomaly, but this view is scarcely supported by the purely Oriental character of the architectural details. Here where twenty-one kings reigned in succession, and where rose the twin towers of gold and silver described by Marco Polo, the jungle growth now runs riot over the remains of palace and pagoda.

The wide plain of Mandalay, extending about five miles in each direction, is thickly studded with houses and gardens, to where the blue Shan hills on its eastern edge lift themselves steeply as from a lake out of the dead-level of its rice-flats. The *myo*, or city proper, consists of a triple enclosure, square within a square, like a Chinese puzzle, each outer face measuring a mile and a quarter, and the whole containing some 13,000 dwellings with 60,000 inhabitants. The external walls, thirty feet thick, deeply crenellated, and heavily banked with earth inside, are surmounted with bastions at intervals of 200 yards, and girdled with a moat fifty yards wide. Here, amid a thick overgrowth of



lotus, floated the richly decorated royal galleys with the kalaweik, or crane, carved on their springing poops. Bridges lead to the twelve gates, distinguished by the signs of the zodiac carved on posts, and thence to wide streets planted with tamarinds, but formed by poor and sometimes ruinous houses or sheds. In the centre a high teak palisade, fronting a quarter of a mile each way, encloses the palace or official city, with the residences of the Ministers, a third quadrangle of brick surrounding the innermost sanctuary of Burmese royalty itself. The visitor, admitted by a low postern in the eastern face, called taga-nee, or red-gate, sees the long façade glittering with gold and tinsel work of what a British Envoy described as one of the most singular and impressive royal residences in the world. The position of the throne, raised like a high tribune at the further end of the pillared vista of the Hall of Audience, is marked externally by the sacred spire with its seven diminishing roof-canopies, fantastically carved in flamboyant pinnacles. No one in palace or town may sleep with his feet turned in this direction; a proscription the more difficult of observance as a similar rule applies in Buddhist belief to two points of the compass—the east, where will appear the new Buddha (Areemadehya), and the west, where stood the bowdee bin, the sacred tree under which Shin Gautama received his inspiration.

A gruesome tale of the building of Mandalay is told by travellers, and among others by "Shway Yoe" (Mr. Scott), in an entertaining book on Burma, compiled from many sources. In accordance with the popular belief that the souls of those who die by violence become nat-thehn, or guardian spirits of the place, fifty-two human beings of both sexes and all ages were buried alive, four under each gate and corner of the city walls, four under the throne, and one under each gate and angle of the palace enclosure. Certain rules of astrology or superstition guided the dread selection, and while it was impending the streets of Mandalay were deserted, no one venturing out save at noonday or in company. Even a series of gratuitous dramatic performances, purposely given by the authorities, failed to draw an audience under the shadow of such a doom.

The terror was renewed some years later when the septennial examination of certain jars of oil, buried at the same time for the purpose of this test, having in 1850 shown that some had leaked dry, the ghastly spell was declared to have lost its efficacy and to require renewal. Other sinister omens pointed in the same direction—an epidemic of small-pox carried off the only child of Theebaw and other members of the royal family, a tiger broke loose from the palace menagerie, and the nansin-budda-mya, a

huge ruby, emblematical of the fortunes of the dynasty, was missed from the crown jewels. The Brahmin priests, kept as royal astrologers and forming a college of augurs in Mandalay, prescribed a fresh immolation, this time of 600 people—the six classes of men, women, boys, girls, soldiers and foreigners supplying equal contingents; the warrants were issued and the arrests began. A general exodus took place, happily attaining such proportions as to alarm the authorities and raise the spectre of English intervention. The intended massacre was countermanded and public opinion tranquillized by an official denial.

But upwards of a hundred people [says Shway Yoe] had been arrested, and some of these declared, when liberated months afterwards, that in the dark nights of terror, when no one ventured about Mandalay streets, people were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates as a compromise between the fear of the spirits and the fear that the English troops would cross the frontier.

It was indeed none too soon for the downfall of a throne resting on such a foundation. The reign of the young monk summoned from his monastery to inherit it in October, 1878, speedily gave the final blow to its tottering stability, for the massacre in February, 1879, of seventy members of the royal family, with every circumstance of barbarity, arrayed public opinion in Europe against the system which could lend itself to such atrocities. Theebaw, at once weak and wicked, was urged on in his career of crime by female influence, and his worst passions were stimulated by Soo-Payah-Lat, the fierce princess who shared his throne, her elder sister, Selin-Soo-Payah (anglicized as Selina Sophia), having declined that honour, preferring to cut off her hair and retire into a convent. Petticoat government in Mandalay added financial extravagance to its other sins, and a State lottery was started in 1879 to replenish the exchequer. The several Ministers vied with each other in devices to attract customers, large receipts being a passport to royal favour; and gratuitous refreshments, singers, dancing girls, and dramatic performances were provided in the courtyards of their respective offices. When these inducements failed, stronger measures were resorted to: gangs of rowdies were employed to secure purchasers by intimidation, and mercantile houses were compelled to subscribe in certain proportions. To the same category of financial expedients belongs the act which immediately led to the British ultimatum, and the final overthrow of the Burmese monarchy. At the instigation of French intrigue, an arbitrary fine of a quarter of a million sterling was levied on the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, lessees of the teak forests, under pretence that the Crown had been defrauded of some of its royalties on timber during past years,

the object of the demand being the confiscation of the Company's rights and their re-sale to French speculators.

The pomp and pageantry of the Peacock Throne, now things of the past, are illustrated by the description in "Shway Yoe's" lively pages of one of its picturesque ceremonials. Once a year, at the time of the south-west monsoon in June, his golden-footed Majesty mounted the white elephant sacred to his use alone, and rode in state through streets and suburbs. Not indeed to rejoice the loyal gaze of his subjects with the spectacle; on the contrary, special measures were taken to obviate such profanation, and all along his route the yazamat, or royal fence, a lattice-paling six feet high, was erected to shield the royal progress.

Gorgeous as an Eastern idol, the king rode along, his pasoh, or folded robe, adorned with the royal *doung-yohp*, or peacock, partly covered by the long silk surcoat so thickly crusted with jewels that its colour was not to be distinguished, and its resplendent mass weighed 100 lbs. A frontlet of gold glittered on his brow, above which towered the *tharapoo*, or spire-like crown, aflash with many-coloured rays, while the twenty-four gold chains of the Order of the *Tsaloe*, linked with golden bosses, hung across his breast.

Little less brilliant was the *cortège* that followed him, woons and woondoaks, ministers and councillors, in due order of precedence, wearing long crimson velvet cassocks, matched by tall red velvet hats with the tops curling backwards like a shell, and followed by umbrellas numerous and many-hued—gold, green, or vermilion. A deathlike stillness prevailed along the route of the procession, though the people were doubtless crowded behind the fence, emulously striving for peepholes through which to view the royal show. Passing through the eastern gate, with its triple-canopied roof and tall columns, and past the carved and gilt *façades* and spires of the royal monastery, a halt was made at the selected portion of the *let-daw-gyee*, or royal acre.

Here [says our author] ploughs stand ready in a long row, extending away as far as any one can see, for all the princes and Ministers must plough as well as the king. The royal plough is covered with gold-leaf, and the part on which his Majesty stands is gold roughened with pearls and emeralds. The milk-white oxen that draw it rival the Lord White Elephant in the splendour of their harness. Crimson and gold bands hook them on; the reins are stiff with rubies and diamonds; heavy gold tassels hang from the gilded horns. The gold-tipped ox-goad his Majesty wields is covered with jewels, and flashes like a rod of fire in the sun.

The antiquity of this ceremonial may be inferred from its association with a legend of Buddha's infancy, which relates how



the little prince Thei-dat, afterwards the divinely inspired Gautama, having been forgotten under a tree by his careless nursemaids in their absorption in the royal spectacle, was miraculously sheltered by the shadow of the tree, which preserved its position over him while the sun travelled through its orbit.

The most distinctive attribute of Burmese royalty, the *sin-pyoo-daw*, or White Elephant, is incorrectly so styled, as his hue is more nearly mouse-colour with paler blotches. His title to his high prerogatives is, however, capable of proof by subjecting him to a *douche*, when his skin shows a reddish tinge instead of the negro complexion assumed by his fellows under similar treatment. A palace provided with solid silver cisterns and feeding jars, a suite of thirty attendants who never approached his presence save with shoeless feet, and the revenues of a province assigned for his maintenance, were among the privileges of the favoured beast. Royalty itself respected his rights, and when, in 1826, his income was temporarily diverted to pay the English indemnity, the reigning king addressed to him a letter of apology and explanation. Two white and four golden umbrellas signified his high dignity, nine of the former hue being the insignia of royalty and eight of the latter those of the heir apparent. It was a curious coincidence, if not deliberately brought about by poison, that the *sin-pyoo-daw* should have died on the day that the last Golden Foot left Mandalay a prisoner.

In contrast with the ceremonial pomp and glitter of the Court of Ava is the poverty of the ordinary dwellings in the capital, presenting, in the words of the *Times* correspondent, a mingling of "magnificence and squalor, filth and splendour."\* The peasantry along the river were found by the British expedition in similar wretchedness, and the same correspondent describes the villagers as living in direst poverty—lodged in miserable houses destitute of furniture or any other property, while the beauty of the river scenery and natural riches of the country formed a striking contrast to their condition.†

Still more deplorable was the state of the outlying country, where total anarchy prevailed. Some districts were in open rebellion, in others bands of dacoits (brigands, so-called, when mustered in gangs of more than five) robbed and slew with impunity, secured to them by the connivance of the Tynedah Mingyee, the most powerful of the Ministers. The establishment of any form of civilized government cannot, under these circumstances, fail to be a boon to the people, and it is to be

\* *Times*, January 6, 1886. The Capture of Mandalay.

† *Times*, December 15, 1885. The Burmese Expedition.

hoped that no caprice of English politics will result in the restoration of Theebaw, with the institution of local self-government as a panacea for dacoity.

The progress of the lower province under British rule is a favourable augury for the future of Upper Burma. The increase of the former in revenue and population from 1862, when it was organized under its present form of administration, until 1884, amounted to from ten to thirty-one millions of rupees, and from under two to over four millions of inhabitants, the growth under this head being mainly due to immigration from Upper Burma. A surplus of a million sterling is annually paid into the Indian exchequer, and the relatively high figure of taxation, amounting to about 13s. 7½d. a head, is shown not to press heavily, by the fact that the standard of comfort is much higher than in Continental India. The wages of unskilled labour range from 5s. a week in the slack season throughout inland districts, to 25s. a week in the busy season at the rice ports. The general average, struck at 7s. 6d. a week, compares favourably with the average of 2s. 3d. for British India, and the difference in the profits of the ordinary cultivator may be assumed to be in the same proportion. Captain Forbes calculates the average expenditure on necessities of a household of five persons at only 10½d. a day, allowing them their ordinary fare of rice, fish, curry and vegetables, with 1½d. thrown in for the indispensable betel chewing. Their outlay on personal decoration is disproportionately large, as the excess of £1,340,000 of imported over exported treasure, represents the value of gold and silver annually converted into ornaments by the Burmans and Karens, furnishing a basis for the calculation that every household of six persons spends on an average £12 a year on imported articles and jewellery. The comparative equality in the distribution of riches leaves a narrower margin than elsewhere between the expenditure of different classes of the population, and the general frugality of life has a similarly levelling effect.

Commercial expansion has been still more rapid in British Burma, which with only a fiftieth of the population has a trade equal to a tenth of that of India. Exports and imports increased between 1876 and 1881, the first from £3,848,863 to £8,525,000, the second from £2,170,025 to £6,985,000; and in 1884 a total of £19,174,751 was reached, representing a more than threefold increase. Development of communications, though yet in its infancy, has brought about this result, and there is yet room for vast extension under this head. Down to a recent date there was not in the greater number of the districts of Burma a single mile of metalled road outside the principal towns, and the difficulties of land transit are consequently almost prohibitory. Neverthe-

less, the value of goods passed through the Rangoon Custom House in transit to Upper Burma increased between the years 1878-79 and 1880-81 from £588,375 to £907,269.

This represents the growth of trade carried almost entirely by water, and principally by the Irawadi Flotilla Company. In 1868, when this Society was formed, there was not a single steamer on the river, and they began operations with two or three cast-off Government vessels, and a few flats or barges. They now own twenty-seven steamers, 160 to 320 feet long, built on the two-storied American model; and seventy flats of 350 tons burden, which are towed when the river is too low to float steamers heavy in cargo. The Flotilla effects a weekly service to Bhamaw, and a bi-weekly to Mandalay, and carries a total trade of 50,000 passengers and three millions and a quarter's worth of goods. The length of 160 miles of railway, from Rangoon to Prome, opened in 1878, cleared at the end of two years a profit of £60,000, or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on capital, and the newly opened line from Rangoon to Toungoo, with proposed extension to Mandalay and Bhamaw, ought to prove eventually still more remunerative. The combined profits of both are already over 6 per cent. The most vivid illustration of the development of the country is supplied by the history of Rangoon, grown within fifty years from an obscure creek with an insignificant junk trade to be the third port of India, visited annually by 584,450 tons of shipping, and with a population of 150,000. Its situation, selected by the genius of the Hunter-Captain, on a branch of the Irawadi, twenty-six miles from the sea, entitles it to rank as the Antwerp of the East, while the name Yan-kun or Ran-kun bestowed by him, and interpreted to mean "end of war," is of good omen for a commercial settlement. The greatest rice port in the world, its export of this commodity increased between 1862 and 1874 from 284,228 to 811,106 tons, and the export from Burma for the current year (1886) is expected to reach a million tons. Nearly nine-tenths of the entire three million acres under cultivation in Lower Burma are devoted to rice, of which 102 varieties, according to Dr. Hunter, are enumerated by the natives. The Irawadi delta, with a soil of inexhaustible fertility, annually submerged by the south-west monsoon, and converted into a sea of liquid mud, supplies spontaneously all the conditions for its culture, and only in the higher lands is artificial irrigation required. In still more remote districts, the hill population practise the toilsome and unproductive system of cultivation called *toung-ya*, which consists in clearing and burning successive patches of jungle, each yielding but one crop, and relapsing into the state of scrubby thicket, equally useless for forest or tillage.



But as these districts have no surplus crop, the rice of commerce is grown on the inundated lowlands, whither, after a preliminary scratching with a three-toothed harrow or rake, mis-called a plough, the seedling plants are transferred in the month of August from nurseries on drier lands. The crop is ready for cutting in November, when gangs of Upper Burmans arrive, like Irish harvest-men, to do the work of reaping for the lowland farmers. The grain is cut close to the ear, and the straw burned standing, serving to some extent the purpose of manure. The paddy, or unhusked rice, after being trampled from the ear by oxen, and rudely winnowed, is transported in great country barges, by some of the numerous delta creeks to Rangoon, to become there an object of insane competition between the rival firms. As it sells at from 4s. to 5s. per maund of 80 lbs., while the rent of land is less than 3s. an acre, and the yield, from one bushel of seed, between forty and eighty bushels per acre, an easy profit accrues to the farmer.

Not so the merchant, whose precarious gains are limited by keen competition. Scarcely even on the New York Stock Exchange does the fever of speculation run so high as in the rice market of Rangoon, where the paddy-boats are as eagerly hankered for as the gambler's stakes. Vain are all efforts to limit, by fixing in combination a maximum price, the ruinous system of emulation that prevails; the basket measure is diminished in size or filled up by a false bottom, to evade regulations and bribe custom. One might imagine that this sharp rivalry would at least enrich the farmer, but practically it is not so, for he is but the creature of the chetty, or Madras money-lender, who controls the market by compelling him to hold his crop until a certain price is reached. The merchants have vainly tried to combat this system, advancing the full value of the grain, even before sowing, but the improvidence of the cultivator plays the usurer's game, and renders him eventually his bond-slave. The rice-trade, thus undermined, is a very uncertain one, and the firms could not continue to subsist were it not that they generally own a second business as well; dealing in piece-goods, silk, cotton, or grey-shirtings for Upper Burmah, working teak saw-mills or importing jute.

During the busy season in Rangoon, from January to May, the river is alive with shipping, sailing vessels that have chased the albatross round the Cape of Storms, and great steamers ("ditchers," as they are locally called) come by the short cut of the Suez Canal.

Harbour-masters and river-pilots [writes Shway Yoe] have a busy time, Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant,

"Eh ya-mah-la, Ta-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat, Ta-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or morning floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town, and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Soolay Pagoda, gets mad-drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace. The Poozoondoung Creek is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madras coolies again, making noises after their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagounn firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing-up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy, the Scotch engineer, is not looking.

Monkey Point meantime, at the junction of the Pegu and Rangoon rivers, is a scene of frenzied competition between rival brokers, each trying to secure the paddy-boats as they drop down the creeks in the early morning, for his own particular firm. Steam launches are sent far up the Pegu river to intercept the descending boats, and great is the triumph of their owners when they reappear with prizes towing astern. Their cargo, which is stowed in bulk, is discharged at the mill, and we will pursue its further fate through our author's lively pages:—

The regulation basket [he tells us] is in use, and we do not care to peer too closely into the bottom of it. The owner of the boat is perched on the lofty carved stem of his craft, and placidly smokes a great cheroot. Presently he will come down and make his way to the office, where he will get a great pile of rupees to carry off, tied in the end of his pasob. The greater part of them will probably find their way into the hands of the oily chetty who is squatting on the bank there. The rest of them our hlai shin will most probably gamble away.

Meanwhile a long string of coolies is carrying the paddy from the coast to the go-down, a gigantic shed where there is already a mountain of grain. We skirt round and go to the other side. There a few hundred more coolies are running off with more baskets to the mill. The paddy is thrown into huge receptacles on the basement, winnowed, carried up in lifts to the top of the house, three stories high, where it is first of all passed over a long sieve. Here the stalks, leaves, stones and stumps of cheroots are separated from the grain, which is then passed between two revolving stones just sufficiently wide to grind off the outer husk without breaking the seed. Then it is re-winnowed in *fanners* and passed over fresh sieves, where the broken grains fall through while the part-cleaned rice goes on to fresh stones. It is found that perfectly clean rice will not stand the long sea voyage, and the grain as it is sent in the sailing ships has still the inner pellicle, and is mixed with about twenty per cent. of unhusked rice. This is what is technically known as "five parts cargo rice," or simply "cargo

rice." Since so many steamers have begun to go through the Suez Canal the amount of "white rice" milled in the province has been steadily increasing. Rice of a specially fine quality with a glaze on the surface is manufactured for Italy. Clouds of rice-dust float all over the mill and settle everywhere, making queer spectacles of the dark-skinned Madrasi. The dust is carefully swept up and sold to Chinamen, who fatten their pigs upon it. The milled grain descends to the ground-floor again and pours in a stream through shoots into bags standing ready on weighing-machines. There is a crowd of Burmese girls ready to sew them up as they are filled, and another band of coolies to carry them off to the cargo-boats ready to convey them to the ships up in the Rangoon harbour. Paddy that came in a Burmese boat in the morning may by night be safe stowed, in the shape of milled rice, deep down in the hold of a ship bound "to the Channel for orders."

What the rice trade is to Rangoon the timber-trade is to Maulmein, the port of the Salween, for the teak forests, lying mainly to the east of the Irawadi basin, find their outlet by the streams draining the Siamese borderlands. The value of the entire export of timber from Burma is estimated at a million sterling, and, in 1881, 266,000 tons of shipping visited the previously deserted harbour of Maulmein. The richest teak country is found in the Shan States on the course of the Upper Salween, and the forests there show no signs of exhaustion, though the maturity of the tree, represented by a girth of six feet, requires a century of growth. Elephants are much used in the teak-trade, and such is their intelligence that they can be trained to work in the saw-mills, tending the machinery and adjusting the logs, without human supervision. Zimmé, the centre of the teak districts, keeps 1,000 of these animals, and they may be seen herded in the fields with ordinary cattle.

Shellac, or stick-lac, producing a valuable dye, and forming the basis of sealing-wax, is found in these forests in the form of a transparent gum, exuded on branches and twigs by an insect as a nidus for its eggs, and is collected in such abundance that from Raheng, on the Siamese frontier, 1,862,000 lbs. are annually exported to Bangkok. The lacquer-tree, called thi-see (wood-oil), forms, when in flower, with its pyramid of creamy apple-scented blossoms, a splendid ornament to the Burmese jungle. Its sap, though darker in colour than that of the urushi, or lacquer-tree of China and Japan, has the same properties, and serves, in addition to its ornamental uses, as an ordinary waterproof glaze for umbrellas and clothing. The finer lacquered articles of Burma are made on a foundation of bamboo wicker-work, smoothed with a paste of bone or other fine ashes, and varnished with the sap run fresh, or kept in water to prevent its solidifying.



Although the sugar-cane grows freely in Burma, the sap of the Palmyra palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*) furnishes the sugar in general use. The tree, which takes thirty or forty years to mature, yields daily from 17 lbs. to 20 lbs., value about 3d., during the productive season, lasting in the male palm for three, and in the female for eight, months. The sap of the acacia catechu produces catechu, a rich brown dye, combining antiseptic with colouring properties, and consequently used by fishermen for their sails and nets, which it preserves from decay. The tree is felled after some twenty years of growth, when its inner wood is cut into small dice and boiled, the solid residuum left after evaporation being then cut into lengths for sale. The Burmese forest, where trees grow from 150 to 200 and bamboos from 80 to 100 feet high, is especially luxuriant, and the fruit and vegetable products of the country comprise nearly all the familiar tropical and sub-tropical varieties.

Its mineral riches are undoubtedly great, but as yet only very partially developed. At the silver mines of Bau-dwen, on the Chinese frontier, where 10,000 Chinese workmen are employed, about 150 lbs. a day are extracted, and the royal monopoly of the ruby and sapphire mines, eighty miles north-east of Mandalay, produces a revenue of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs, or £12,500 to £15,000 a year. The rubies, found in abundance, are small and mostly flawed, the sapphires much scarcer, but superior in size and quality. Amber, salt, and jade, the latter in large masses, are all found in the Mogoung district. Speculation is already busy with the mineral products of Burma, and a company has been started to work the lead-mines of Tetawlay, in the Salween district of Tenasserim. Gold is obtained in small quantities by washing the detritus of the rivers, but is principally imported, to the amount of about 1,000 lbs. in a year, from Southern China, in packets of leaves about the size and thickness of ordinary letter-paper. In this form it is available for decorative use, and as much as £10,000 worth is sometimes expended in gilding a pagoda. Petroleum, under the name of Rangoon oil, has long been exported to England, but the cost of inland carriage enables other oils to undersell it through great part of the country itself, though its price at the pit's mouth is only from 3d. to 7½d. per cwt. The wells, simple perpendicular shafts, are scattered over sixteen square miles in the district of Prome, and their production, hitherto not accurately ascertained, could doubtless be largely increased.

Not, however, from its internal resources alone does consolidated Burma promise to be a valuable acquisition, but from its position at the portals of those great landlocked provinces of Southern China, to which "the gold and silver road" of commerce has

yet to be opened. Bhamaw, at the head of the Irawadi Valley, was the terminus of the old trade route, whose existence was recorded by Marco Polo five centuries ago, and which down to our own day still carried a through traffic of half a million sterling. The Panthay or Mohammedan insurrection, by which Chinese rule was overthrown in Yunnan for nearly twenty years (1855 to 1873), suspended all commercial relations beyond the frontier, and the anarchical state of the border has prevented their being resumed on a large scale. The mission of Mr. Margary despatched by Lord Salisbury when Secretary for India in 1872, to explore the route from Shanghai to the Burmo-Chinese frontier, was frustrated by the assassination of the Envoy while still within Chinese territory, but other travellers have since traversed the mountainous district between the two countries. The Catholic Missionaries of Yunnan have done so successfully more than once, though not without encountering hardships and difficulties, narrated by Père Simon in *Les Missions Catholiques*.\* The journey of Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, an engineer by profession, from Canton to the Irawadi Valley, has thrown much new light on the subject, and from his recent appointment to the Civil Service in Upper Burma, it is doubtless intended to turn his experience to account for the public benefit.

The failures of all French attempts to find a navigable route inland from their possessions have conclusively shown Burma to be the true key to the Indo-Chinese countries. The Meh-kong, or Cambodia river, with Saigon as its port, was found, after an arduous exploration of two years (1867-68), to be nothing more than a gigantic torrent whose steep gradients and whirling rapids rendered its vast length and volume useless for transport. The Song-kai, or Red River of Tonquin, is equally impracticable, and the fact is thus established that there exists no navigable channel to the interior from the mouth of the Canton river to the Irawadi delta.

Between the upper waters of these two streams lies a rugged mountainous country, inhabited by some of the wild hill-tribes, who form a semicircle hemming in the inhabitants of the Burmese lowlands, and cutting them off from direct contact with the more settled races beyond. The Kachiens, or Singphos, to the north, extend from the borders of Assam to those of Yunnan, and the Shans, or Tai, on the east, thence to the Siamese frontier, while between these latter and British Burma intervenes a wedge of territory inhabited by the Karens. The same form of primitive culture by clearing and firing the bush is practised by all, and

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\* "De Birmanie à Yunnan : " *Les Missions Catholiques*. November 23 to December 14, 1863.

among all the same form of government by tsobwas, or petty local chiefs, prevails. All, too, share the same creed of nat-worship, or Shamanism, but the Karens are singular in preserving traditions of the creation and fall of man, obviously derived from Hebrew sources, however remote, since they are a close paraphrase of the Book of Genesis. Although these people have ceased to worship the Supreme Being whose existence they thus acknowledge, they are predisposed to Christianity, and Mgr. Bigaudet, of the Missions Étrangères of Paris, reported, in December, 1884, that the Mission among them continued to prosper.

The most commercially important of the hill-countries is that of the Shan States, which occupy a vast and ill-defined region in the heart of the Indo-China peninsula, with a population variously estimated at from six to thirty millions, owing nominal allegiance to the neighbouring powers—China, Siam and Burma. The tribute of the Burmese Shan States consists of such fanciful offerings as wax tapers, silver feathers, and tinsel ornaments, symbolical of a subjection more theoretical than real. The Shans, notwithstanding the absence of roads, bridges, or navigable rivers in their country, are indefatigable traders, transporting their goods hundreds of miles on bullocks and elephants, or on their own shoulders. Journeying by mountain-paths, and sleeping in the open air, with their large baskets disposed in a circle round them, these hardy pedlars carry British goods from Maulmein to the frontiers of China; and the French explorers from Saigon, in 1866, found, among the most remote Shan States, English cloths evidently manufactured for sale in Burma, since Burmese characters were woven into the stuff. The trade in piece-goods thus carried is by some estimated as high as £30,000, and is at any rate sufficient to show how large an opening increased facilities for transport would here render available for trade.

Zimmé, the capital of the Siamese Shan States, a walled town of 100,000 inhabitants, is not only the centre whence this itinerant commerce radiates in all directions, but also the *entrepôt* of a considerable caravan trade from China, which ought to find its outlet by Maulmein. Dr. Richardson, who visited Zimmé in 1829, met there Chinese caravans of from 200 to 500 mules, which brought copper and iron goods, silk (raw and manufactured), stains, gold and silver thread and lace, musk, walnuts, carpets and vermilion, returning with loads of cotton, ivory, skins and horns. They had come a journey of two months, travelling with a rapidity that no accident was allowed to delay, so that if one of their number fell sick he was left behind, or if a death occurred they made no halt for rites of sepulture, but simply covered the body with a cloth and went their way.



Lord Mayo, during his visit to Maulmein in 1872, interviewed a party of fifty-four traders, Panthays or Mussulmans of Yunnan. They had come a hundred days' march by way of Theinnee in Upper Burma, and had traded to that point in silk and gold thread, bringing thence a hundred horses to sell at Maulmein.\*

Cotton, largely grown in the Shan States, is the principal export thence to China, but Mr. Colquhoun made the interesting discovery that a peculiarly choice tea, hitherto believed to come from Puerh in Yunnan, is really grown in a district called I-bang in the Burmese Shan States, and forms a most important item of commerce with the neighbouring country. In these districts, indeed, the idea of China as a tea-producing region was utterly scouted, so entirely was it viewed as a market for the imported article. Transported by caravan to the Yang-tse-kiang and down that stream to Shanghae, the I-bang tea is thence shipped to Peking and the northern ports, but its long journeyings have by that time rendered it too costly for the further voyage to Europe, and Western palates must wait ere trying it for the fulfilment of Mr. Colquhoun's prediction that it will ere long be shipped from Rangoon to China and elsewhere.

Horses, known as Shan ponies, to the number of 1,322, value £13,553, in one year, and live stock numbering 41,588, value £126,943, form the largest imports from the Shan States into British Burma. Their trade with the native kingdom was heavily taxed, and its amount could not be estimated.

Southern Yunnan, accessible only through these States, was found by Mr. Colquhoun to be much richer and less mountainous than the northern half of the province. It is one of the principal opium-growing countries of the world, and a third of the cultivated land is under poppy. Its mineral wealth was attested by numerous caravans laden with ingots of copper, with coal, iron, and some silver; and by the quantities of gold seen in Tali-tu, in process of being beaten into leaf for the Burmese market. Mining operations are, however, discouraged in China, both from dread of the turbulent population attracted by them, and from a superstitious idea that excavating the earth disturbs the ancestral spirits.

Of the two routes planned for the future Burmo-Chinese Railway, destined to open up these regions to the outer world, the southern one from Maulmein is advocated despite its greater length, as offering fewer difficulties, and traversing a more promising country than the northern one from the Upper Irawadi Valley. A great trunk-line from Bangkok to the Chinese

\* "Trade Routes between British Burma and Western China," by J. Coryton: *Journal Roy. Geog. Soc.* 1875.

frontier is proposed, and the King of Siam, according to Mr. Holt Hallett, is willing to undertake, at a cost of £5,000,000, the construction of the section, 575 miles long, which traverses his own territory. The branch to connect the main-line with Maulmein can be made, according to the estimate of the Indian Government, for £918,616, and an additional £2,000,000 may be allowed for the prolongation from the Siamese to the Chinese frontier. The outlay of Britain and Siam would thus be respectively three and five millions, for a total length of over six hundred miles. Mr. Hallett was able to trace a path for three hundred miles of its course, nowhere rising higher than 1,613 feet above the sea, or 580 feet above the plains.

The counter project of a line from Bhamaw at the head of the Irawadi navigation to Tali-fu, the capital of Western Yunnan, offers much greater natural difficulties in the shorter length of 295 miles. The rivers here run deeply cañoned in gorges divided by water-sheds from 6,000 to 8,000 feet high, and the wild and barren country is sparsely inhabited. Native trade has nevertheless begun to revive even by this difficult route, and Père Simon, the enterprising missionary, says that at the opening of the fine season, October to May, as many as five great caravans of 1,500 to 2,000 mules frequently arrive in Bhamaw with Chinese wares, returning thence with loads of cotton and salt. A considerable tide of emigration is also setting from China towards the valley of the Irawadi, and it seems as if Burma, whose greatest want is population, were destined eventually to become a reservoir for the vast human overflow of the Flowery Land.

Such a result is, indeed, ardently desired by political economists and philanthropists alike. Even in British Burma but one-fiftieth of the soil has been brought under cultivation, and the waste land in the Upper Province must be in a vastly larger proportion. To the Chinese race—frugal, sober, energetic, and with that tenacity of national type which enables them to absorb and assimilate all foreign elements—the future of this part of Asia must in the end belong. Endowed beyond all Eastern races with the capacity for receiving Christian truth, their fidelity in adhering to the faith once adopted has given the Church thousands of obscure martyrs among the most seemingly debased and materialized of peoples. Here, were the barriers of official seclusion once overthrown by the rising flood of commercial intercourse, a vast field would open to religious as well as mercantile enterprise.

Europe with her importunate wants, her urgent need of expansion, her increasing greed of fresh territory to leaven with her ideas and her commerce, has long been clamouring for

entrance at the gates of China; it may be that now through the valley of the Irawadi she will find a way to slip into the great sealed empire through a postern door. It is from this point of view, as offering a possible point of contact between the Farther East and the Farther West, as preparing a common meeting ground for the peoples of the most opposite ends of the earth, and for the ideas of the most widely contrasted forms of civilization, that the annexation of Burma and its future under English rule become matter of interest to the whole world.

E. M. CLERKE.

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ART. VI.—THE LETTERS OF THE POPES.

*Analecta novissima. Spicelegii Solismensis altera continuatio.*  
Tom. I. De Epistolis et Registris Romanorum Pontificum,  
disseruit JOANNES BAPTISTA CARDINALIS PITRA. Parisiis:  
Roger et Chernoviz, 1885.

IT is now more than thirty years since Dom Pitra, then a member of the community of Solesmes, gave to the world the first volume of the "*Spicelegium Solismense*." Like many another Benedictine of his race before him, he was content to call a great enterprise by a very humble name. He professed to be nothing more than "a gleaner;" to gather up after other men the scattered remains of ancient learning and interest which they had left behind when they reaped the harvest. No one, however, who knew what his brethren had done before was unprepared for the result of his labours. French Benedictines had already collected "gleanings," and five or six well-known names had shown the literary world what to expect when a modest scholar called his labour by that or a similarly unassuming title. Dom D'Achery, Dom Mabillon, Dom Montfaucon, Dom Martène, Dom Durand, and Dom Bernard Pez, between the middle of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth, had written great works; but besides the books which every scholar knows, they had amassed the results of their painful labour and search through a hundred libraries in various collections of *Monumenta* and *Anecdota* which are almost as precious to literature and to the Church as anything they have left behind. Dom Pitra is a savant of the ancient type. There is not a great library in Europe where he is not known. At Oxford and



Cambridge he is still remembered with something like amazement, as a man to whom such things as recreation or meals were of such slight importance that he could spend the hours of the livelong day in the musty recesses of the Bodleian or of Trinity, with no solace but a crust of bread.

John Baptist Pitra was born in 1812, at Chamforgueil, near Chalons, in the diocese of Autun. After brilliant youthful studies, he became professor of *belles-lettres* and history in the seminary of Autun. Soon after his ordination, which was in 1836, he took the habit of a Benedictine in the Abbey of Solesmes under the celebrated Dom Guéranger. Being afterwards transferred to Ligugé, he represented that monastery in the Provincial Council of Périgueux, in 1856, and drew up, as secretary, the acts of the Council. Dom Pitra soon began to give to the world the fruits of that learning and labour which have rendered him so well known. His *Life of St. Leger*, Bishop of Autun, is much more than the recital of an edifying legend of the seventh century; it is a monograph on the times of the Merovingian kings. His *Life of the Ven. Libermann* is a perfect picture of contemporary history. Two others of his early works, entitled respectively "*La Hollande Catholique*" and "*Études sur les Bollandistes*," are the fruit of his wanderings and searchings in many libraries of France, Belgium, and Holland. In the latter work he does full and generous justice to the magnificent historical enterprise to which the Jesuit Father Bolland has given his name, and at the same time lays the foundation of that reputation as a critic in which he is unsurpassed. As he became known, the greatest scholars in France sought his acquaintance, the grand libraries of Paris were placed at his disposal, and the Imperial Government itself began to make use of his services. He was commissioned to carry on, or recommence, the famous "*Gallia Christiana*" of which the last printed volumes had seen the light before the great Revolution, and the last written pages had probably perished after the death of Dom Leveau, about 1830. For this purpose Dom Pitra visited England, and searched through every collection of note in the kingdom—the British Museum, the Bodleian, the libraries of Cambridge, the Tower, the Record Office, Lambeth, the archives of Westminster, and the libraries of many private gentlemen such as Sir Thomas Phillips and Lord Ashburnham. Thirty or forty years later, when Cardinal Pitra, now Librarian of the Holy Roman Church, published extracts from the *Regesta* of Innocent III., the materials were those he had seen in the library of Lord Ashburnham; the MS. had been carried from Rome to Avignon, from Avignon to London, and from London Lord Ashburnham had sent it back to Rome.

It was in 1852 that he was enabled by the enterprise of Messrs.

Didot, of Paris, to give to the world the first volume of the famous "Spicilegium Solimense." Of this volume the contents are well expressed by the word "gleanings;" they consist of interesting and extensive unedited fragments of writers, known or unknown, which he had discovered in his literary and critical investigations. Greeks, Orientals, and Latins, anterior to the fifth century, are all included in this first part; and the luminous introductions and the immense array of learned notes enable the reader to understand the full significance of each new contribution to Church history, to liturgy, or to letters. A second and third volume appeared three years later; they contained fragments of early writers on the Creeds and subjects connected with the Creeds, the largest being a complete unknown work of Melito. The fourth volume came out in 1858, and was occupied with the ecclesiastical writers of the African and Byzantine Churches. In the following year Dom Pitra was sent by Pope Pius IX. to St. Petersburg, and began the immediate preparation for those studies in Greek Canon Law and Greek Hymnology which are perhaps the most valuable inheritance he has given to the Church and to literature. We are wrong in implying that the fruits of his researches have all been published. Of the great collection called "*Juris Ecclesiastici Græcorum historia et monumenta*," two volumes have seen the light; but it is understood that three others are virtually finished, in which he brings down the work to the date of the Council of Florence. Four volumes, entitled "*Analecta Sacra*," published between 1876 and 1883, carry on the great work of the "Spicilegium;" and now we have the first volume of a third series of "gleanings," which the eminent writer calls "*Analecta novissima*."

It was while engaged in Russia on the great enterprise just referred to, that he found time for researches upon another subject, in which he may be said to have made a discovery of extreme interest and value. He published, in Rome, at the press of the *Civiltà Cattolica* in 1867, a comparatively short work under the name of "*Hymnographie de l'Eglise Grecque*." It consisted in great part of a dissertation which he had read, some five years previously, before the Academy of the Catholic Religion. To the cultured and representative audience, which included several Cardinals and many members of the Roman prelate, the lecture was what we may be pardoned for calling a genuine "sensation." And well it might be; for it narrated nothing less than the discovery of the metrical laws of the sacred hymnology of the Greek Church. To explain this, without going into details, it may be observed that, to most persons, the greater part of the Greek Hymnology seems to be written in prose; a poetical prose, it is true—a sort of Ossianic prose, reading like

a translation of the Choruses of Greek plays; but still prose. Most of us have read with more or less attention the considerable extracts from the Greek *Menæa* in Dom Guéranger's "Liturgical Year." Dom Pitra, who had lived so long under the great French restorer of the liturgy, was familiar with these and similar compositions long before he went to St. Petersburg. The Abbot and himself had discussed the question whether these originals were verse, in any strict sense of the word. Unless they were, then the true Hymnology of the great Greek Church was confined to three hymns of St. John Damascene, sung at Christmas, at the Epiphany and at Pentecost respectively: and the endless series of the *Menæa*, the *Triodion*, the *Pentecostarion*, the *Horologion*, the *Anthologion*, &c. &c., of which there are fifteen or twenty volumes in print and MS. materials for as many more, would only differ from breviary lessons in being a little more rhetorical in their language. It seems incredible that this opinion was the common one, being held by such authorities as Leo Allatius and the Bollandists. It was reserved for Dom Pitra to clear the mystery up. We must translate a picturesque passage from his dissertation just referred to. After describing the many efforts he made in various directions to discover the metrical secret of these masses of Church hymnology, he continues:—

An event, which I must be excused for here detailing, unexpectedly put the clue into my hand. One day in June, 1859, a cenobite of Solesmes, commissioned by the Pontiff happily reigning (Pius IX.) arrived, unexpected and unknown, in the capital of the Czers. His Benedictine habit easily procured for him, at the Dominican Church of St. Catherine, the hospitality of a cell; and in the cell there was the luxury of a Greek MS., which proved a valuable friend in need, during the long and tedious hours of a stranger's first days in a foreign country. The pilgrim had come from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Neva, and the change was keenly felt; but the hours flew quickly past, thanks to the pages which he anxiously and eagerly explored, in spite of their being almost illegible through damp. Near the end, the interest became more intense; it was a legend of Mount Athos about Our Lady of the Iberians.

In the days of the Iconoclasts a sacred image, the sole treasure of a widow of Nicæa, was condemned to the flames. During the night it was entrusted to the waves of the sea, and instead of sinking, it remained erect in the waters, crowned with an aureola of light: it then disappeared, leaving behind it a luminous track. Many years passed, and the heights of Mount Athos are peopled by exiles driven from their homes by Islamism and the Iconoclasts; the foundations of the Holy Laura are laid by illustrious abbots; celebrated generals become monks; Euthymius, son of a king of Georgia, founds the monastery of the Iberi. It was the heroic age; and it was then that the lost image again revealed itself. The presence was announced by a pillar



of fire on the shores of the sea. Twice the monks hastened to the scene, and boats put off to reach it; but common hands were not to touch it, and it disappeared. At last, the monk Gabriel, the holiest of the Iberian solitaries, was warned in a dream that the honour of receiving it was reserved to him. He was placed at the head of a procession, and walking on the waters in obedience to the command of the Abbot Paul, he reached the spot where the holy image was and brought it back in triumph. It was set up, as queen and patron, at the principal gate of the monastery, under the title of *Πορταίσα*. It had its feast-day and its solemn office, with the eight hymns which the Greeks call a *Canon*. The MS. of St. Catherine ended with this Canon; it proved to be an acrostic on the name "Gabriel," and it presented peculiarities which were of great use in checking the legendary account itself.

But these were matters of comparatively slight moment. What fascinated the gaze of the pilgrim was the sight of certain red points or stops, which divided not only the hymns and the strophes, but also individual verses of very varying form. These points, placed at identical intervals in each strophe, measured off equal numbers of syllables, to the very end of each of the eight hymns of the Canon. At the beginning of each hymn was given a sort of refrain (the *Εἶπος*, as it is called), which was evidently nothing else than the commencement of some more ancient hymn, intended to fix, not only the melody, but the number and the measure of the verses. Eight times did the *Hermus* change, and each time the symmetrical and regular divisions began afresh, invariably marked by the red point—a guide and index, which it was thenceforward impossible not to observe. The pilgrim was in possession of the syllabic system of the Greek hymnographer (p. 11).

The learned Benedictine goes on to show how he examined MSS. to the number of nearly 200, at St. Petersburg, in the Vatican, and elsewhere, and how every fresh specimen which he came across confirmed the theory which he had formed in the cell of St. Catherine's. The Greek Church hymns were neither classic verse nor common prose; they were constructed on a strictly syllabic system, the distinction of quantity being ignored, as well as the accentuation. Each strophe had precisely and exactly the same number of syllables; and, besides, each hymn was frequently an acrostic. This is what Cardinal Pitra has discovered, and his discovery governs the whole wide realm of Greek hymnology. Those who have no respect for any Greek poetry except what is in classic form, may probably feel inclined to turn away with contempt from these effusions of Byzantine devotion. This would be a mistake. It is not impossible to find poetry—that is, the rhythm, the swing, the music and the warmth which distinguish verse from the most poetical prose—it is not impossible to find all these in series of syllables which

are indivisible into classic feet, and which refuse to conform to the very artificial moulds which Greek and Latin tradition has imposed upon literature. There is a great deal more poetry, for example, in the *Adoro te* than there is in one of the laborious Latin hymns, which the taste of the *Renaissance* has contributed to the breviary. Classical measures are not part of the system of the universe. In true poetry they have, on the whole, done more harm than good; no modern people ever having had real poetry of its own until its poets had discarded them, and numbers of fairly promising versifiers having spent innumerable barren hours in reproducing cramped imitations of classic models. Probably, the whole of the East, with the exception of Arabia, but including the Jews themselves, wrote syllabic and acrostic verse, and had no other feet or measures. The Greek hymn-writers wrote upon a system which existed widely before the days of Homer himself, and which has survived and extinguished all the prosody of Roman or of Greek. It is interesting to observe that by far the greater part of the Byzantine hymns were composed about the ninth century, and by the men who so nobly opposed the last of the Byzantine heresies, that of the Iconoclasts. The syllabic system of verse-metre has a very significant connection with dogma. It was a measure so rigorous and precise that not a word or a syllable could be taken away or added to it, without its being noticed by the simplest of the faithful. And the truth is that there never was again a popular heresy. May not this have been the effect of the hymnal metre? True, the schism came; that was an effect of causes which no formulary or sacred canticle could obviate. But the monumental dogmatism of the hymns remains to this day, enshrining the very truths which the schism denies. Cardinal Pitra's own dissertation, now before us, has three long "offices" full of nothing but the acclamations of Greek orthodoxy on the primacy of St. Peter. And he assures us that, after prolonged examination, he is able to testify that, as concerns the procession of the Holy Spirit, among thousands of doxologies in which the addition might have been made of the two syllables *μόνον* after *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς*, he has never found it in any single example.

We must now attempt to give the reader some idea of the latest contribution to Church History which has appeared from the pen of Cardinal Pitra. He calls it "*Analecta novissima*"—a last Collection! Let us hope that his augury may not be verified. "I cannot hope" he says, "to carry this new series very far. . . . Old age goes slowly and looks forward but a little way; the weight of years is upon me, and time, which has nearly failed me in finishing this volume, must be economized more and more, for the days are evil!" He therefore apologizes for writing *his*

introduction in French. "Besides," he goes on, "I regret to have to say that French is more universal, even in the learned world, than the tongue of Latium. There is a proverb borrowed from the Middle Ages, *Græcum est, non legitur* (though I never met it in any of my ancient MSS.); in these days of progress many a reader, nay, many a *savant*, would tell you, not in Latin, but in his own vernacular, 'We do not read Latin.'" But no apology is necessary from Cardinal Pitra. He writes Latin, it is true, with the ease and more than the effectiveness of that favourite Maurist of his, Dom Mopinot. But his French is too good, too conspicuously first-class in style as well as in matter, for any one to object to his using it in an introduction which combines the solidity of Brewer or Gardiner with the elevation of Montalembert. He tells us that this volume has been a long time in hand, and yet that it is published hastily at last. This means that it contains some of the most matured and well-thought-out views of a man who has spent half a century in research. True, many hands are now at work where he was once almost alone; but there are curious proofs in these pages how absolutely right his earliest ideas have generally been, and how late workers have either confirmed what he suspected long ago, or gone wrong and deserved his censure—the censure of a genuine scholar, which has more in it of personal pain at blunders committed than of any kind of triumph over a rival in the field. Meanwhile, we can well sympathize with him in some of his gentle complaint. He has had not only to arrange materials as they unexpectedly came to hand, but to carry on the work in the midst of the trouble and inconvenience of moving from one diocese to another, and all the worry of winding up one administration and beginning a new one. He was for a long time prostrate with a severe attack of sickness; he has had to make use of what he calls a "respectable" but very modest suburban printing-press; and, worse than all, he has had to work under the stress of cruel anxieties and even persecutions, which it pleased God to allow to come upon him in the evening of his life. He concludes four pages of preface with these words, which we translate:—

It cannot be that after having loyally served the Church for twenty-three years in the Sacred College, for forty-five in the Order of St. Benedict, and for fifty in the priesthood, the writer should be expected to profess his orthodoxy. Nevertheless, as it is a good thing to be always ready to give an account of one's faith, I conclude with a form of words inserted by the great Benedictine Pope Gregory XVI., of immortal memory, in the Constitutions of the French Congregation, approved for the Abbey of Solesmes: *Romana Ecclesiar decretis et ut oracula veri Dei auscultat, laudans, damnans, anathematizans, reprobans quæcumque Sedes alma Petri laudat, damnat, anathematizat atque reprobat.*



But the volume before us is itself so striking an evidence of Cardinal Pitra's devotion to the Holy See, that if he had written nothing else there could be no mistake as to his intense Catholic loyalty. It is divided into two parts; the first is a long and most able and splendid historical introduction on the Letters of the Roman Pontiffs; the second is a collection of hitherto unedited fragments, most of them bearing on the subject of the introduction. As this introduction, extending over more than 300 pages of the large octavo *format* which is familiar to most of our readers, is an historical publication of the first importance, we shall best please our readers by giving an idea of its matter and method, closely following the eminent writer himself.

The Letters of the Popes are the most striking examples of that vast epistolary correspondence to which Christianity seems to have given the first impulse. The Pagans did not write to one another. We have a few letters, like those of Cicero, and the younger Pliny; letters in which there are very few touches of familiarity, and little to give us an idea of what Roman or Greek was thinking of in those far-off days. It is the same with the non-Christian East of our own day: they do not write to one another. But Christians learnt to write as they learnt to love. The Apostles began it; their friends and their "family" were wherever the Christian name had spread. The Epistle to Philemon was only the first of an endless series of similar letters; Bishops wrote to distant Churches, or to one another; the Acts of the martyrs were generally nothing but circular letters: the Basils and Gregorys, the Jeromes, Augustines, and Chrysostomes, with many more, have left us in their letters a treasure which the world would not willingly lose. It is not only their personal and biographical charm—their tenderness, their familiarity, their devotion, their traits of heroism; they contain, besides, the history of the Church, her legislation, her discipline and her doctrine, so fully and completely, that if every other monument had perished, they alone would suffice to re-construct her annals and her theology.

It might almost be said that the Letters of the Popes would be sufficient by themselves. For in the midst of the universal interchange of thought and of sentiment in the Catholic world, there is one chief and predominant voice, which is never silent. It is the voice of the "Father," the letter of the "Pope," the bull of the "Apostolic Lord." No emperor has ever spoken with authority equal to that of the mandate of the Roman See. It is a curious fact that, from a very early time, a Papal rescript was very generally called by this very phrase—*auctoritas*, an "authority." Pope St. Zozimus sends an "authority" to the Bishops of France, Pope St. Leo to those of Spain: the Emperor

Marcian asks for "an authority," and St. Isidore, in his orderly and etymological way, explains that a Pontifical "authority" is equal to a definition of an Ecumenical Council. Such letters were eagerly sought for; neither pains nor expense were spared to obtain them. Letters from Rome might found a new dynasty, as St. Stephen's to Pepin did for France, or they might organize a national Church, and begin a period of history, like those of St. Gregory the Great to St. Augustine. Every cathedral church, every abbey, had its privileges, its briefs, and its rescripts from the Holy See, and it was the work of many a scribe to write up the *Chartularium* or the *Bullarium*, and to multiply copies. Whatever happened in Christendom was somehow or other enshrined and registered in a letter from Rome; whether it was a prince's election, a bishop's consecration, a nation's conversion, a schism, a foundation of church or convent, or even the scandals of a diocese or of an individual. And when we remember what thousands and thousands of these Pontifical documents there must have been in the archives of European countries at one time or another, and with what care and devotion their owners preserved them, it is sad to think of the wholesale destruction which seems now to have overtaken by far the greater part. It was hatred of the Papacy which inspired the "Reformers" when they made bonfires of everything that bore the Fisherman's ring; but since the "bad times" there have been respectable archivists who ought to have known better. Cardinal Pitra declares that he knew a curator who freely cut off the edges of his parchments to make them fit his boxes, and thus had the seals of his bulls in one place and the bulls themselves in another. He has seen collections of detached seals, the bulls to which they belonged having disappeared for ever. He knows a garrison-town where for fifty years the soldiers' cartridges were made of torn-up bulls, diplomas, charters and valuable monuments of the past. And in 1853 it was stated in the *Moniteur* that, on occasion of an order having been given to pull to pieces some 4,000 cartridges at the artillery barracks in Paris, it was found that they had been chiefly made of valuable parchments, of which some 3,000 specimens were recognized, including Papal bulls and letters of St. Louis!

Although France, in spite of such lamentable facts as these, is still very rich in ancient Pontifical diplomas, and although Cardinal Pitra has personally inspected the treasures of well-nigh every library in Europe, yet it is naturally in the presses of the Vatican that are to be found the greater part of such remnants of the past as have been spared to us. The Registers of the Popes (*Regesta Pontificum*) consist of some two thousand and

more volumes bound in rich red morocco, adorned with the Pignatelli arme—Pope Innocent XII. having had them so bound in the seventeenth century. But besides this magnificent series, there are at least two thousand other volumes of various sizes, which have been brought together since then. Many of our readers will have seen the interior of the Vatican Library. But the precious MS. volumes which are now preserved there have gone through many vicissitudes before they came to their present orderly and, let us hope, safe habitation. Some of them could tell stories of Avignon, and of that castle of Carpentras where so many MS. treasures were stored during the exile. Others have been at Assisi, piled up in the sacristy of the great Convent, during troubled times of the Middle Ages. Others again may have been in that trunk which “went astray” and found an abode in the Dominican convent at Treviso in the early part of the fourteenth century. Here many of them went on that journey from Assisi, Florence, Pisa, and Perugia, in 1339, when John of Amelio is charged to gather them and bring them to Avignon *absque dislocatione, disligatione et dissolutione ulla?* Alas! dislocation, dissolution and every other fate expressed by the ominous prefix here repeated were only too common in those uneasy times, and the Papal archives have probably left shreds of themselves in every part of Italy. When the Popes returned to Rome, their papers seem to have been at first preserved in the Dominican convent of the Minerva. But soon afterwards, under the great Pontiffs of the *Renaissance*, the library was separated from the archives, and magnificent rooms were built for the reception of both. The archives, however, were to go through a very bad time still. It was thought that they were hardly safe in Leo X.’s grand buildings; and therefore the most precious papers were carried into the Castle of St. Angelo. If they had been handed over to the barbarians at once they could hardly have suffered more. The ancient tomb—for it had been a tomb—was strong enough against the enemy without, but it was very badly adapted to contend against a worse enemy, the damp. The rain got in everywhere, the presses crumbled, the parchments rotted. In Clement VIII.’s time a great apartment was built high over the dome; but in about a hundred years we read again of damp and destruction, and fresh devices of architects and librarians. When the French invasion came, the archives were saved by the man to whom we owe much of their history—Gaetano Marini. The French commandant of St. Angelo asked Marini, who had charge of the archives, for the keys of the collection. Marini appealed to the commissary Mauge, who by great good luck knew how to appreciate him. By Mauge’s orders the custodian was not only allowed to keep



them in his charge, but was given the assistance of baggage-waggons and French soldiers to transport the whole collection from St. Angelo to the Vatican. "It was a miracle!" he exclaims; and it looks very like one. Every one knows how, some few years later, the Vatican MSS., with the other treasures of the city of Rome, were, by the orders of Napoleon, carried off to Paris. M. Gachard, in his "*Archives du Vatican*," has told the story. Cardinal Pitra gives, with great appreciation, the text of the decree of Charles Philippe, the brother of Louis XVIII., by which they were once more taken back to Rome in 1814. It took a long time to put them in order again; indeed, the Cardinal is clearly of opinion that a great deal still remains to be done.

When we consider the vicissitudes of the past, the constantly present danger of fire and damp, and the possibilities of the future, we may be grateful that these precious records of the Church and the Papacy have, in great measure, been committed to the security of print. Collections of them had indeed been formed before the invention of printing, and had been copied and re-copied. Most famous of early editors was the Scythian monk, Denis the Little, better known, perhaps, by the Latin form of his name, Dionysius Exiguus; a wideawake man, says Cardinal Pitra—a man of many accomplishments, a theologian, a canonist, a chronologist, an arithmetician, a hellenist, and an excellent Latin scholar besides. He seems to have travelled everywhere, from the Crimea to the Mediterranean, and to have picked up something wherever he went. He made no fewer than five different collections of Canons and Decrees, and his principal collection, formed at Rome in the early half of the sixth century, remained the standard work of the kind, until it was displaced by the Isidorian compilation and by later collectors, such as Burchard of Worms. But, as we have already said, every church and monastery had its own private codex, carefully written, sometimes on purple vellum, in letters of gold, lovingly kept, sometimes, as at St. Vaast of Arras, under the steps of the high altar. The first printers of Papal letters are little known to fame. Cardinal Pitra has seen a modest *incunabulum* of the fifteenth century, containing nine bulls; he has had before him small collections printed before 1600. But it was only in the reign of Sixtus V. that the work of editing a Bullarium was officially taken up. Very few collectors, at least on this side of the Alps, have seen a magnificent folio in three volumes, with the ample margins, the fine paper and the handsome type of the Pontifical press, which bears the name of Antonio Carafa, and is dated the ides of November, 1591, in *adibus populi Romani*. It is the first grand Bullarium ever

published. And yet we are perhaps wrong in calling it a Bullarium, for Carafa, a critic of the first rank, well known in connection with the Sixtine editions of the Vulgate, pursued a plan which, could it have been uniformly carried out, would have given the world much more than a collection of Papal documents. He has printed, not merely the bulls themselves, but all the documents which have any connection with them—questions from bishops, letters of princes, texts of councils, everything he could find. After his work was finished, but before it was published, Sixtus had already commissioned Cherubini to begin what was really a Bullarium—that is to say, a collection of such Pontifical letters as the editor considered to have the solemn forms of a bull. The work went on, under different editors, till the end of the reign of Benedict XIV. Then it was interrupted for ninety years. The Roman archives had journeyed from Rome to Paris and from Paris back to Rome, when in 1834, under the patronage of Gregory XVI. and the direction of the munificent Cardinal Odescalchi, the thirty-third volume of the Bullarium issued from the press of the Apostolic Camera. "At last!" say the editors, pardonably boasting a little and betraying their mortality by their short-sightedness, "at last, by the help of God, Roman perseverance has gained the day. This work, which Dionysius Exiguus began, which has been carried on since the time of Leo the Great, and which has encountered so many difficulties, has been destined in the designs of Providence to be finished by the Holy Father Gregory XVI." But the amiable Pope died before this consolation was vouchsafed him. Only ten new volumes had appeared when Pius IX. succeeded in 1846. Since then we have had four more, the last appearing in 1850. Thus the whole series of the Bullarium, including that of Benedict XIV., consists in its original edition of forty-five folio volumes. In this magnificent series we have the chief and solemn Acts of the successors of St. Peter from Leo the Great to Pius IX. No collection in the world can approach it in interest and value. Cardinal Pitra asks why it should not be brought down to our own day? The great doctrinal bulls which prepared for, preceded, accompanied and followed the Vatican Council would form a volume which would worthily take its place among the august records of the teaching which has taught all nations.

Cardinal Pitra has not a high opinion of the Turin reprint of the Bullarium. It was begun in 1857, under high auspices and with good prospects. It has got as far as Benedict XIV. But it is little more than the merest reprint, new matter having been often promised but never given; and (what justly incenses the French Benedictine Cardinal) the name of Dom Coustant, the

prince of editors of Papal letters, is throughout the edition either spelt "Constant," or abbreviated beyond recognition, as if the directors had no first-hand acquaintance with him whatever.

The name of Dom Coustant brings us to one of the most interesting features of the Cardinal's introduction. Every reader who has seen the Bullarium is aware that the collection goes back no further than Leo the Great (440). The enormous difficulty of separating the genuine decretals from the false deterred early editors from printing anything earlier than the collections of Dionysius. How was Antonio Carafa to fill the void between St. Clement and St. Siricius? What was he to do with the pseudo-Isidore? He did what, perhaps, was the best thing under the circumstances; he gave the Isidorian collection a place all to itself, and made no attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff. But there appeared, exactly a hundred years later, the man who was to do for the Papal Letters of the first five centuries what he and others of his brethren did for so many patristic monuments—to give a critical edition of them which would be a final edition, accepted as such by every future inquirer. Dom Peter Coustant was born of noble parents at Compiègne, in 1657, and entered the Order of St. Benedict at the age of seventeen. Becoming a member of the community of Saint-Germain-des-Près, he was associated with the men who were then engaged in the great editions of the Fathers, and more particularly with the editors of St. Augustine. In this work he soon began to show himself a critic of the first rank. He seemed to have a special gift of discernment in the stupendous task of separating what was really St. Augustine from what was falsely attributed to him, or inserted by copyists into his text. Since his day, many more sermons of the Saint have been discovered, at Bobbio, at Monte Cassino, in Rome, but not one of those which he admitted has been rejected, nor one which he repudiated been taken back. In 1687, on the proposal of Mabillon, the General Chapter of the Maurist Congregation decreed an edition of St. Hilary. It was Dom Coustant to whom the work was committed, and the young Benedictine justified the confidence which had been placed in him by producing the folio of 1693. At the death of Tillemont, that writer's papers were placed in his hands, and he was asked to continue the "*Mémoires sur l'histoire ecclésiastique.*" But Dom Coustant declined the task. We do not know his motives. Cardinal Pitra suggests that it was, perhaps, because Dom Coustant was the most Roman of the family of Saint-Maur. "Roman" he certainly showed himself, and it was undoubtedly an agreeable work that he took up when he set about an edition of the Letters of the Popes. He made his plans on the largest scale. He was to print, not only the Letters of the Pontiffs



themselves, but all the letters and documents which had called them forth. He was to distinguish the genuine from the spurious, to prove the authenticity of such as had hitherto been doubtful, and to settle the important matter of chronological order. After twenty years of labour, and a vast correspondence which reached as far as Forlì, Monte Cassino, Naples, and Rome, the first volume, with the handsome figure of Innocent XIII. as a frontispiece, was given to the world in 1721. It was the only one which ever appeared. The editors announced that the work would be pushed on as far as Innocent III.—the precise point where the regular series of the *Regesta* begin, and where the labour of the critic therefore becomes easy; but this first volume went no farther than Leo the Great. Still it is a critical patristic labour of the first class, even for Saint-Maur. It may be said to be one of the volumes which have made the name of Benedictine so famous in the world of letters.

The great critic died in October of the very year the book came out. Two years later Dom Mopinot writes: "I mourn still the loss of this excellent man. His excessively austere life, his too great application, and at last a prolonged febrile attack, were the cause of his death—and he is in heaven!" "Since the death of Father Mabillon," says Dom Tassin, "the Congregation has had no heavier loss." He left behind him, as we may naturally suppose, a very large mass of papers. His friend Dom Mopinot, who was his *socius* in the great undertaking of the *Epistles*, continued his work for two years. Among other things, the *Epistles* of St. Leo the Great had been copiously annotated by Dom Coustant; and we can still see, in the MS. which remains, the loving labour of his *confrère*, who corrected, re-wrote, added, and enlarged, writing the most admirable Latin in the neatest of hands, until he too was struck down by death. But other causes had begun to operate which still more seriously impeded the Benedictine editing. These were, first, the quarrel with the Bollandists, and, secondly, the Jansenist confusion. Then came the great Revolution. From the wreck of Saint-Germain-des-Près a few remains of Maurist learning were saved, and the papers of Dom Coustant are now in the Vatican, where they have been used as a mine or quarry by successive collectors—the Ballerini, Thiel, Jaffé, and others. We are pleased to see that Cardinal Pitra himself promises us a "gleaning" from Dom Coustant's notes on St. Leo in the fifth volume of these "*Analecta*." No one knows him better, and no one could have written about him with more affectionate appreciation. He has himself handled all his remains—those *cahiers* on St. Leo, written in his cell in Saint-Germain in 1709, on old and wrinkled paper, with a quill that evidently wanted mending, his fingers probably

half-frozen by the excessive cold of that memorable winter; the apology of Pope Vigilius, half turned into Latin by Dom Mopinot; all the yellow and venerable monuments of a great moment in literary history, even to the last detached leaves, relating to the "dead times" between Hormisdas and St. Gregory the Great, lying there torn and stained, as they have been left by Andrew Thiel—who not only appropriated (with due acknowledgment) the labours of the Maurist, but left his papers all in confusion when he had finished with them.

It may be thought that, however valuable may be the general introductions and historical summaries of a master like Cardinal Pitra, the substantial history of the Papacy or of the Church can gain little from the painful gleanings of antiquarians or the printing of fragments which have escaped the researches of the great collectors. There is quite enough in the present volume to refute this idea. The Cardinal refers to much that has been done by fellow-labourers in the field that he has chosen; he says little about what he himself has accomplished. As instances, varying in kind and degree, of what the "gleaners" have done for the Popes, we may mention Pope Gelasius and the decree *De Libris* (with its connection with the Canon of Scripture); the whole life of St. Gregory the Great, which seems now, thanks to the publication of so many of his letters, to have assumed the round and full proportions which make it the grandest of the Lives of the Popes; the story of St. Liberius, in which even Dom Coustant went wrong, and to which Cardinal Pitra has himself contributed by printing for the first time the important verses on p. 22; and finally the "apology" of Pope Vigilius, presented here for the first time in the exact words of the three Benedictines, Dom Coustant, Dom Mopinot, and Dom Durand. Many of our readers will remember the interminable articles and pamphlets about Pope Vigilius which preceded and accompanied the Council of the Vatican. They will not have forgotten that the name of "Coustant," generally wrongly spelt, kept making its appearance, being received whenever it appeared with more deference than appreciation; the truth being that no one had ever seen a treatise by Dom Coustant on the subject, but that one or two had heard of a MS. of his, and perhaps seen a summary of it in the "*Spicilegium Solismense*." Cardinal Pitra now prints this important piece in its completeness. It takes up ninety of his large pages. Every question connected with Vigilius is treated, and handled with that mastery which intimate first-hand acquaintance with sources alone can give. Pope Vigilius has the misfortune to have had both smart opponents and foolish friends. The well-known work of Professor Vincenzi, which was often referred to in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW some twenty

years ago, is written on the principle, abhorred of a French Benedictine, of denying the authenticity of every inconvenient document. On the other hand, Vigilius is still hotly attacked. In the number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for October, 1854, a writer, who signs the name of Abbé Duchesne, has printed what Cardinal Pitra calls the most violent attack which even Vigilius has ever had to sustain. One might have looked for better things at the hands of a Review, which is generally learned, if at times pedantic and sensational. No new evidence seems to have been discovered. All the documents used by the Abbé—who seems to be a professor of the Catholic University of Paris—have already been adjudicated on by the three great Maurist critics. Probably few will be long in doubt as to where the truth lies, with three such men on one side, and on the other a professor who contributes no new element to the discussion except his own guesses. Of these he is very liberal indeed, being one of those men who are inclined to write history by analogy, substituting the light of nature for painful facts, and possessing a wonderful faculty for “reading between the lines” and discovering “hidden springs.” It was time that the “apology” should be printed, and we have it all here—unequal in style, showing marks of all the three “hands,” but still most solid, severe, detailed and convincing. Dom Coustant does not proceed in the radical and wholesale manner of the Professor of the Sapienza to whom we referred just now, and reject some thirty documents at one sweep. He rejects the “Isidorian” letters; and, what is more, he refuses to accept the “false Damasus,” or, in other words, the entry in the *Liber Pontificalis* under the name of that Pope. He enters into the history of the Three Chapters, and shows in what sense Vigilius condemned them and accepted them; and he criticizes in the most masterly way all the passages of the African writers which refer to him. When we remember that no less an authority than Baronius had condemned Pope Vigilius at least as an intruder, we cannot be too grateful for a dissertation of which its author writes in these words:—

After I had convinced myself with certainty of the truth by profound meditation, I thought it my duty to draw out the evidence which had satisfied me, not only in order to repair the honour of a saintly man, but that false prejudice, resting on erroneous facts, might not harm the discipline of the Church.

In looking through the “gleanings” contained in this new volume, we naturally search for anything new relating to England and English affairs. We are bound to admit that there is hardly anything to be found. The Cardinal prints what seems to be a



lost leaf, or appendix, to a celebrated Letter of Innocent III., dated February 15, 1202, ordering certain reforms in monastic houses throughout Europe; and from it we gather that the Bishop of Durham and the Abbot of St. Edmunds were to act as, in some sort, the Legates of the Holy See for all the exempt monasteries of England. The only other fragment of national interest is a smart letter from the same vigorous Pope, addressed to the English hierarchy, on the subject of Peter's Pence.

It is just and proper [says the Pope, with dry irony] that as We give you your rights, so you should give Us ours; that, as the Gospel expresses it, in what measure We mete it be measured again to Us. Now, seeing that the Penny of St. Peter is faithfully gathered in England, but that what is gathered for Our use is not faithfully transmitted to Us; therefore, desirous of consulting both for the welfare of the collectors, lest their souls be imperilled by a fraud of this kind, and for the good of the Roman Church, that it may avoid, by the solicitude of Peter, Bishop of Winchester, Our commissioner in this matter, this great loss and injury, We have given him command in writing that he cause the tribute to be diligently collected year by year and to be faithfully handed over to him for Our use, in order that by him it may be transmitted in full to Ourselves; and that he quell by ecclesiastical censure all that contradict or rebel, if any there be. Wherefore by Apostolic letter We charge each one of you, that you with humility and cheerful devotion give ear in this matter to the aforesaid Bishop, and that what he shall lay down in regard to it unto the advantage of the Apostolic See you observe yourselves and cause to be exactly observed by your subjects; and that the messengers whom to this end he shall think fit to send forth to you, you receive with kindness and cause to be so received by your subjects; but if perchance you act otherwise, you incur (besides sin against God) the anger of the Apostolic See.

This remonstrance is dated St. Peter's at Rome, the last day of the year 1205. At that very time two claimants to the See of Canterbury were on their way to the Eternal City, accompanied by two deputations, one from King John and the other from the Cathedral Monastery of Canterbury, to plead an appeal of which the result was the appointment by Innocent of Stephen Langton. Two years had not elapsed when John's behaviour about this appointment made the Pope lay England under the famous interdict. What was the effect of the Letter we have translated on the collection of Peter's Pence in these disturbed and anxious times we cannot now find out. Some French writer lately discovered that it was precisely in the reign of Innocent III. that commenced that favourite process with philosophic historians, the decay of the Papacy. We happen to have something like 6,000 Letters of this Pope's reign; and Potthast, who

has analyzed them, says that they are clear and distinct evidence that it was at this very moment that the hold of the Popes on the world had become so strong and universal that never before or since had that ideal been realized as it was by Innocent.\* Cardinal Pitra devotes several pages to an interesting examination of the present state of the Registers of this great Pontiff (pp. 171 *sqq.*).

There is another passage in the Cardinal's introduction which, although it informs us of little that is new, is interesting to reproduce here. Among imprinted Bullaria, he tells us (p. 307), may be classed in the first rank the twenty-eight folio volumes of English bulls preserved in the British Museum. It was Sir James Graham who, when Secretary of State, had copied, at the expense of the English Government, the bulls and charters in the Vatican archives which relate to the history of England. Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador at Rome, and the learned antiquarian, Sir William Hamilton, were the intermediaries in this negotiation, between the Vatican and the British Minister.† The Holy See liberally acceded to the request that was made, only imposing the condition that nothing should be printed without notice being given; a precaution that seems to have been inspired wholly by a desire on the part of the Roman authorities to have nothing published except what had been copied correctly. Mgr. Marino Marini, as prefect of the Archives, divided the work among three copyists, one for England, a second for Scotland, and a third for Ireland. The threefold series thus obtained advances on parallel lines from Honorius III. to Leo X. After the accession of Henry VIII. we have a mass of *Miscellanea* coming down to the days of the last Stuarts. There is an index in two volumes, giving with "concise elegance" an analysis of every piece in the collection. They reached London in the early part of the year 1845, and were by order of Parliament deposited among the additional MSS. of the British Museum, numbers 15,351—15,400, under the following title, which strikes the Cardinal as eminently Roman:—

\* Mr Creighton, in his recent and useful book, "Epochs of English History" (p. 177), calls Innocent III. "perhaps the greatest and wisest Pope there has ever been."

† This is what Cardinal Pitra says, but there must be some mistake. Sir William Hamilton "the antiquarian" died in 1803; Sir James Graham did not become Home Secretary till 1841. Bunsen was at that time in London, but had spent many years in Rome. The dates would seem to point to Sir William Hamilton the philosopher of the "unconquered;" but although he was interested in every kind of literary enterprise, we cannot remember that he had any influence with Pope Gregory XVI.

## MONUMENTA BRITANNICA

*Ex autographis Romanorum Pontificum deprompta.*

MARINUS MARINIUS

*Conlegit, digessit, cum indice.*

In this simple title [continues the eminent antiquarian] dictated at Rome, accepted in London, and written in letters of gold in the British Museum, there is more than literary interest. Perhaps if it had been after the days of 'Papal Aggression,' such a thing might never have happened. But events move so fast in these days that one is hardly astonished at seeing the Pontifical archives opened freely to English patriotism, and the labour of Roman clerks and prelates asked for by a Lutheran ambassador, forwarded to a British Secretary of State, solemnly offered to the Parliament of the three kingdoms and placed by its direction in the grandest of the national *archiva*. Still less needful is it to notice the humble paper on these documents by one of the least of the children of St. Benedict, who went from an unimportant abbey, under the auspices of a French Republic, to consult in London, wearing his habit freely all the while, the secret archives of the Vatican.

This passage, which shows that a man who has a passion for the "*res diplomatica*" has not necessarily any lack of fancy or feeling, was written in 1849. The Cardinal now goes on to say that he is gratified to be able to add that England has very substantially proved her gratitude. Since that date not a single year has passed that the Vatican Library has not received volumes, gilt and splendid, sometimes with the Royal Arms on their bindings, containing the precious publication of the Rolls Series. The collection has a place of its own, and very properly, for it is incontestably one of the handsomest of the royal offerings which the Vatican has received. Indeed, from the times of Pitt and of George IV., who were the friends of Pius VII. and of Consalvi, there were already presents from England. The first and the rarest collection of English State Papers is kept in seventy-three splendid folios, with an inscription, which we may well give here, as an historic *souvenir* and as a tribute of respect to the most lasting and the most conservative of authorities:—

## RECORD COMMISSION.

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## ART. VII.—METHODS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY.—II.

1. *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. Chapman & Hall. 1872.
2. *Auguste Comte and Positivism.* By JOHN STUART MILL. Third Edition. Trübner & Co. 1882.
3. *History of Civilization in England and France, Spain and Scotland.* By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE. New Edition. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.
4. *Physics and Politics.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. Sixth Edition. Henry S. King & Co. 1875.
5. *Comparative Politics* (Rede Lecture in). By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Macmillan & Co. 1873.
6. *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions.* By Sir HENRY S. MAINE. John Murray. 1875
7. *The Holy Roman Empire.* By JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L. Seventh Edition. Macmillan & Co. 1884.

I PROPOSE in the present essay to add a few observations to those already made by me in a former paper contributed to this Review on the subject of methods of historical inquiry. Much thought has been expended in the effort to discover the predominant or pre-eminent element, if such there be, determining the course of human history. This is the search after what is called the Philosophy of History; and it is to be observed that the theory held by an inquirer regarding history as a whole will determine his method of dealing with historical facts, for he will clearly frame his history in accordance with, and in illustration of, his general conception. There are four writers whose views may be taken as representative of different modes of discussing the question of the philosophy of history—I omit for the present the Christian view—and these are Carlyle, Comte, Buckle, and Walter Bagehot, though I should observe that the last-named inquirer only attempts, as he himself says, to give one, and that only a limited, side or aspect of the subject, and was, as far as I know, himself a Christian. An outline of their systems will, I believe, serve better than any mere critical statement to exhibit the present state of the question. In the brief sketch here attempted I wish it to be clearly understood that I am simply stating their opinions as they themselves set them forth.

1. According to Carlyle, universal history is fundamentally the history of great men or heroes. All that has come to pass is really the embodiment of thoughts that existed in their minds. Their history is the soul of the world's history. Of the heroism of the great man the distinctive characteristic is this—that he looks through the show of things into things. The great men penetrated into the mystery of the universe, "the Divine Idea of the World," that "which lies at the bottom of Appearance," as Fichte calls it, of which all appearance is but the embodiment. The universe is the realized Thought of God. It is the message of the hero to make known this mystery. In it he lives; it he announces in announcing himself. "His life is a piece of the everlasting heart of Nature herself." ("On Heroes," Lect. v.) The cardinal feature of the hero is that he is sincere—not the sincerity that calls itself sincere, but a great unconscious sincerity; he is sincere by his very nature. He is a messenger direct from the the Inner Fact of things; in intimate contact with that he lives, and must live. He is not the creature of the time; he is the lightning direct from the hand of God, for which the dry fuel was waiting to kindle it, without which the fuel never would have burnt. He is "the indispensable saviour of his epoch." (Lect. i.) All heroes—the hero as divinity, as prophet, as poet, as priest, as man of letters, as king—Odin, Mahomet, Dante, Luther, Johnson, Cromwell—are at bottom the same. It is only by the world's way of receiving them and the forms they assume that they differ so much. It is the different sphere that makes the grand distinction. The hero can be poet, king, priest, and so forth, according to the sort of world he lives in. A Mirabeau might have composed soul-stirring verses had his career and education led him in that direction. "Napoleon has words in him which are like Austerlitz Battles." (Lect. iii.) Petrarch and Boccaccio were skilful diplomatists. The most significant characteristic in the history of any period is the way in which it receives great men. Hero-worship is the animating principle in man's life. It is the basis of religion—the germ of Christianity itself; it is the basis of loyalty; it is the basis of society. It is indestructible—imperishable. This indestructibility of hero-worship is the everlasting adamant lower than which the revolutionary wreck cannot fall—the eternal corner-stone from which to begin to build up anew. As has been said, all things that come to pass are the practical realization of thoughts that existed in great men. In every age the great event is the advent of a thinker. His thought arouses the dormant capacity of all into thought.

The Thoughts of all start up, as from painful enchanted sleep, round his Thought; answering to it, Yes; even so! (Lect. i.) Thought is

the true thaumaturgic virtue by which man works all things whatsoever. All that he does and brings to pass is the vesture of a Thought. This London city, with all its houses, palaces, steam-engines, cathedrals, and huge immeasurable traffic and tumult, what is it but a Thought, but millions of thoughts made into one; a huge immeasurable spirit of a Thought, embodied in brick, in iron, smoke, dust, palaces, parliaments, hackney coaches, Katharine Docks, and the rest of it. (Lect. v.)

That which a man knows and practically believes regarding his vital relations to the universe is the thing of chief importance for him. What is a man's or a nation's belief—heathenism, Christianity, scepticism?—that will show us the soul of the man's or the nation's history. "Is not belief the true god-announcing miracle?" says Novalis. The history of a nation becomes great so soon as it believes. The great universal war which alone constitutes the true history of mankind is the war of Belief against Unbelief. Of such war, he says, Puritanism was a section. In the great struggle of truth against falsehood, Nature herself is umpire. She is a just judge. If a thing be genuine of heart, she harbours it, but not otherwise. The wheat grows—the chaff she absorbs. The *soul* of truth lives, while the *body* dies. "Give a thing time; if it can succeed, it is a right thing. All goes by wager of battle in this world; *strength*, well understood, is the measure of all worth." (Lect. iv.) "Divine *right*, take it on the great scale, is found to mean divine *might* withal!" (Lect. vi.) The highest wisdom, the only true morality, is not merely to bow to necessity—that a man must do; but to know and believe that what necessity has ordained is the best thing—that the soul of the world is good—that a man's duty in it is to conform to the law of the whole. A man is in the right path and the path to victory, in so far as he co-operates with the real tendency of the world. Such is a brief abstract of the views of Carlyle.

2. M. Comte was the first who systematically attempted the investigation of social phenomena in accordance with the principle that the state of the speculative faculties of mankind is the chief agent of the social movement. He believes that there is a natural evolution in human affairs, and that that evolution is an improvement. Social progress—civilization—consists in the progress of our human towards a supremacy over our animal attributes. In this progress the principal agent is man's intellectual development. All society is grounded on a system of fundamental opinions, proceeding from the speculative faculty. As to the natural order of intellectual progress, he conceives that speculation, on every subject of human inquiry, has exhibited three successive stages. In the first, the theological, the



phenomena are regarded as governed by volitions of supernatural beings. In the second, the metaphysical, they are ascribed to realized abstractions—powers, forces, occult qualities, regarded as real existences, residing in concrete bodies, such as the vegetative soul, the plastic force, or the vital principle. In the third or final stage, the positive, speculation confines itself to discovering the laws of succession and similitude of phenomena. This generalization Comte considers to be the fundamental law of intellectual progress. With each of these three stages of speculation he connects the correlative state of other social phenomena, the parallel sequence in the purely temporary order consisting of the gradual substitution of the industrial for the military mode of life.\*

3. According to Mr. Buckle, the actions of men are determined entirely by their antecedents, and must therefore be characterized by uniformity. And, he says, as all antecedents are either in the mind or out of it, all the variations in the effects—that is, all the changes of history—must be the result of the interaction between the mind and external phenomena. The regularity of actions is proved by statistics. The physical agents by which man is most profoundly affected are four—climate, food, soil, and the general aspects of nature; by the last being meant those appearances which, through the senses, have directed the association of ideas, and so have produced in different countries different modes of national thought. Referring first to the influence of the first three of these agencies, he remarks that, of all the great social improvements, the accumulation of wealth must come first, as in its absence there cannot arise a class who have the leisure to apply themselves to the acquisition of knowledge. Among a wholly ignorant people, and before wealth has been capitalized, the rate at which wealth is accumulated will depend only on two conditions—on the energy and regularity with which labour is carried on, and on the returns made to that labour. The latter is determined by the fertility of the soil, the former is entirely dependent on the influence of climate. Next, as to the distribution of wealth, this, in an advanced social stage, depends on several very complex circumstances, but in a very early stage is regulated entirely by physical laws. And

those laws are, moreover, so active as to have invariably kept a vast majority of the inhabitants of the fairest portion of the globe in a condition of constant and inextricable poverty. If this can be demonstrated, the immense importance of such laws is manifest. For since wealth is an undoubted source of power, it is evident that,

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\* See also Mill's "System of Logic," vol. ii. book vi. sec. 7, 8.

supposing other things equal, an inquiry into the distribution of wealth is an inquiry into the distribution of power, and, as such, will throw great light on the origin of those social and political inequalities, the play and opposition of which form a considerable part of the history of every civilized country." ("History of Civilization," ch. ii.)

Examining the natural laws which determine the proportion in which wealth is distributed to labourers and employers, he argues—Wages vary with the population in an inverse order. The physical agent by which increase of population is most powerfully and universally affected is food; population advancing when the supply is abundant, standing still or diminishing when it is scarce. The food necessary to life is less plentiful in cold than in hot countries, while at the same time a larger quantity of it is required; so that for both reasons the increase of population is less rapid, and so wages tend to be higher. Evidence is adduced to show how, in the most flourishing countries out of Europe, by the operation of physical causes, wealth, with its attendant consequence, social and political power, became monopolized in the hands of the few, and hence the national progress became retarded.\* Turning to the influence of the general aspects of nature, he divides them into those which tend to excite the imagination, and those which appeal to the understanding. According as nature presents a powerful and majestic, or a small

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\* I will give here an instance in illustration of Mr. Buckle's method of inquiry. It is, he says, a scientific principle that the colder a country is, the more highly carbonized will be the food of the people; while the warmer it is the more oxidized will be their food. Thus, in India, owing to the high temperature, we should expect the national food to be of an oxygenous rather than of a carbonaceous character. The former is derived from the vegetable world, of which starch is the most important constituent. Again, the great heat of the climate, which makes labour very difficult, renders necessary a food which will yield an abundant return and at the same time will be very nutritious. In accordance with these requirements it has come to pass, says Mr. Buckle, that the national food of India has always been rice, which fulfils the necessary conditions. The abundance of food has produced a large growth of population, and, as a natural consequence, wages have been low. Thus we find, in the history of India, wealth and power in the hands of the upper classes contrasted with poverty and abject submission in the productive classes. This is the explanation of the rise of caste and of the unprogressive condition of the country. Commenting on Mr. Buckle's attempt to derive such vast consequences from the consumption of rice in India, Sir H. Maine remarks that the passage ought to be a caution against rash generalization, for that it happens that the ordinary food of the people of India is not rice. ("Village Communities in the East and West," pp. 214-5.)

and unimposing, appearance, the imagination is in the one case inflamed, while man acquires a sense of insignificance which enfeebles the will and deters the mind from inquiry into the details of the surrounding world, or, in the other, he experiences a sense of power which encourages him to surmount obstacles, while, the phenomena being more accessible, it becomes easier for him to inquire into and generalize them. The civilizations exterior to Europe are chiefly influenced by the imagination, those in Europe by the understanding. "The tendency has been, in Europe, to subordinate nature to man; out of Europe to subordinate man to nature" (ch. iii.). The progress of European civilization is characterized by a diminution in the influence of physical, and an increase in the influence of mental, laws. Thus, of these two classes of laws, the mental are the more important for the history of Europe. He goes on to say that the progress of society is twofold, moral and intellectual. The question arises—which of these elements is the more important? We are confronted, he says, at the threshold of this inquiry by a serious fallacy. The expression, moral and intellectual progress, in its general use conveys an idea that the moral and intellectual *faculties* of men improve. But this has never been proved. Therefore that progress

resolves itself, not into a progress of natural capacity, but into a progress, if I may so say, of opportunity; that is, an improvement in the circumstances under which that capacity after birth comes into play. Here, then, lies the gist of the whole matter. The progress is one, not of internal power, but of external advantage. The child born in a civilized land is not likely, as such, to be superior to one born among barbarians; and the difference which ensues between the acts of the two children will be caused, so far as we know, solely by the pressure of external circumstances: by which I mean the surrounding opinions, knowledge, associations—in a word, the entire mental atmosphere in which the two children are respectively nurtured." (Ch. iv.)

Taking mankind in the aggregate, their moral and intellectual conduct is regulated by the moral and intellectual notions current at the time. Now, the standard of conduct has varied in every age, and therefore the causes of action must be variable. But moral truths have undergone no change, while intellectual truths are ever changing. Since, then, civilization is the product of moral and intellectual forces, of which the moral remains stationary, the intellectual must be the cause of progress. The progress of civilization is dependent on the amount, direction, and diffusion of *intellectual* knowledge.

4. Mr. Walter Bagehot has written a work, entitled "*Physics and Politics*," on the application of the principles of natural selec-



tion and inheritance to political society, which is really a contribution to the science of history. Science, he says, is beginning to read in each man's physical organization the result of a whole history of all his life and of that of all his ancestors. The nervous system has the power, by iteration, of organizing conscious actions into more or less unconscious or reflex operations, and the effects become embodied in the nervous structure. The body of the trained man has thus become a storehouse of acquired power, which comes away from it unconsciously. The acquired faculties then become transmitted by inheritance through the nervous system. No one, he says, who does not lay hold of the notion of a transmitted nerve element will ever understand the "connective tissue" of civilization. There exists a physical cause, in active operation, of improvement from generation to generation. He believes these principles to be independent of any theory regarding the nature of matter or of mind, and that they have no bearing on the problems of necessity and free-will. The doctrine of Conservation of Force, if applied to decision, he holds to be incompatible with free-will, but with the universal conservation of force, he says, he has nothing to do. I will briefly call attention to his views. Man, as we find him at the dawn of history—the patriarchal man—united the character of the child with the passions and strength of the grown man; he was simple and violent. His mind was unstable; his notions of morality were vague; he had no idea of law or of what we mean by a nation. Thus *law* is the primary requisite of the early man, subjection to a common rule—a polity. Man can only make progress in co-operative groups—tribes or nations. Unless a strong co-operative bond is made, the society will be killed out by some other society which possesses it. Again, the members of the group must resemble each other sufficiently to co-operate easily and readily. The co-operation and likeness needed were produced by the authority of "customary law." The early polities—in which the quantity of government was much more important than its quality—were needed for creating the hereditary drill, for making the mould of civilization. Rome and Sparta were drilling aristocracies, and, because they were so, succeeded, while Athens was beaten in the great game of the world. The early polities not only cemented men into groups and imparted to them a body of common usages, but often suggested national character. Mr. Bagehot believes that national character arose in this way: at first a kind of "chance predominance" of manner set a model, and then unconscious imitation of it—the necessity which invincibly constrains all but the strongest men to imitate what they see before them, and to be what they are expected to be—shaped men by that model. In the earliest

times every intellectual gain that a nation enjoyed was invested in—turned to account in the shape of—warlike power. Every sort of advantage tended to become a military advantage. Those nations who possessed the advantages conquered those who did not possess them. War, too, engenders certain virtues—valour, veracity, discipline. The nations who won were the best nations, and it was by war and conquest that progress was promoted. The writer discusses the different kinds of advantages which tend to make one nation superior to another. Much the greatest is *law*—the legal fibre, already adverted to. The next step is, having got the fixed law, to get out of it to something better; otherwise the civilization will be an arrested one—the propensities to variation which are the principle of progress will be extinguished. Then, the virtues of the first stage should be kept by a nation as it passes into the second, or it will be killed out; there must be a union of legality with variability. Rome won her position in the world by the observance of this principle; her legality was always accompanied by a capacity for adaptation. Other advantages are: superiority of political institutions, as the early Aryan form of government, in which the contests of the assembly fostered the principle of variation, while the influence of the elders acted as a preservative force; often, mixture of races; provisional institutions, as slavery, which enabled a set of persons to have leisure for originality; the possession of higher moral qualities; the military advantage of religion—strong beliefs attract the strong, and then make them stronger; so Stoicism was popular at Rome, Epicureanism was unpopular. Mr. Bagebot discusses the great means by which the yoke of custom, necessary in the first instance for improving the world, was broken, and so civilization prevented from being arrested. It was, he holds, government by discussion. Into this I do not propose to follow him.

I will conclude this notice of Mr. Bagebot's views by a brief reference to his account of the origin of nations. Diversity of race, he says, will not explain the difference between nations. While all Greeks are of the same race, Athens and Sparta exhibited very different national characteristics. Nor will natural selection—the survival of those who struggle most successfully with surrounding obstacles. The obstacles were much the same to Spartans, Athenians, and Romans. Nor will the influence of physical conditions. The Papuan and the Malay have for ages inhabited the same tropical regions; or, to take an illustration from the lower animals, Borneo and New Guinea, as Mr. Wallace observes, alike in their vast size, absence of volcanoes, variety of geological structure, uniform climate, and forest vegetation, are zoologically entirely different; while

Australia, with quite different physical conditions, is characterized by birds and quadrupeds having a close affinity to those to be found in New Guinea. The problem, says Mr. Bagehot, must be separated into two—the making of races, and the making of the minor distinctions between nations. He observes that the causes which have formed nations are best studied by considering the causes which are now changing nations. As already stated, the great cause is the influence of type—some chance predominance of manner—which invincibly attracted men to copy it unconsciously. This appreciated character became encouraged, while the contrary character was avoided and persecuted. The foundation of New England is a modern illustration. The original immigrants, who resembled each other in character, religion, and politics, encouraged and exaggerated their peculiar characteristics, and discouraged and persecuted other characteristics, and so a special New England character grew up, which has in many traits been handed down by inheritance. There is another auxiliary cause. The early stages of civilization are distinguished by a great mortality of infant life; those children live who can most easily conform to the habits of the tribe. Besides this form of selection, there would probably be a kind of parental selection; those children being most tenderly treated, and so having a better chance of surviving, who gave most promise of being distinguished by the approved national habits. Inheritance does the rest—the national character, formed by imitation of appreciated habit and persecution of disliked habit, becomes transmitted.

5. Mr. Bagehot's account of the action of the forces of natural selection and inheritance in history is one of modest pretensions, as may be seen by comparing with it the theory put forward by the accredited organs of the evolution philosophy. According to the latter, natural selection, the seizing hold of useful variations accidentally offered, favouring their possessors in the struggle for existence, and thereafter handing them on to the next generation, has been the sole agency which brought about, not only all the wonders of organic life, but all the mental and moral endowments and achievements of the human race. In this view, man lies helpless in an eternal network of cause and effect; free-will, purpose, God, are set aside as agents in the growth of civilization. It is quite impossible to accept the Evolution theory of the genesis or of the development of the human spirit. There can be no point of contact between the Christian and evolution doctrines of the soul of man. History at the same time, I think, clearly proves that, in early times at least, however much it may have ceased to act since, a kind of what may perhaps be called "natural selection," did operate as a force in the



working out of civilization—that certainly in *many* cases progress was effected by the winning of favoured peoples. But it was only one out of many influences. In Mr. Bagehot's peculiar treatment of the subject he is careful to explain that he is only attempting to give one aspect of the question, and, as has been seen, he indeed confines himself to the physical or corporeal side of human nature. In doing so, he steers clear of the Necessarian doctrine. All that he contends is, that the nervous system may be trained by habit, that the results of that training may be handed on to descendants through the nervous system, and that a trained nervous organization may, and does, supply certain great advantages in the struggle of races. The free-will operates on the hereditary nervous system. But the kind of "natural selection" which I have pointed out is only one very small factor in the history of civilization, and, even within its own narrow sphere, is traversed in all directions by the action of quite other influences.

There is, first, the incessant, ubiquitous, initiative of free-will exercised by the members of the community, which is able at any point to affect the course of human history. Mr. Buckle's theory of Necessary Law and of the inefficacy of moral causes is disproved as well by the testimony of consciousness as by the whole evidence of history. Then there is the influence and initiative of men of genius, great men, heroes, whose mind was not the outcome of evolution, but was a heaven-born gift—whose free action has profoundly affected the history of the race. There is a certain portion of truth in Mr. Carlyle's theory, that universal history is at bottom the history of great men. But his whole theory is completely disfigured by his incessant deification of mere force, his reiterated doctrine that might is right, that success is the *measure* of merit, and by the idea running through his works, that *quantity*, so to say, of spirit in any individual is a sufficient proof of the existence in that individual of a corresponding amount of the excellent in *quality*: witness his unfortunate selection of "heroes" in many cases. Again, there is the freely exercised influence of rulers, of governments, through human laws or positive institutions, whether their action represent the *combined* free-will of the individuals of the community, or, as has been so often the case in history, proceed entirely from themselves. These laws or institutions may be attended by far-reaching consequences overriding the natural growth of society. History supplies us with innumerable examples. How often has the capricious will of tyrants altered the whole character of a nation's history! Finally, and above all, there is the action of Divine Providence in history. In the Christian doctrine, human history is the theatre of Divine Providence, which presides over

and guides the course of events; while man has the mysterious power of choosing between good and evil, God so orders the course of history as to make all things tend to the triumph of good and the overthrow of evil. What a complete revolution in the history of mankind was effected by the establishment of Christianity! What natural laws of evolution or of necessary sequence could account for such a vast transformation of human society and history?

I have given a brief account of M. Comte's doctrine, as he is generally regarded as the founder of the so-called Science of Sociology. But his whole system appears to me a gigantic failure. To take a single example as a specimen of the rest: to predict from the law of progress, through the three phases of the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive theories of the universe, that Spain would necessarily come to hold the highest place in European nations, seems to me a mere parody of science.

I do not wish it to be understood from the observations here advanced that I believe that no generalizations are to be drawn from history. I hold that there is a certain *limited* science of *approximate* generalizations of *tendencies*. To deny this would be to fly in the face of historical evidence. Thus, it may be laid down as a conclusion from history that despotism *tends* to result in certain evils. But I hold that the despotism was established by the free-will of some person or persons, and that its evil effects may be resisted by the free-will of individuals. The correct form of the proposition—and this may be taken as the type of the generalizations of the social science—is this: "*In most cases despotism tends to produce certain evil consequences.*"

6. Mr. Freeman, in the Rede Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1872, has grasped in a remarkable manner the idea of the *unity* of the history of the Aryan nations of Europe. In the present century the barrier which had separated Greece and Rome, as known to us during a certain period of their history, from all other times and places, has, he says, been broken down, and a new world has been revealed to us, in which times and tongues and peoples, before isolated, are discovered to be linked together by the bond of a common primeval brotherhood. The distinction between "ancient" and "modern" history has been shown to be a purely arbitrary one—the study of history is one study.\* The great fact of the unity of history must now be boldly faced. The history of the

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\* The great instrument in effecting this change was, he says, and as pointed out by me in a former essay on this subject in the *DUNSMIRRE*, the Comparative Method.

Aryan nations of Europe forms one long chain of cause and effect, no portion of which can be understood if studied apart from the rest. And of this history Rome is the great centre, to which all roads converge, and from which they all equally diverge. Take the history of Greece. Greek history did not end with the battle of Chaironeia, or with the destruction of Corinth. He, says Mr. Freeman, who would understand the influence of the Greek mind and tongue on the history of the world, must not confine himself to the narrow bounds of time and space called "classical." He must see how the Greek language and Greek arts were spread over every coast from Cyprus to Spain; how the island of Sicily was

gathered into the Hellenic fold, a land whose Hellenic life lived on through the rule of Carthaginian, Roman, Saracen, and Norman, and where the tongue in which the victories of Hieron had been sung to the lyre of Pindar, lived on to record the glories of the house of Hauteville on the walls of the Saracenic churches of Palermo;

how in the Phokaian settlement in Gaul—the Massalian commonwealth—Greek arts and Greek letters stood their ground for ages, and how "the spirit of the men who sailed away from the Persian yoke lived on in their kinsfolk, who withstood the might of Cæsar, and sprang again to life in later times to withstand the sterner might of Charles of Anjou;" how the commonwealth of Cherson—the last of the Greek republics—lived ages after Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had been swallowed up in the Roman Empire; how the great Macedonian conqueror, Alexander the Great, carried Greek culture and the Greek language over the countries of the East; how the first Roman historians recorded Roman legends in Greek, and how almost every Roman poet drew his inspiration from a Greek source; how it was in the Greek tongue that the oracles of Christianity were announced, and how Greek was the speech of the earliest and most eloquent ecclesiastical writers; how

the traditions of Greece and Rome, the conquests of Macedonian warriors and of Christian apostles, all joined together when the throne and the name of Rome were transferred to a Greek-speaking city of the eastern world, and when the once heathen colony of Megara was baptized into the Christian capital of Constantine, whence went on the long dominion of the laws of Rome, but of the speech, the learning, and the arts of Greece.

The unity of history might be illustrated in the same way from the history of Rome. And, further, the history of Rome is the history of the European world. The Roman Empire was formed by bringing under its rule the States of the



old world, while out of the break-up of that empire the kingdoms and nations of modern Europe gradually arose. But this is a subject too vast to attempt to trace here. It is sufficient to note that the law of almost every European nation but our own rests as its basis on the legislation of Servius and Justinian, while the Bishop of Rome is venerated by millions as the vicar of Christ and the head of their holy religion. Mr. Freeman gives an illustration of the oneness of history, which is so very remarkable that it shall be my apology for making so long a quotation :

Let us stand [he says] on the Akropolis of Athens on a day in the early part of the eleventh century of our era. A change has come since the days of Periklès, and even since the days of Alaric. The voice of the orator is silent in the Pnyx; the voice of the philosopher is silent in the Academy. Athênè Promachos no longer guards her city with her uplifted spear, nor do men deem that, if the Goth should again draw nigh, her living form would again scare him from her walls. But her temple is still there, as yet untouched by the cannon of Turk and Venetian, as yet unspoiled by the hand of the Scottish plunderer. It stands as holy as ever in the minds of men; it is hallowed to a worship of which Iktinos and Kallikratès never heard; yet in some sort it keeps its ancient name and use: the House of the Virgin is the House of the Virgin still. The old altars, the old images, are swept away; but altars unstained by blood have risen in their stead, and the walls of the cella blaze, like Saint Sophia and Saint Vital, with the painted forms of Hebrew patriarchs, Christian martyrs, and Roman Cæsars. It is a day of triumph, not as when the walls were broken down to welcome a returning Olympic conqueror; not as when ransomed thousands pressed forth to hail the victors of Murathôn, or when their servile offspring crowded to pay their impious homage to the descending godship of Dêmétrios. A conqueror comes to pay his worship within those ancient walls, an Emperor of the Romans comes to give thanks for the deliverance of his empire in the Church of Saint Mary of Athens. Roman in title, Greek in speech—boasting of his descent from the Macedonian Alexander and from the Parthian Arsakes, but sprung, in truth, so men whispered, from the same Slavonic stock which had given the empire Justinian and Belisarius—fresh from his victories over a people Turanian in blood, Slavonic in speech, and delighting to deck their kings with the names of Hebrew prophets—Basil the Second, the slayer of the Bulgarians, the restorer of the Byzantine power, paying his thank-offerings to God and the Panagia in the old heathen temple of democratic Athens, seems as if he had gathered all the ages and nations of the world around him, to teach by the most pointed of contrasts that the history of no age or nation can be safely fenced off from the history of its fellows.

He says he knows of no more noble subject for a picture or a poem.

7. The reader will have noted that the first three of the philosophers to whose views I have called attention lay stress on the influence of thought in history. Mr. Herbert Spencer maintains that the world is governed, not by ideas, but by feelings.\* The Duke of Argyll, again, on the other hand, says that among the most certain of human laws is this—that man's conduct will be mainly directed by his moral and intellectual convictions.† Sir H. Maine holds that progress is the same thing as the continued production of new ideas.‡ The last-named writer, treating of kinship, furnishes us with some very interesting and instructive notices, illustrating the slowness with which new ideas come into play in different stages of society.§ In an early stage of social life the relations between man and man were expressed in the idea of kinship. This idea, which at first represented a real fact—community of descent—came afterwards to be extended to new relations, where men, not really akin, were fictitiously regarded as such. No new idea came into being—the old idea still served to express the new fact. The citizens of early commonwealths considered all the groups of which they were members—the Family, the House, the Tribe, the State—to be based on common descent. Yet in each community there existed records and traditions contradicting that assumption. In the case of Rome

we perceive that the primary group, the Family, was being constantly adulterated by the practice of adoption, while stories seem to have been always current respecting the exotic extraction of one of the original Tribes, and concerning a large addition to the Houses made by one of the early kings.||

In Irish history, the Family was enlarged by adoption; the Sept, or larger group of kindred, assigned a special place for strangers admitted to it on fixed conditions; and the Tribe, the political unit of ancient Ireland, contained a number of members, chiefly persons who had taken refuge with it from other tribes. The idea of consanguinity was even extended in Ireland to quite another form of relationship—namely, Guilds.¶ The contract called by the Romans *societas omnium bonorum* (commonly translated "partnership with unlimited liability"), Sir H. Maine considers to have taken its rise in a development

\* "Of the Classification of the Sciences," pp. 37, 38.

† "Reign of Law," pp. 388-9.

‡ "Early History of Institutions," p. 226.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 225-249.

|| "Ancient Law," by Sir H. Maine, pp. 129-130.

¶ See Dr. Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures (pp. cccv. et seq.) on the tribal origin of guilds.

of the joint brotherhoods of primitive society. Of the contract of Mandatum or Agency he says :

The only complete representation of one man by another which the Roman law allowed was the representation of the *Paterfamilias* by the son or slave under his power. The representation of the Principal by the Agent is much more incomplete, and it seems to me probable that we have in it a shadow of that thorough coalescence between two individuals which was only possible anciently when they belonged to the same family. \*

Sir H. Maine believes—though here I must allow the theologians to take issue with him—that spiritual relationship, in the case of which intermarriage is prohibited by the Church, is an extension of the idea of kinship to a new sphere. Another peculiar illustration he considers to be the institution of Fosterage among the ancient Irish, or the giving and taking of children for nurture, in which the relations of foster-parent and foster-child tended to become indistinguishable from those of father and son.† Then there was in Ireland Literary Fosterage, an institution consisting of the relations between the Brehon teacher and his pupils, which the Brehon tracts expressly state created the same *patria potestas* as actual paternity. These instances are given by Sir H. Maine to show that the generation of new ideas, which he believes to be the principle of progress, is not so rapid as is generally supposed, even in Western communities.

8. Chronology and geography represent the elements of time and space in history. They may be called handmaids of history. Chronology is the chart of history, and I may simply remark that a scientific chronology is of the highest importance in historical study. Of the truly great value, perhaps not hitherto sufficiently acknowledged in practice, of the study of historical geography, I may cite the instance of Burgundy in illustration.‡ As Mr. Bryce remarks, it would be difficult to find any geographical name which has caused more confusion. The following are the different senses in which the name is most frequently found :—

1. The Kingdom of the Burgundians (A.D. 406-534), occupying the whole valley of the Saône and Lower Rhone, from Dijon

\* "Early History of Institutions," pp. 234-5.

† An entire sub-tract is devoted to the Law of Fosterage in the *Saechas Mor*, one of the tracts of the ancient laws of Ireland.

‡ This account is abridged from Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," Appendix, Note A. See also Freeman's "Historical Essays" ("The Franks and the Gauls").



to the Mediterranean, and including also the western half of Switzerland.

II. The Kingdom of Burgundy in the Merovingian period, somewhat smaller than I.

III. The Kingdom of Provence or Burgundy, founded A.D. 879, including Provence, Dauphiné, the southern part of Savoy, and the country between the Saône and the Jura.

IV. The Kingdom of Trans-Jurane Burgundy, founded A.D. 888, including the northern part of Savoy, and all Switzerland between the Reuss and the Jura.

V. The Kingdom of Burgundy or Arles, formed A.D. 937 by the union of III. and IV. From 1032 it formed part of the Empire. It has since, bit by bit, been absorbed by France, except the Swiss portion.

VI. The Lesser Duchy, corresponding very nearly with what is now Switzerland west of the Reuss, including the Valais. It disappeared from history in the thirteenth century.

VII. The Free County or Palatinate of Burgundy, lying between the Saône and the Jura. It was a fief of the Empire, and afterwards became French.

VIII. The Landgraviate of Burgundy, lying in what is now Western Switzerland, on both sides of the Aar, between Thun and Solothurn—hardly mentioned after the thirteenth century.

IX. The Circle of Burgundy, established by the Emperor Charles V. in 1548, including VII. and the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands.

X. The Duchy of Burgundy, the most northerly part of the old kingdom of the Burgundians, always a fief of the Crown of France, and a province of France till the Revolution. Of this Charles the Bold was duke; he was also count of VII.

HENRY WORSLEY.

## ART. VIII.—A SYMPOSIUM ON HOME RULE.

### I. THE CLAIM FOR HOME RULE, UPON GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

ALTOGETHER apart from the world of politics, there are many minds for whom the Irish Question has a singular interest, on account of the social laws of which it reveals the working, and the problems which it presents for solution. In so far as it casts light upon the action and direction of social forces, it has a scientific value far above local or national

interests, and affects our knowledge of a far wider area than of Ireland or the British Empire. We cannot look upon the Irish Question merely as a troublesome incident of our own times. There was an Irish Question in 1573, in 1649, in 1688, in 1782, in 1798, quite as much as in 1829, in 1848, in 1867, in 1870, in 1882, or 1886. For three centuries, at least, it lies all along the line of our history. The very amount and persistence of the friction shows the depth and the force of the causes at work. The issues now involved are naturally of an advanced kind. We may take comfort in the thought that they are those which could occur only at an advanced stage of the political education of nations, and such as never could have arisen except in the midst of liberty-loving, liberty-giving peoples.

Let us state the problem. We have in the three kingdoms more than thirty millions of people united under the same Crown and Constitution. Of these, four millions are disaffected. They themselves would use a stronger word, but we may say that they dislike the legislative Union; they dislike their rulers; they dislike the system and method in which they are governed. It is no part of our plan to discuss whether this disaffection is reasonable or unreasonable. It is enough to point out the fact that it exists. When we remember that it has prevailed in three-fourths of the island for centuries, we are not likely to be soothed into the belief that it is merely the expression of a "minority" or the work of "agitators." Both countries can afford to agree that disaffection is an evil. Whatever may be the present or future of Ireland, it never can be her real interest that her relations with any people, and least of all with England, should be other than those of co-operation and goodwill. On the other hand, if the might of England were greater than it is, it never could be her interest to have, so to speak, within her frontiers, four millions of secret or avowed enemies, ready to hail her "difficulty" as their "opportunity." Such disaffection is rightly regarded as a weak point in the Empire, a drawback in peace, and, possibly, a danger in war. It is certain that disaffection, as an evil, ought to be removed. It is equally certain that it is not an evil which can be removed at the point of the sword. It is plain that the root of the evil lies in feeling. Force cannot suppress feeling. It strengthens it. Force can only silence the outward expression of feeling. If any lesson has been clearly conveyed by Anglo-Irish history, it is that force is a remedy for rebellion, but not for disaffection. If England's mission were nothing higher or better than the maintenance of mere outward public order, no one will doubt that her soldiers can always be relied upon to secure it. When we are reduced to look no higher than mere brute force, we have

Mr. Chamberlain's authority for believing that thirty-two millions of people will have really nothing to fear in dealing with four. But if the aim of England is something nobler—as to all patriotic Englishmen we conceive it must be—if it is not only to provide for the peace, but to promote the happiness of all parts of the three kingdoms, then the problem is one of a higher kind. We conceive that to all Englishmen the first article of the national creed is, and ever must be, the unity of the Empire. By every title of duty and patriotism they are bound to seek and secure it as something sacred, to hold it as a doctrine, and to cultivate it as a virtue. But by the very force of the fact we are bound to believe that they will not rest satisfied with anything less than unity in its highest, strongest and most perfect attainable form. When we remember that, in the problem before them, the factors to be united are men and races, living and intelligent forces, progress postulates that the unity desiderated be something stronger and better than a dead physical bond, and that the object aimed at be to promote a living moral union between them. It is patriotism therefore, as well as progress, to desire to see all parts of the Empire, and especially its three nucleal parts, united, not in fetters of force and fear, but in the fellowship of friendship and freedom. The evolution of such a union is the task not of soldiers but of statesmen. But to succeed, it must reach the evil it seeks to remedy. It must aim at effecting a change, not merely in what Irishmen say and do, but in what they think and feel towards this country. It is easy to mistake how much that means. Men are wearied of hearing that it is only a question of dealing firmly and fairly with the Irish people. Conservatives emphasize the "firmly" and Liberals dwell upon the "fairly." Neither seem to have any well-defined conception as to how much is implied by firmness, or how much is included in fairness. Both are clearly separated by more than the breadth of a silver streak from the mind of Irishmen, whose main grievance is not the *kind* but the *extent* of the dealing, and who desire to be spared any dealing whatever, firm or fair, in those things which they conceive to be purely their own concern. Nothing is more endless or hopeless than any attempt to settle the question by mere polemic or controversy. As in all great questions, the facts are of too vast and varied a kind to be completely grasped by any individual mind, and each one will have his judgment swayed, and his sympathies awakened, by the particular section of facts presented to him. The worst enemies of truth are not those who distort or deny facts, but those who select them. It requires but little acquaintance with such questions to find that facts are much like so many keys, from which, by skill of



touch and selection, almost any kind of music can be made, and upon which the "Rights of England" or the "Wrongs of Ireland" can be played with equal pathos and facility. The public mind of the age may, perhaps, alone be trusted to gradually grasp the facts as a whole, and on them to found, slowly and surely, its irresistible verdict. For such reasons, we take it that the question may be approached with better chance of success—at all events, with less danger of coloured views—if we consider it from a higher and wider ground than that of the mere local issues. We venture to indicate certain ideas, which we conceive to be at work, in one form or another, in the minds of those who are actors and supporters of the movement. We do not judge of their soundness or unsoundness, but merely point them out as affecting, at least to some extent, the direction of thought and action in the Home Rule Question. We briefly review these ideas in succession.

1. THE IDEA OF A "PEOPLE."—The idea of a people has a peculiar interest and importance, because to many it seems to contain the root of the Irish Question, and to some extent the key to its solution. It is often the preconceived notion which we form to ourselves of what is meant by a "people" that makes us, almost unconsciously, Unionists or Home Rulers. We may loosely define a people as a mass of men living together on the same territory. By living together, we mean that they inter-dwell and intermarry, and are thereby bound together in a community of blood, life, and interest. Races of widely different type and origin may undoubtedly be welded into one people, as were the Norman and Saxon in former times, and as are the various nationalities of the United States population in our own. But in all cases, two conditions are plainly required. First, that the element races should be poured into the same territory; and secondly, that they should unite by intermarriage and be fused by intercourse and concourse in all the purposes of life. Apart from these conditions, and where peoples are locally separate, they remain distinct, even though they may be closely combined under the same political sovereignty. History presents such examples as Spain and the Netherlands, Turkey and Greece, Austria and Lombardy. We have in our own days such instances as England and Ireland, Russia and Poland, Austria and Hungary. On the other hand, in the formation of a people, descent from a single stock is clearly immaterial. A people is moulded and made, not so much by its past origin as by its actual circumstances. It is not by being *born from* a given race, but by being *born into* it, that we have the people, or "*natio*" as we should have preferred to call it. In conceiving the notion of a people, we have, therefore, to avoid the two extremes of needlessly

narrowing it into the idea of race, or of thoughtlessly broadening it into the idea of State, an error which is peculiarly mischievous and misleading, because it involves an utter confusion of the natural with the political order. The State is the work of man. The people is the work of nature. Purely artificial conditions, such as arise from accidents of power, conquest, combination, may easily unite men into one State. Nothing but the natural conditions of blood, life, and place can unite them into one people. Union into one State is man-made, and can be brought about by human conventions. Union into one people is nature-made, and can no more be effected apart from the natural processes, than trees or animals could be made by an Article of a treaty or an Act of Parliament. The State is a combination of citizens under one supreme government. The people is a mass of individuals who intermarry and dwell together on the same territory. The two ideas are as distinct as the ideas of life and government—nature and politics. England and Ireland form one State. Just as certainly, they form two distinct Peoples. If it be thought desirable that in the two countries there should be but one people, there is but one way of effecting it. A given proportion of Englishmen should be distributed into all parts of Ireland (not planted in separate districts), and a corresponding proportion of Irishmen should be settled in like manner in England, and in such a way that both elements in both countries may be, as completely as possible, fused and intermingled.\* Such an experiment in the wielding and welding of peoples would be rightly regarded as gigantic and abnormal. But until it is made, the two peoples, as peoples, are as plainly and palpably distinct as the two islands. A union on paper is not a union in nature. Two peoples, naturally distinct, cannot be bewitched into one because we have passed an Act of Parliament or made their representatives sit in the same Chamber. It would be mere political superstition to believe so.

We take it, therefore, that the truest idea of a people is that which is expressed by saying that it is a natural product of the highest order, and one which is formed, fixed, and individualized by conditions of natural force and endurance.

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\* It may be worth while to observe, that even then it may be fairly doubted if the solution would be a final one. The Irish Sea would still be broad enough to make the two countries two distinct centres of association and intermarriage, and in the lapse of time, the natural forces at work would irresistibly revive the distinction of peoples. Give nature a separate place, and in the long run she will make a separate people. Such an evolution might be the work of centuries, but it sufficiently indicates that solutions like to the above are not upon the lines of nature, but rather opposed to them.

From the idea of its individuality, we pass, at one step, to that of its personality. Men cannot live together in one people, in one place, and under like conditions, without becoming insensibly like to one another, and developing a like type of character. They will be instinct with a deep consciousness of, and deep sympathy with, that type as common to themselves and distinct from others. The personality thus evolved is concrete and real with all the reality of nature, for not only is it rooted in the depths of the individual nature, but one of the most stupendous forces in nature, the principle of heredity, is ever at work in its construction. By association, men have their characters assimilated. By heredity, the common type thus formed is transmitted with all its leading features developed and intensified. That is only to say, in other words, that the disposition of a man will resemble that of his neighbours, and that he will transmit it to his children in a more pronounced form. Thence we may say that in a people we have two principles of powerful and penetrating influence ever at work—one acting laterally by association, the other vertically by heredity—the one ever tending to unify, the other ever tending to develop and intensify the national character. That character includes a whole complexus of convictions, perceptions, habits of thought and life, tastes and sympathies, the joint outcome, during ages, of manifold conditions of race, place, and history. A people, like a plant, if it grows at all, must grow within the lines of its own type, and external conditions will not prevent it from presenting, more and more clearly, the features of its own specific structure. Its progress can have but one direction—namely, towards the fixity and fulness of its national character. It is undeniably true that increase of communication between the nations, the spread of education and community of thought, have tended to assimilate peoples and abrade differences of character. But where peoples are locally separate, the forces of assimilation from without are but feeble compared to the forces of development—heredity and association, from within. The rate of intercommunication, so to speak, never equals the rate of intra-communication, and peoples tend, by the law of their life, more to distinctness than to sameness of national character. This perhaps would go, in some measure, to explain the fact—if it is a fact—that after seven centuries of English rule, nearly a century of legislative union with England, and more than fifty years of a system of distinctively English education, Ireland is to-day more Irish, more intelligently conscious of her nationhood, and more articulate in her cry for national life and action, than she has been at any period since the days of her conquest. We may at least conclude that a people, if it exists at all, exists in a personality. That personality cannot be treated as a sentiment.



or an abstraction. It is something as real as life, and as enduring as nature. Nor can it be got rid of. It is rooted in an individuality of character which the centuries of its past have done nothing but develop, and which the centuries of its future will do nothing but strengthen and expand. In these countries, men rightly hold that political manliness consists in being not only just but practical, and in having both a genuine fondness of facts and the courage of facing them. The existence of a people, as a people, is a fact of the first magnitude. The personality of a people, and the claims attaching to it, are facts of the highest order. A view which consents to ignore or override such facts, is of all views the one which has the least claim to be either promising or practical. We cannot say to a people: you form one State with us, therefore as a people you have ceased to exist; you have been conquered, therefore you have no longer a personality. A people is a natural fact. Its personality is a natural force. State combinations can neither make them nor destroy them. No policy is so quixotic as that which offers battle to the facts and forces of nature.

2. THE IDEA OF "LAW."—From the notion of a people as a unit, and a personality, naturally arises the idea of Law. Law is to a people what a rule of life is to an individual. A people cannot but live, act, and seek its happiness, and law is the way, the fixed method by which it seeks it. The Irish problem involves one of the highest questions of law—the right of law-making. In forming to ourselves a clear conception of the nature of law, much is to be gained by realizing its connection with the two ideas—"Happiness" and "Contract."

If law had for its object nothing more than the quest of abstract justice, it might be regarded as an exact science; laws good for one country would be equally good for another, and we might have one code for the whole world, as easily as we have one multiplication-table. But justice is merely the basis of law, and the deciding and dealing of it, but a small part of its scope. In these days, our laws give form to, and take charge of, the whole public life of the people. They frame and guide all the great works of public utility, the machinery of government, the administration of justice, the regulation of trade, of education, and relief of the poor. In all such works, the object of the law is not merely justice, but goodness—that is, it aims not only at protecting rights, but at appointing the best and most efficient way in which such works can be carried out. Its scope has clearly widened from the dealing of justice to the doing of good. Instead of having before it the straight line of justice, it has before it the wide field of goodness. There is only one way of *being just*, but there are countless ways of *doing good*. The

forms of truth and justice are one; the forms of goodness are many. Thus in drafting a Poor-law, when we have done perfect justice to both the ratepayer and the pauper, there still remains within the limits of justice an endless variety of ways, all just, and all more or less efficient, in which the law may be constructed. Out of these ways, one has to be chosen. What is to determine the choice? In other words, what consideration is to give to the law its form and direction? To that question, we can conceive but one possible answer. The law will take that form which will tend most to the happiness of the people for whom the law is intended. Within the limits of justice, law cannot be conceived to have any other aim or object than the happiness of the people. But from the moment we grant that law has for its object the popular happiness—and the very notion of law leads us straight and irresistibly to it—we cannot escape the question of popular character. As within the limits of right there are many ways of being good, so there are many ways of being happy, and the choice of the most successful way is clearly a matter of character. The question of happiness is inseparable from the question of character. Each one is happy in his own way. That which gives happiness to one, will not give happiness, but the reverse, to one of opposite disposition and temperament. In like manner, each people—for the people is only the individual in aggregate—finds its happiness in that which is best fitted to its own character. We can readily imagine the storm of indignation and the cry of execration which would be raised in this country if any Ministry proposed to remove the British Constitution and substitute in its stead the Code Napoléon—or in France, if it were suspected that the government of the day were conspiring to abrogate their actual forms and the Code Napoléon in favour of the British Constitution—or in either country, if any attempt were made to force upon it those systems of law and government to which Russians, and even Germans, are said to be attached. This seems to prove how much law has to do with national character. Law is an expression of natural right, but within the limits of right it is quite as much the expression of, and an adjustment to, the character and temperament of peoples. Thence we take it, if law has for its object the popular happiness, it is bound, by the logic of the fact, to be to the liking of the people, and in harmony with the character of the people. It never can be so, unless it has its root and its inspiration in the mind and will of the people. That is only to say that the action of the people should proceed from the will of the people, and the people, like to all things living, should have its movement from within, and not like things mechanical, from without.

That a man should be constrained to adopt, in those things

which concern himself alone, a rule of life and conduct dictated by his neighbour, in opposition to his own convictions, tastes, and sympathies, and be thus forced to seek happiness according to the will and wont of another, is plainly unnatural in the case of individuals. It would seem monstrously unnatural in the case of peoples. If a people has the right to seek its happiness, and if its happiness can only be in harmony with its character, and if law is the method by which it seeks it, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that law-making is an inherent right in the life of every people. No citizen who respects himself could consent to have his household affairs regulated by the State, by the municipality, or by his neighbour. No people that respects itself can consent to have its internal life driven and regulated by laws made by another people. Each people knows best what is for its own happiness. It alone has the consciousness of its own character, its own genius, its own wants, its own ways. If another people imagines that it possesses this insight, and takes upon it to legislate for the happiness of another people, its perceptions will be probably the merest guess-work, and its legislation the merest blundering. The good-natured meddler, who takes complete charge of your happiness, and insists upon regulating it after his own taste, down to the minutest detail, forcing *you* to be happy according to *his* way, is, if not the most terrible, at least the most ludicrous of persecutors. There seems much to justify the conviction that one people is naturally incapable of legislating for the happiness of another. If English laws have failed to make Ireland happy, it may afford some consolation to think that the failure is due, not so much to any want of strength, or wisdom, or latterly of goodwill, in those that made them, but to the fact that they worked upon an unnatural method, and attempted the impossibility of making one people happy by another people's judgment.

That peoples have, by the law of their life, the right of law-making, and that one people is by nature incapable of successfully making laws for another, are positions which may be held totally apart from any consideration of separation or distinct national independence. To apply the principles which underlie them, we do not need to postulate that England and Ireland are distinct States, but we postulate what nature has already granted (and with a certain measure of emphasis) that the English and the Irish are distinct peoples. To hold that Home Rule means disintegration of the Empire seems to utterly confuse two different sets of rights, one exterior, the other interior—viz., the rights which a community must admit to be exercised over it from without by the State of which it forms a part, and the rights which the community itself exercises inwardly over its



own members. To grant a people which forms a distinct part of the Empire the interior right of making its own laws, no more disintegrates the Empire than the right of a municipality to manage its own affairs disintegrates the State, or the right of a citizen to manage his own household disintegrates the municipality. That is only to say that the exercise of interior rights never weakens or impedes the exercise of exterior rights, any more than a man becomes less bound towards his rulers or his employers because he has the control of his own servants or of his own children. If four men, with their families, land upon a desert island, three would undoubtedly have the right of controlling the fourth in all things which concern their common safety, convenience, and welfare. But neither their numbers nor their strength would give them the right to deprive him of the management of his own household, or to control him by their joint will in those things which concern the happiness of himself and his household alone. Such an infringement of personal liberty would be tantamount to slavery. Nor would it be less so because they took him into their counsels, and allowed him a voice in *their* management of *his* affairs. They would still be the majority, and all that concerned himself and his happiness would still be at their mercy. A slave is not less a slave because he is allowed to have a voice in the choosing of his chains. The present age has definitely condemned slavery, and has decided that in those things which concern himself alone, every man has an inalienable right to be free. For men let us substitute peoples, and the inference would be that when one people dominates over another, not merely to keep the latter within the same State, or in those things which affect their common well-being (to all of which it may have a perfect right), but to such an extent as to penetrate into the internal and personal life of the subject people, and absorb and control the regulation of its domestic government, we have a case of something which closely resembles political slavery; at least we have a state of things which would be plainly and simply slavery in the case of individuals. There is clearly a sense in which neither superior strength nor fact of conquest justifies a man in becoming the master of another man. There is likewise a sense in which no people, however strong or victorious, can have any right to dominate another people. For these reasons, many minds are disposed to see in the Home Rule agitation, in the growing prominence recently given to the idea of federation, and to the marked tendency towards local government, so many evidences of the social evolution, which are but the higher and grander expansions of the great anti-slavery movement and constitutional movement which preceded them. That evolution promises to do now for the

rights of peoples what was then so successfully done for the rights of individuals and citizens, and by a deepening sense of the dignity of peoples, as of the dignity of man, works out the liberty of both, and proves how even in the political order not might, nor strife, nor violence, but "the truth shall make us free."

Another aspect of law, bearing still more closely on the question of law-making, is its relation to the idea of "contract." To many minds the mere mention of contract in connection with the idea of law and government, will import into the question an unwelcome flavour of Rousseau and the principles of '89. It is very certain that society did not begin in the form of a contract. It would seem to be far less certain that it will not end there. At least, the relations of society have for ages been undergoing a gradual evolution, and straightly and steadily in the direction of contract. One mistake, if not the chief mistake, of Rousseau seems to have been that he put the *contrat social* at the wrong end of human history, and not to have seen that systems of contract were to be the fruit of evolution, and that therefore it was the future, and not the past, which belonged to them. We cannot look back without finding how the slave became the serf, and the serf became the free workman who contracts for his labour; or how the more or less despotic sovereign became the limited monarch or temporary president, whose powers have taken the shape of constitutions, which are simply internal treaties or the highest form of national contract. Contract has plainly come to be the relationship of the employer to the employed, of the governing to the governed.\*

Moreover, the very idea of Law seems to include in itself the idea of Contract. If law be the fixed method by which a people seeks its happiness, that method must be in some form or other the outcome of an *agreement* amongst its members. Such an agreement to act together in a given way is clearly a contract. From the moment that we accept law as having the nature of contract, considerable light is cast on both the making and the matter of law. If we wish to know who should have a share in *making* a law, we have only to ask ourselves, who should have share in making a bargain? Clearly those whose bargain it is,

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\* "Nor is it difficult to see what is the tie between man and man which replaces by degrees those forms of reciprocity in rights and duties which have their origin in the family. It is contract. Starting as from one terminus of history, from a condition of society, in which all the relations of persons are summed up in the relations of the family, we seem to have steadily moved to a phase of social order in which all these relations arise from the free agreement of individuals. In Western Europe the progress achieved in this direction has been considerable."—Sir H. MAINE'S *Ancient Law*, p. 167.

and who are parties to the contract. In like manner, if law is contract, it should be made by those, and by those alone, whose law it is and whose interests are affected by the making and the keeping of it. A law affecting purely the domestic government and interests of Ireland is, or should be, simply a bargain or contract by which the Irish people agree to act in a given way in their own country to secure their own happiness. They naturally ask, why should Englishmen and Scotchmen be called in to help in the making of it—not only to help, but to decide whether it is to be made at all, or, if made, what form it is to assume? At root, it seems about as logical as if one Manchester merchant selling cotton to another, were required to call in a dozen London merchants to decide first whether he is to sell it at all, or, if so, to dictate what are the conditions under which the sale is to be effected. In certain phases of the present agitation in Ireland, the national movement has been accused of threatening or impeding that of which all free men are rightfully jealous—the liberty of contract. But if law itself is contract, then Home Rule, or the right of a people to make their own laws, is the highest and most precious form of the Liberty of Contract. If law, looked at as a contract, indicates its maker, it no less clearly indicates its matter. The matter of a bargain can only be what is the concern purely of those who make it. It is clear that A and B alone cannot make a contract which concerns A, B and C. Laws which affect the interests of the three kingdoms, and imply the united action of the three peoples, are imperial contracts, and the three peoples, through their representatives, must unite in making them. But laws which affect the interests of one people, and involve the action of its members only, are purely national contracts, and that people alone, through its representatives, has any right to a share in their formation. That is, the law-makers should be the law-keepers, and laws, like contracts, be made by the parties concerned. It is possible, of course, that law may be something more than contract, and that liberty of contract may mean something very much less than Home Rule. But if the assimilation of law to contract leads logically to Home Rule, as to some it certainly seems to do, one of two things appear to be inevitable—either Home Rule will be conceded, or law in the British Isles will be arrested in its natural evolution and divorced from the progress which law will continue to make on the lines of contract in all other parts of the civilized world—the most improbable of all improbabilities.

3. THE IDEA OF "LIBERTY."—The idea of liberty is so inseparably bound up with that of law, that the two must be given and taken together. In these times, little is to be gained by leaden denunciations of liberty; still less by carping distrust of liberty;



and least of all, by empty professions of love of liberty. No one can disguise from himself the fact that liberty is the great motive idea of modern life. It is useless to argue from its abuses, just as it would be useless to denounce free-will on account of the sinfulness which is due to it. Men will never cease to love liberty with all its abuses, far better than oppression with all its advantages. They would cease to be men, if they did. At all events, the progress of the world is plainly and steadily in that direction, and the social world, like the physical one, never stops or turns back in its orbit. Those who have a distrust of modern systems will find their hands strengthened in the defence of law, in proportion as they may deign to give proof that they themselves have a genuine love of liberty, and a clear conception of liberty. It only concerns us to examine the idea of liberty in so far as it may be a motor in the question we are considering, and to define it as we conceive it to exist in the minds of many who are moved by it. We may take liberty to be, simply, the right of every man to do what he pleases, as long as he does not attack or inconvenience his neighbour. If he attacks his neighbour, the latter has the right of self-defence, and that right is a natural one, proceeding from God in the natural order. This right of self-defence existing radically in the individual, and collectively in the community, and exerted by duly appointed rulers, identifies itself with the civil power, which thus in the natural order comes from God, is His ordinance, and bears His sanction. As long as we leave our neighbour alone, we are absolutely free. It is only when we attack him individually or in the community, that the right of self-defence comes into play against us; and by our "resistance" we resist God in the natural order. Thence it is only when we transgress that our neighbour or society can rightfully use their power against us, and only evil-doers come within reach of the sword. The right of self-defence vested in the prince "is not a terror to the good but to the evil." As long as we do not hurt or hinder our neighbour, we are as free as if we alone stood upon the planet. Law, in fact, is the obverse side of liberty. That a man should seek happiness, is "life." That he should not impede his neighbour from doing likewise, is "law." That he himself should not be impeded, is "liberty."

The perfection of our liberty is that it knows no bounds except our neighbour's right of self-defence, and that is less of a limit than a safeguard. Next to being, as we are, absolutely free within our own sphere of action, we can desire nothing better than that, in the event of our wandering beyond it, there should be a power at hand ready to replace us within it. It is, of course, obvious that society's right of self-defence includes the right to

free itself from any impediment in seeking its happiness, and consequently the right to claim the co-operation of all its members in all things that are rightful and needful to the common weal.

The above conception of liberty leads to certain conclusions. Of these, the first, though almost a truism, is not unfrequently ignored—namely, that majorities, or the State of which majorities express the will, have not the right to do all things—even those things which are just. Their omnipotence is a political superstition, and a heresy against freedom. They have only the right to defend themselves, and to claim co-operation in those things which are necessary to the common good. When the majority goes farther it becomes a despot all the more monstrous because so many-headed and powerful.

It would likewise follow, that we are not to be carried away by the specious but superficial saying—All parts of a community must be subject to the whole. All parts must be subject in those things *which affect the welfare of the whole*. In other things, which concern purely the well-being of the part, that part alone has the right of control, and the community at large has no authority to justify an interference. Were it otherwise, an Englishman's house would cease to be his castle, and there would no longer exist any guarantee for municipal, household, or even personal liberty, except by the gracious permission of our neighbours as represented in the State majority.

We then come to the pertinent part of the consideration. We have in the British Isles, three peoples and one Parliament. That means that we are in the illogical position in which *all governs each in all things*. It is, of course, undeniable that all should govern each in the *things which concern all*. But it is neither justice, nor logic, nor liberty that all should govern each in the *things that concern each alone*. The logical formula of liberty would be that *all* should govern each in the things that concern *all*, and that *each* should govern itself in the things that concern *each*. At present, each people has to deal with two masters, besides itself, in managing affairs which concern itself alone. The fact that England escapes all inconvenience and gains all the ascendancy by her preponderance in Parliament—a preponderance perfectly due to her in imperial matters, and equally undue in national matters—makes the system less inexpedient, but certainly not less unjust. It has been urged that the actual arrangement, if not logical—a matter of small consequence—is, at least, not inequitable. If the three peoples were of equal strength and equal representation, there might be a semblance of equity of all governing each even in the affairs of each. But even then the system sins against liberty. An Irish or Scotch people could have no right to regulate the domestic

government of England, because the English people had a voice in regulating theirs. A man is not the less oppressed because he has his turn at oppressing other people, and an interference in our neighbours' concerns is not in itself justifiable because they are guilty of interfering in ours. But if among the three peoples one has an overwhelming preponderance of votes, all semblance of justice disappears as far as national affairs are concerned. Any measure sought by one or other of the weaker peoples, however much it may be desired, however needful to its prosperity, however exclusively its own concern and interest, is at the mercy of the will or caprice of the larger people. Thence what we may regard as the sophistry of the saying, "We treat the Irish people as we do ourselves." England makes her own laws, and by her majority in Parliament can pass any measure she pleases. Ireland or Scotland cannot pass any law, but must accept what is decided by the English people. England governs herself. Ireland and Scotland, even in their own affairs, are governed by England, and cannot move a step towards their own welfare, except by the consent of the English people in both Houses. That is, England makes her own laws, while Ireland and Scotland must be content to have their laws made in England and by England. To base a plea of equity and sameness of treatment upon the sameness of the laws and franchise obtaining in the three kingdoms, would be clearly an evasion. It is the argument of a master who says to his servant—"I treat you precisely as I do myself, and here is the proof. I do *my* own will, and I require you to do *my* will—therefore we are both in the same position and receive the same treatment." The laws in Ireland and Scotland are simply expressions of the will of the English people. When the master says—I do *my* will, and in managing your own concerns you will do *your* will—when English laws are made by the English people in England, and Irish laws, which concern Irish interests alone, are made by the Irish people in Ireland—then, but not till then, can we set up a plea of equality of treatment.

The idea of Liberty has an important bearing upon the question of how far Home Rule may satisfy the Irish people, or whether it may lead to a policy of separation. One of the strongest and deepest motives in their agitation is the sense that their position is contrary to self-respect and to liberty. They will not rest content with anything less than freedom, but freedom does not mean separation. Liberty does not require that a man shall not be controlled in his exterior action, which is exerted in co-operation with others. In that sense, no one is free. A man cannot do what he pleases in a city, nor a city in the State, nor the State itself in the concert of States. It is the controlling of his interior



action—action which concerns himself alone—that destroys liberty. Ireland naturally aspires to freedom. But her freedom would be in no sense impaired by her remaining and acting as part of the three kingdoms of the British Empire. By having her exterior co-operation in imperial affairs governed and guided by an Imperial Parliament, she would not surrender her freedom, any more than a citizen ceases to be free when he obeys the law of the State or the municipality. Ireland is an island on the side of Great Britain, just as Great Britain is an island on the side of Europe. As Great Britain can do nothing in Europe except by the consent of the European Concert, and is not the less free on that account, so Ireland, forming as she does, geographically, a part of the British Empire, has nothing to fear, but much to hope, for her liberty or dignity in acting as part of the system and having her co-operation in imperial affairs controlled by an Imperial Parliament. Ireland is dissatisfied, not because she forms a part of the British Empire, but because the English people make her laws and manage her interests in all that concerns her own domestic government. At least, we merely wish to indicate that the idea of liberty, which has certainly been a powerful factor in the movement, does distinctly, by the very force of its meaning, imply Home Rule; and on the other hand, just as certainly, it has, within that meaning, nothing which postulates separation. If Home Rule is a condition of true freedom, it is even more the interest of Great Britain to concede it, than of Ireland to possess it. Nations grow stronger, not weaker, by the imparting of liberty. In last analysis, all life finds its happiness in law, and its fulness in liberty. Peoples, the highest of all living things, seek both as the breath of their existence, and progress and prosper in proportion as they draw nearer in likeness to that higher order in which the trinity of life and law and liberty are one and indivisible.

4. THE IDEA OF "LOYALTY."—The good understanding now more than ever to be desired between England and Ireland has not been improved by the resentment which Englishmen naturally feel against Irish disloyalty, and the resentment which Irishmen feel in being asked for a loyalty, which to them would be, not a duty, but a degradation. We conceive that much of the misunderstanding is due to the double sense in which the word *loyalty* can and ought to be accepted. No one will question that loyalty is one of the most sacred of duties, and one of the most beautiful and reasonable of virtues. Next to Religion, by which mind and heart are kept lifted up in lasting and loving allegiance to God, we can conceive nothing more beautiful than loyalty, by which they are turned to that authority by which, in Church or State, God is represented. We mean therefore by

loyalty, the reverence, the love, the service which we give to a duly constituted authority. As far as the civil power is concerned, it needs but little analysis to find that it consists of two distinct and separable elements. The first is a judgment of our reason by which we recognize the necessity of public order, and a power to maintain it, and the duty of rendering obedience to its laws. To this dictate of reason, Faith lends a still higher and holier sanction. The second is an affection of the heart, by which we love the constituted authority, wish with enthusiasm its permanence and prosperity, and find our happiness in supporting and defending it. The first element is essential. The second is accidental, and is not logically a State feeling, but a people or race feeling. We recognize and obey the civil power because we are reasonable men; but we love it because it is *ours*, and we see in it the impersonation of our people, our own race, with whom we are united by every tie of blood and interest. Loyalty, so considered, is simply the family affection of the nation turned towards its natural head, in whom the national self is represented. The first element is loyalty as a "duty." The second is loyalty as a "feeling." Loyalty as a duty may be expected from all members of the same State. Loyalty as a feeling can be expected only from members of the same people in whom the civil authority is vested. Thence it is mere confusion of thought to suppose that the same conditions govern the loyalty of a dominant as of a subject people. Love, and all that springs from love, wish for permanence, enthusiasm of service, may be naturally expected of the one—a people can hardly help loving itself; it can hardly be hoped for in the other, any more than a man expects filial tenderness from his butler or his junior partner in business. An Englishman, an Austrian, a Russian, a Turk, who does not wish well to the British, the Austrian, the Russian, or Ottoman Empire, is rightly regarded as a traitor, and his want of affection for his people, unnatural and contemptible. But when we come to peoples distinct from the above races, but subject to them, we are obliged to modify, and in some measure to reverse, our judgment of disloyalty. What would be the candid opinion formed by the average Englishman, of a Pole who did not *wish* for the freedom of Poland, or, in other days, of a Venetian who did not desire the freedom of Lombardy, or of a Greek who was opposed to the emancipation of Greece? What would he say, for instance, of a crowd in the streets of Warsaw cheering the Russian military governor, a crowd in a piazza of Venice cheering an Austrian Archduke, or a crowd in the streets of Athens strewing flowers in the path of a Turkish Pacha. Slaves or hypocrites!—slaves, if they meant it; hypocrites, if they did

not. What, then, is the loyalty due by peoples that are subject to or distinct from the people with whom they form one State? It is a question of duty and morality, and we turn for guidance to the Church. We gather her teachings, not from passages in Encyclicals in which the Holy Father has mainly before his mind the duties of the subjects in general towards their rulers, and therefore, for the most part, countries which are governed by their own peoples, but from the ordinary and practical rules of theology which the Church has never ceased to apply, and which no confessor would dare to fail in applying, in guiding the action of subject peoples. Let us put the case in the concrete, and suppose a contingency very hateful and very improbable—that the Armada had been victorious, that Spain had conquered this country, and ruled it by a Spanish Viceroy in London, to the sorrow, discontent, and disgust of the masses of the English people. An English Catholic, in these circumstances, asks of the Church, or of his confessor, what is his duty as far as loyalty to the Spanish Crown and Government is concerned? Is he bound to recognize it? Yes, as the government for the time established. Is he bound to respect it? Yes; at least to the extent of obeying its laws. Is he bound to be subject to it? Yes; as far as not to disturb public order. Is he bound to love it, and to approve of its domination? No. Is he bound to wish for its continuance? No. Is he wrong if he declines to use prayers which express that wish? No. Is he bound to join in outward professions or demonstrations which go to express enthusiasm for, or approval of, the Spanish rule? No. May he hope and pray for the country to be delivered from it? Yes. May he join a secret society for the purpose of effecting its overthrow? No. May he take practical steps to bring about its overthrow? No; unless there are good grounds and reasonable hopes of success in so doing. In a word, his duty of loyalty as defined by the Church consists in simply not “resisting” the power which is the guarantee of public order—the “powers that are.” This teaching of the Church is the outcome of the Apostolic monition, and is what we should expect from her, a combination of the spirit of reasonableness, peacefulness, and liberty. We wonder if the given case in point, any non-Catholic religion would prescribe for Englishmen any other morality than that of which we have attempted to outline. The Church requires this measure of respect and obedience to constituted authority. But to love it, to applaud it, to pray for it, and wish for its continuance, are free gifts of the heart, and lie clearly outside the duty of loyalty. The Church requires that there shall be a civil authority, and that its laws shall not be resisted as long as it lasts. She recognizes, but she has no mission to perpetuate, the domination.



of any people. In her ritual, there is no form for the blessing of chains. To hold that loyalty is a duty, and that subject peoples must submit to the rule of the State to which they are subject, is a position which no one will call in question. But to go further, and in the sacred name of the Church, to require that the subject people must not only accept the domination of another people, but evince a loyalty which means that they love it, approve of it, wish and pray for its continuance, is neither theology, nor morality, nor Christianity, but a rather hateful combination of servility and superstition.

What, then, has England to expect of Ireland in the matter of loyalty? One half of Ulster is of the same race and religion as the British people. From them, England may justly expect loyalty, not only as a duty, but as a race feeling. They are one race with her, and they would be less than human if they did not give to her the loyalty of affection. The fact that it is also their interest to do so, need not be supposed to diminish the intensity or the merit of it. From Celtic Ireland, the Irish people—three provinces and the half of the fourth—she may always expect loyalty as a duty—viz., non-resistance to public order, and loyal co-operation and goodwill in working for all objects which have in view the common good of both countries. Less could hardly be claimed, and more will hardly be granted.

In attempting to approach the question apart from mere politics, and consider only what affects the rationale of the movement, the four ideas of "People," "Law," "Liberty," and "Loyalty" have been selected, because they seemed to bound the position which the argument of Home Rule may be supposed to occupy. The idea of "People" teaches us that Ireland is a distinct political unit in the Empire, with wants and ways of her own, and as such has a natural claim to distinct political treatment. The idea of "Law" teaches us that that treatment, however just and fair, is useless and unmeaning, unless it proceeds from *herself*, and is the outcome of her own will and character. The idea of "Liberty" teaches us that her claim to self-treatment is on the one hand a postulate of ordinary freedom, but on the other is logically distinct from any claim to exterior independence or separation. Finally, the idea of "Loyalty" teaches us what is the spirit and temper which may be reasonably presumed to preside over the relations between the two countries; how much may not be justly withheld upon the one side, how much may not be rightfully expected on the other.

The fear that Home Rule must lead to disintegration or impair the unity of the Empire seems based, first, upon a narrow or superficial conception of unity; and secondly, upon a not very high conception of the Empire. The Empire is not a dead

physical mass, that becomes united the more its elements are kneaded and pressed together. It is a combination of living and intelligent forces working together in mighty and magnificent organization. It presents therefore the character of a living mechanism. But in a mechanism unity does not consist in mere closeness of contact, but in the accurate and admirable adjustment of parts. Parts of a machine may be too close or clogged to work well together, and there is a degree of union which is fatal to unity. It is, at least, worth while to consider how far Home Rule may be, not the disintegration, but the disentanglement of the mechanism of Empire. If three partners in a mercantile firm, zealous for the consolidation of their partnership, agree to live in the same house, and by a common council regulate the details of their respective households, the purchase of food and furniture, the education of their sons and the dressing of their daughters, it might be fairly doubted whether the arrangement would for long contribute much to their peace and happiness, especially if one of the three were dominant and disposed all according to his own taste and judgment. We venture to think that upon the day when this artificial union would be broken up, and each returned to the peaceful freedom of his own establishment—(to home rule)—immeasurably more would be done for the unity and strength of the mercantile firm than upon the day when the ill-advised arrangement was first entered into. There are plainly cases in which a little less union means a great deal more unity. It is allowable, therefore, to see in Home Rule a measure, not of disintegration, but of wise devolution, by which each country is freed from unnecessary charge, control, interference in the domestic affairs of the other; by which all the intelligence, industry, and patriotism in each country is turned full on, with undistracted energy, to the development of its own resources and the working out of its own destinies; by which, in a word, all parts and powers of the Empire are set forth to function with a minimum of friction and a maximum of force and freedom. The strength of the movement will lie in the ideas of which it is made up. These motive ideas, working deftly and swiftly in the minds of men and winning their way into the conscience, are the real agitators. They are not of a kind that can be put into Kilmainham. If they are those of justice and truth the future belongs to them. The power of Great Britain is no argument against them, any more than the 100-ton gun would be an argument against a proposition in geometry. The American people were immeasurably stronger and more numerous than the negro population. Yet there were at work in behalf of the latter, ideas which were stronger than the American people, and which finally broke the bonds of the

negro with the very hands of his white brethren. If like ideas give Home Rule a place in the programme of modern progress nothing will resist its coming, and the happiest part of its triumph will be that it will come as willing work and gift of the conscience and strength of the British people. History will see in it, not the fruit of strife, or of race-hatred, or of deeds of violence, but rather one of the peaceful victories of light which mark the steps of the progress of great peoples, and which unite in the same glory both the victors and the vanquished. Great Britain is, happily, powerful; but there is a power from which she cannot escape—from which she herself would, least of all, seek an escape—the power which ideas of right and freedom exert more and more over the mind and conscience of peoples. When we believe that to that kind of pressure, Englishmen are likely to yield the most readily and completely, we feel that we pay the highest tribute to the temper of the English mind and the fibre of English character.

J. MOYES.

## II. THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF HOME RULE.

1. *Home Rule*. A reprint from the *Times* of recent Articles and Letters. The *Times* Office. 1886.
2. *Ireland*. A Book of Light on the Irish Problem, contributed in union by a number of leading Irishmen and Englishmen. Edited by ANDREW REID. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

A RUDE shock was inflicted upon the minds of the public when, towards the close of last year, it was announced one morning that Mr. Gladstone was prepared to treat with Mr. Parnell on the subject of Home Rule. The results of the general election had then become known, and it was clear that, if the Liberals meant to enjoy the sweets of office, they must make terms with the compact and determined body of men whom Mr. Parnell had obtained from "the free and independent electors" of Ireland. Had the country given Mr. Gladstone a clear majority over Conservatives and Parnellites together, Home Rule would not have found a place in the programme of the Liberal party, or exercised the constructive ability of its leader's brain. But the majority was not sufficient to crush the national aspirations of Mr. Parnell and his followers; and, accordingly, Mr. Gladstone found a "mission"—a mission from heaven to adjust the affairs of Ireland, which somehow was intermixed with a mission to sit on the right hand of the Speaker and continue his beneficent career as a parliamentary autocrat.



Never in the history of English political life has any great leader of party, with such cynical indifference to the judgment of posterity, with such total disregard of his own repeated and emphatic assurances, ventured to reverse his policy in order to secure a short-lived tenure of office. We live in an age when political morality is enforced upon mere electors by fine and imprisonment, but sin in high places goes unpunished, and the bribery of place and power is permitted to dispose of the destinies of a nation.

In one form or another the discontent of Ireland with the "Saxon yoke" has for half a century been before the English public; and, whether the demand was for Repeal or Home Rule, it was always regarded by statesmen on both sides of the House, and by Mr. Gladstone himself among the number, as lying beyond the range of discussion.\* For Mr. Gladstone in his converted frame of mind has been reserved the privilege of fulfilling his mission by proposing, if not effecting, the disintegration of the empire. He has not, indeed, as yet formulated his scheme, but there is abundant evidence to prove that some measure of Home Rule is contemplated or promised by him; and, as we shall endeavour to show in the following pages, any concession at the present time must involve one or both of the countries in irremediable disaster. Though we are still in the dark as to the nature and extent of the innovations which Mr. Gladstone intends to propose, it is clear that whatever measure of Home Rule he may think fit to introduce will come to us discredited by the circumstances of its origin. To the narrow motives of party expediency, and not to any far-seeing political foresight, must be ascribed the flagitious compact between the Liberal party and the disaffected Irish members. On one side there is the desire to secure at any price a majority in the House of Commons, on the other an unconcealed hatred of the English connection. What can be expected from a treaty between parties actuated by such motives? Not a measure in which the best interests of either England or Ireland will be carefully considered, and certainly not one in which the rights of the loyalists in Ireland will meet with sufficient recognition.

In the establishment of an emancipated Ireland there are of course indefinite possibilities as to the form of the new constitution, ranging from complete and absolute independence to a moderate measure of local government. We, for ourselves, regarding the policy of surrender as a fatal mistake, do

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\* In the March number of *Blackwood* some of the utterances of Liberal statesmen on this subject are judiciously selected.

not attach very much importance to the precise amount of concession now to be granted, for if the demands of the Nationalists are not satisfied in full, a new campaign of bluster and violence will ultimately secure to them the victory which they desire.

No one, of course, has ever defined "Home Rule." All the complicated details of government cannot be crystallized into a definition. The meaning of the words—if they ever come to have any—will have to be collected by painful study of the Act of Parliament, treaty of peace, or other document which declares the outlines of the new constitution; but we may do something towards elucidating their possible meaning, if we indicate roughly some of the types to which New Ireland may approximate.

We start with the assumption that, for the present at least, some connection is to be maintained between the countries; that Ireland is not to be set up in life as an European power, with a green flag and an empty exchequer. Little as she likes it, she must continue under the sovereign authority of the Crown of Great Britain, and bear the humiliation as best she can. And the very fact that it *is* a humiliation is what makes every scheme of Home Rule so utterly hopeless. Nothing will ever satisfy the aspirations of Irish agitators so long as England possesses even the shadow of authority within the ambit of their coast-line. Mr. Parnell makes this perfectly clear when he says, "No man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation, no man has a right to say to his country, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther,' and we have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall."

Whatever grandeur the remote future may have in store for Ireland's "Nationhood," we may dismiss for the present the notion of her separate existence, inasmuch as she has neither money nor credit, nor the means of acquiring them. Complete independence being out of the question, the loosest bond of connection is that which consists in a common Sovereign, and nothing more. Two countries thus united are only an offensive and defensive confederacy, their legislative and executive machinery being entirely disconnected. Sweden and Norway, England and Hanover in former times, and England and Scotland before the Union, furnish examples of this shadowy connection. The difficulties, however, which oppose the creation of an independent Ireland are not got rid of or diminished by simply maintaining a common sovereign authority, for the financial resources of the country would not be thereby in any way increased. Repeal of the Union, or the establishment of a

local Parliament with unlimited legislative functions, is unworkable without the separation of the Treasuries; and here again we are met by the unfortunate complication of Ireland's bankruptcy. The scheme which will probably find favour in the eyes of Ministers is that which includes the grant of parliamentary institutions, coupled with so-called guarantees that the Irish Legislature is not to meddle with Imperial affairs. There remains only, as the minimum of "remedial legislation," the establishment of some limited form of local government, like that which prevails in London and other large towns. But to this proposal we need not devote any attention, because it certainly would not be accepted by Mr. Parnell, and his approval is the touchstone to which English Ministers must now submit their measures.

Home Rule may be regarded for the present purpose as equivalent to the establishment of a legislative body in Ireland, controlled by certain limitations and restrictions to be settled diplomatically between the high contracting parties. It is in this sense that we shall use the words "Home Rule" in the following observations, which will be directed mainly to exposing the dangers and difficulties of such a scheme. Before passing to that subject, however, it may be well to recall to mind that Home Rule, as now demanded, differs essentially from Repeal of the Union and the re-establishment of Grattan's Parliament. The latter is no longer within the bounds of possibility. We cannot undo the past, and, by simply abrogating a single statute, recall to life and working order a system which has lain dead for nearly a century. What resemblance can be traced between the political conditions of Ireland at the present day and at the time of the Union? The position of parties is exactly reversed, and we cannot fail to perceive that any Chamber now elected by popular suffrage would differ widely from that Irish Parliament, composed exclusively of Protestants and Orangemen, which secured its legislative independence a hundred years ago.

One of the gravest objections to the grant of Home Rule is, that the demand for it springs from a section of the community avowedly hostile to the British connection, who profess the most ardent Nationalist principles, and who can rest satisfied with nothing short of complete independence. Now, it is grossly inaccurate to speak of Ireland as a nation. That term implies unity of race, and there is no country where the diversity of races is so fatally coincident with diversity of religion and social status. There are within the country two nations whose numbers are, roughly speaking, in the proportions of three to one. The minority are loyal to the British Crown, Protestants in religion, and were, for the most part, landowners; the majority, on the



contrary, are rebels in heart, Catholics in profession, and were, until lately, the tenants of the Protestant minority. This last relationship has, as all the world knows, been placed on a new foundation by the exceptional legislation of recent years. If English statesmen and politicians would only realize the fact that in Ireland there are two parties, or rather two nations, and not merely that one represented by the self-styled Nationalists, ready, on the removal of English restraints, to fall upon each other with the accumulated rancour of centuries, they might postpone Home Rule until there was some prospect of a peaceful issue. A war of religion, of race, of agrarian ferocity, is certainly a calamity the mere possibility of which should make men pause; and it must not be supposed that the chances of success are at all represented by the numerical strength of the two parties. The superiority of numbers on the part of the Catholics scarcely does more than counterbalance the advantages possessed by the Ulster Orangemen in resolute courage and capacity for discipline; and if the combatants were allowed to fight it out the victory might for some time be in suspense. In all probability, however, troops of American Irish would, with the connivance of the United States, be thrown into the country to help the peasantry of the South and West; and with their assistance the Orange population might eventually be exterminated. The future of the country may be left to the imaginations of those who are acquainted with that interesting ethnological development—an American Irishman. It is utterly futile to bring forward examples of Home Rule in foreign countries as precedents for Ireland. In none of them do we find the dependent country torn asunder by the animosities of conflicting races. Dr. F. L. Weinmann, in the little work which stands at the head of this article, has given a sketch of the dual system of government in Hungary and Austria, but he is compelled to admit that, "Although there are certain points of similarity in the relative positions of Hungary towards Austria and Ireland towards Great Britain, yet in many other and very important respects there is as wide a difference between the two countries as possibly can be." Another essayist, in the same volume, expresses the opinion that something closely analogous to the constitution of the American States should be conferred on the Irish people. "The nearest analogue," he says, "to the reform of Irish abuses, and the development of political and social responsibility in Ireland, is the State of the American Union." If the over-learned Professor had a character for humour, we should have imagined that he was jesting when he wrote of "the development of political and social responsibility in Ireland." Surely no country in the world has ever pushed *this* responsibility so far. It is only by the permission of the

political club, commonly known as the local branch of the National League, that life and the means of living are retained by the individual. What further development of social responsibility can there be when the slightest infringement of the rules of terror is punished by a cruel ostracism, if not by active outrage? Yet the Professor craves for a further development of political and social responsibility in a country which has invented "Boycotting!" Each State has, according to the American Constitution, the power of making local laws and of imposing taxes on property; it has its own police under its own management,

*but it can impose no customs duty or excise; it can shelter no offender against the criminal law, and protect no citizen against civil process . . . it has nothing to do with the national defence or with foreign policy; and it can decline no burdens which the authority of Congress imposes on it for Federal purposes. . . . The Supreme Court decides on the question whether enactments are constitutional or not, and disallows them in the latter contingency.*

Such is, in brief, the constitution to be bestowed upon Ireland; but does the writer imagine that Ireland under Home Rule will be less able and willing than she is at present to "shelter offenders against the criminal law," or to "protect her citizens against civil process?" The same fine sense of humour which the author displays in recommending a further development of social responsibility, is again apparent in the notion of Ireland having nothing to do with the national defence; and culminates in the suggestion that by a decree of the Supreme Court the question is to be decided, what Irish enactments are constitutional or not. The Federal process-server who brings an unpopular veto to Dublin is not likely to fare better than the humbler servant of the law does at present when he seeks to serve a writ or judgment. Willing submission to the central authority is the essence of the Federal compact. What reason is there to suppose that Ireland will suddenly acquire this spirit of international meekness? She has found turbulence, intimidation, and outrage succeed in winning freedom from her powerful but plethoric mistress, and it is extremely improbable that the victorious weapons will be at once laid aside. No: Federalism is very well for States whose tendency is centripetal; it is but a temporary expedient to counteract the forces of disintegration.

Accepting Mr. Parnell as the fully authorized spokesman of his party, we find a declaration of Nationalist policy in the following extract:—

Nothing in the world would induce me to accept on behalf of the Irish people anything but the fullest and completest control over our

own affairs. What we want for Ireland is that she shall have control over her own destinies. What we want is that Ireland shall have the power to make her own laws, without the bungling and fumbling and obstruction of an Imperial Parliament, and that to our people at home shall be handed over the right of attending to their own concerns, and managing their own business.

Here we have a claim for the fullest autonomy, but there is an unfortunate limitation which cannot be got over even by an Irish patriot, and that is the ever-recurring difficulty of finance. If Ireland were solvent, and possessed among the nations character and credit, she might of course take over her share of the National Debt, and henceforward keep her accounts in separate ledgers. But this is not possible. The connection must be maintained between the countries so far as the Treasury is concerned, and there is no department of the State which is more frequently requisitioned in Ireland. The existing loans to Ireland from the Imperial Treasury amount to no less a sum than twenty millions sterling. Irish Separatists ought in common prudence to pause before killing so auriferous a goose; for, assuredly, under a system of Home Rule, these large grants of public money will cease to be forthcoming from English resources.

In glancing at the financial aspect of Home Rule, it is necessary to consider both the present and the future, to examine the revenue account between Great Britain and Ireland as it stands in 1886, and to give due weight to the various political and economic causes which will be brought into action by the total or partial separation of the countries. The first branch of the subject has been recently examined by an eminent statistician in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*,\* and he comes to the conclusion that the English Government is a loser by Ireland to the extent of about £2,750,000 per annum, although it receives from Ireland over £3,000,000 more revenue than Ireland on any fair computation ought to pay. This is a striking result, but there seems to be a lurking fallacy in the word "ought." Inequality of taxation is certainly implied by Mr. Giffen's statement, to such an extent as to impose a crushing burden on the weaker and poorer country. But what is the fact? Not only is Ireland as mercifully treated by the tax-gatherer as Great Britain, but she is even better off than her neighbour—there being no land-tax or assessed-taxes in Ireland. The great mass of the present revenue is collected from the customs, excise, and income-tax, and these are levied in both countries under the same system and according to the same tariff. In Mr. Giffen's

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\* "The Economic Value of Ireland to Great Britain," by Robert Giffen: *Nineteenth Century*, March 1886.



"ought," therefore, there is a covert attack upon the present system of taxation, a system which has been deliberately adopted as the fairest that can be devised. Taxable resources form the basis of his calculations, and his figures (which are of course to a great extent fanciful\*) lead him to the conclusion that Ireland pays nearly £7,000,000, being a tenth or an eleventh of the taxes of the country, while her resources are only about one-twentieth. This anomaly is explained by the circumstance that the Irish are a poor people who spend an inordinate proportion of their incomes on tobacco and whisky. They can at any moment untax themselves by limiting their potations.

There can be no doubt that Great Britain spends on Ireland much more than she receives back in taxes; but it does not follow that she would be a gainer, even financially, by the quasi-independence of that country. The cost of periodically enforcing with the strong arm the observance of the guarantees, or the payment of Ireland's quota towards Imperial expenditure, coupled with the probable loss of a considerable portion thereof in famine years, would probably make up a larger Irish bill than she has at present to pay. But even these items of expenditure are insignificant in comparison with the loss and inconvenience which would result from the adoption by the Irish Parliament of an old-world commercial policy. The prohibitive duties, certain to be imposed in Ireland on English manufactured goods, would deprive England of her nearest external market; while the system of bounties, already indicated by Mr. Parnell as one of the beneficial results of Home Rule, would tend to impoverish the Irish community for the sake of some favoured form of industry. An important part of the affairs which Ireland would, under any system of Home Rule, take upon herself to manage, would be the raising of revenue by means of taxes; but where the whole power of the country is in the hands of a single class, who have hitherto shown themselves not over-scrupulous as to the means by which they attained their ends, what hope can be entertained for an impartial distribution of the burden? Is it not morally certain that a Parliament elected by peasants would exhaust every artifice to relieve agriculture, and onerate every other form of industry? What would be the fate of the landlords if they were handed over to the tender mercies of an Irish Parliament? The question has been already answered over and over again by the

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\* Among the figures on which Mr. Giffen's arguments rest, we find that the whole income of Great Britain is estimated at £1,200,000,000 and Ireland at £70,000,000, while their respective capitals are set down at £2,000,000,000 and £400,000,000. There is something wrong here: the income produced by capital in England being only 12½ per cent., whereas in Ireland it amounts to 17½ per cent.

leaders of the "National" movement. They have declared that the unimproved or prairie value of the land is what the landlord is entitled to claim; but it may be doubted whether even the "prairie value" would be conceded when "landlordism" had been brought fairly "to its knees"—adopting a favourite expression of the agitators—and had been abandoned by its English protector. Even if bought out, the purchase-money would probably take the form of a charge upon the Irish Consolidated Fund, a security whose value is still problematical.

It may be said, how can you assume against these virtuous Irish gentlemen that they will be anything but the most upright and impartial of legislators? Is it fair to judge men before they are tried? Unfortunately, the statements we have made depend on several concurrent trains of inductive reasoning. First, proceeding from the present representatives to their successors in College Green, it seems certain that the same spirit will animate the two bodies. If anything, the distinguishing zeal for confiscation will be more ardent under the new régime than at present. There is no reason whatever to suppose that Mr. Parnell and his Socialistic followers will be converted to the moral law by finding their iniquities unrestrained and unopposed. We might as well expect to find the butler taking the pledge after he had just broken open the cellar. No; the members returned by the new Irish constituencies will probably profess still more "advanced" views than their predecessors, and belong to a lower social stratum. Their numbers must be increased, and the rich recruiting ground of the London daily press, from which so many of Mr. Parnell's band have been drawn, will be no longer available. A second line of argument which helps us to forecast with some confidence the actions of the "Reformed Parliament" in Ireland, is drawn from the working of the existing representative institutions in that country. The Dublin corporation has long enjoyed an unenviable reputation for the "liveliness" of its debates and the political views of its members; and the malversation of the provincial municipal authorities was exposed some years ago by an exhaustive parliamentary inquiry. But the bodies which bear the closest analogy to the Parliament of the future are those whose duties are at present connected with the administration of the poor law. The Report of the Select Committee on the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill of last session\* enables us to estimate the spirit in which a Nationalist Board discharges its functions. In almost every case where the management of the Board has been secured by the elected guardians, who are the popular representatives as distinguished from the magistrates, the

\* Parliamentary Papers, 1885. No. 297.

affairs of the Union have fallen into the utmost confusion. Corrupt contracts, maladministration of the funds, appointments of incompetent relatives of guardians to responsible posts, outdoor relief on an extravagant scale bestowed on evicted tenants and the families of suspects, are mentioned by almost every witness examined by the Committee. In one case a guardian was himself an applicant for a share of the spoil, in another a lump sum was bestowed on a tailor to buy a sewing machine, in another on a blacksmith to put a roof on his forge, the money being in all cases presented in the accounts as if weekly payments had been made. If such barefaced dishonesty is practised when there is a controlling authority in Dublin, what would it be if all restraint were removed, and the chosen nominees of the people were permitted to act merely on their own views of what was right? A Parliament chosen by the same constituents could not differ much from the Boards of Guardians in its leading principles of administration. We should beyond question see public money diverted from its legitimate application into the pockets of private individuals, and every department of the State converted into a vast machine for jobbery and oppression.

The fate of the landowners entrusted to a Parliament of tenant farmers or their representatives would not be long in suspense. The confiscations of the past would be avenged by the spoliation of the present owners; and these owners, it must be remembered, are not the descendants of the original grantees, deriving their titles by descent from them, but are for the most part men who have invested their money in the purchase of land on the faith of a guaranteed parliamentary title. Since the establishment of the Landed Estates Court more than £50,000,000 has been paid for land sold by the agency of that particular Court; and on every acre so sold has been conferred an indefeasible title by the Imperial Parliament. It is a breach of faith amounting to repudiation of a solemn obligation, after inducing the outlay of so vast a capital, to turn round and say to the persons who have been so cajoled: Make the best terms you can with your new masters.

The principles which the Irish *soi-disant* patriots apply to the agrarian problem will assuredly be found equally attractive in other departments of industry. Well-meaning but short-sighted persons, carried away by the poverty and sufferings of a particular class, have unfortunately sowed the seeds of Communism in a fertile soil. A doctrine at once so dangerous and attractive cannot fail to delude and to destroy a people once generous and virtuous, and to blight the fair prospects of Ireland with the double curse of cupidity and poverty.

AN IRISH CATHOLIC BARRISTER.



## Science Notices.

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**The Sun.**—M. Faye's brilliant hypothesis of the origin of the world has attracted considerable attention abroad. We noticed in the last issue of the DUBLIN REVIEW some of the points of the theory, principally the support which the latest results of the science of the nineteenth century brings to the Mosaic account of creation. The distinguished astronomer has recently brought forward fresh evidence in confirmation of his theory as to the recent formation of the sun. He divides the fixed stars, which are most probably suns to their systems, into three classes—white, yellow, and red. The white stars, which comprise about 60 per cent. of the whole, have reached the fullest development of their splendour. The yellow stars, forming about 35 per cent. of the whole, are those that are hastening to their decline. Their temperature is not so high; hydrogen forms a cloud-like envelope around them; our chief metals, in the form of vapour, are present in their light. The red stars are relatively small in number; they are almost extinct. Strong absorption bands appear in their spectra; hydrogen has almost disappeared, being engaged in chemical compounds.

Our sun is a star of the second order—a yellow star. It has passed through its phase of maximum brightness, its light and heat are now on the wane. He compares our sun to an immense heat-producing machine, which manufactures enormous stores of light and heat by the shrinkage of the central mass. The sun spots are explained by those whirlpool movements analogous to the cyclones and tornadoes of our atmosphere; they have their origin in the photosphere, and are carried down to the depths of the sun below. There the metallic molecules, meeting with a still higher temperature, are dissociated anew and hurled violently to the surface, producing the famous red prominences, the objects of so much scrutiny. In estimating the quantity of heat expended yearly by the sun, and which has been developed by progressive shrinkage, the author concludes that fifteen million years is the outside age of our luminary. On the other hand geologists calculate that twenty million years were at least required to bring the earth to its present state. M. Faye thus finds fresh confirmation of his theory that the sun is younger than the earth.

**Hereditary Stature.**—Mr. Galton has chosen the most complex and anomalous of all subjects, sociology, for investigation. We have endeavoured in the pages of this REVIEW to present our readers from time to time with the curious results of his inquiries. We have now to chronicle another discovery in the realm of humanity—the laws of hereditary stature. At first sight it would appear as if nothing were farther removed from scientific analysis than the height

and stature of different individuals. Mr. Galton has constructed an ingenious little instrument whereby upon certain data the stature of unknown individuals can be calculated. Into the details of the little indicator it would be out of place to enter. It is enough to say that the average height of brothers, sons, nephews, and grandchildren can be read off at a glance. Relying on his science of heredity, Mr. Galton has drawn up a paper constitution for an hereditary Upper Chamber. Two great mistakes, he holds, are committed when we follow the law of primogeniture. The higher qualifications are rarely transmitted beyond the grandsons, nor can sons and grandsons be considered to monopolize all hereditary gifts; they are shared by brothers and sisters and their children. It is unjust also to exclude men of high but subordinate rank who have married into the nobility; their offspring cannot fail to possess high qualifications. If, then, we open the Second Chamber to all these classes, we shall have about twelve times as many candidates as there are vacancies. One in twelve seems a reasonably severe election; quite enough to draft off the incompetent and not too severe to discourage the ambition of the rest. Such a Chamber, constituted according to the most recent scientific canons, might satisfy a modern Democracy that professes to receive its highest inspirations from science. And Conservatives, if forced to yield, might be willing to accept an arrangement which accepts the hereditary principle as a starting-point.

**The Industrial Crisis.**—The situation is becoming worse and worse, production is everywhere diminishing, wages are falling, and the most favourably situated works are obliged to practise the most rigid economy. The production of coal has fallen off very considerably in the past two years in Great Britain, France, and Belgium. The diminution of export of English coals has been most marked in the direction of Russia, where the protective tariff has been established. Moreover, Russia is developing her own coal industry, principally in the Transcaucasian district, and it is said that the Russian coal is equal to that of Newcastle. Germany alone is increasing her export of coal, chiefly in the direction of Italy. The iron trade in England is in a most precarious condition. The exports are steadily diminishing, notably those to Russia, France, Belgium, Italy and Spain. We receive constant notices of furnaces being blown out; and the iron districts present a scene of desolation and ruin. France is also affected; the production of pig-iron in the North shows a steady diminution during the last two years. Germany is again one of the fortunate countries where the crisis is least felt. Thanks to her high protective tariff and the introduction of the Gilchrist Thomas converters, her production of iron and steel shows a small but satisfactory increase. Our chief supplies of copper come to us from Spain and the United States. The production has increased, but prices have fallen to the lowest possible figure. English lead mines have now been completely abandoned. The United States is the great source of our lead supply, and there

are not wanting indications that here, too, the mines are showing signs of exhaustion. Fortunate Germany is increasing her output of lead. In the manufacture of zinc, too, Germany heads the list; about forty-five per cent. of the total production comes from the Fatherland.

**Natural Gas as Fuel.**—In the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh there are a number of petroleum pits that furnish a constant supply of natural gas, which has taken the place of coal in the iron and steel furnaces. It is well known that natural gas is, after hydrogen, the most powerful of all combustible gases. Its purity renders it particularly adapted for the manufacture of iron, steel, glass, and other products. It gives off neither smoke nor offensive vapours, an advantage much appreciated in populous centres. It dispenses with manual labour, and as there are no doors to be opened for purposes of charging, cold currents of air are excluded, and thus the smelting can be carried on without interruption. In Pittsburgh the use of gas has already reduced the consumption of coal by one-fourth.

**Snow and Weather Forecasts.**—Dr. Woeikoff, the eminent Russian meteorologist, has made some important observations on the influence of snow upon the weather. This is a factor in meteorology that has hitherto been neglected. Dr. Woeikoff maintains that the severity and length of winter depends in a great measure upon the amount of snow-fall. When the ground is thickly covered, and the snow does not thaw, we shall find that the cold weather is considerably intensified, and the advent of spring delayed. The reason probably is that the radiation of the warmth of the soil into the air is arrested, and thus a most important influence in modifying the cold season is removed. The constant contact of the air with a cold icy surface cannot fail to have a very refrigerating effect. Observation seems to strengthen this view. The year 1877 in Russia was marked by the absence of snow, and a most mild season was recorded. The same thing was observed in Europe during the winters 1879, 1880, and 1880-1881; no snow fell before Christmas, and December was a mild month. Dr. Woeikoff claims another result from his researches; he is able to forecast the length of the frost. As long as there is little or no snow, he argues that frosts may begin, but they will not last. But a fall of snow, not very heavy, is quite enough to make the frost durable. It is easy to see how important this observation may be on the weather forecast. Should there be to the north or east of any region any broad spaces covered with snow we may predict that the winter season will be affected by the proximity of these snow masses.

**British Rainfall.**—Dr. Buchan, the veteran British meteorologist, has communicated to the Philosophical Society of Glasgow a paper in which he sums up his valuable researches into British rainfall. It is well known that the annual rainfall differs considerably in its distribution over our islands. On the east coast of England it is as low as 25 inches, over central England it rises to 40 inches,



in the mountainous parts of Wales to 120 inches, while 150 inches is the measure for the Lake district. It is not difficult to see that the south-westerly gales from the Atlantic are the cause of this unequal downpour. It is possible by the rain-gauge to trace their course with something like precision. The storms from the Atlantic are evidently diverted by the rocky shores of the west of Ireland. Following the line of least resistance, one branch sweeps round the south coast of Ireland and breaks on the shore of Cornwall. Its effects are shown by a fall of 50 inches in Cornwall, decreasing to 30 at the Isle of Wight. The Bristol Channel gives another opening to the storms, and central England receives in consequence a more copious rainfall. Another breakdown occurs between the Welsh and the Pennine range of mountains. The passage here afforded is the track for many of the showers that visit Derbyshire and Yorkshire. But that branch of the Atlantic storms that pass to the North of Ireland is the most heavily charged with moisture. With nothing to break their force, these winds fall in all their fury on the Cumberland and West Highland coast. No one who has witnessed one of these gales at its height is likely to forget the awe-inspiring spectacle. They are as remarkable for their vapour as for their fury. They yield on an average a fall of 140 inches per annum, an amount about four times that of the rest of England. Their force, however, is quickly spent, for the east coasts derive little of their moisture from the westerly gales. The water supply of Suffolk and Norfolk would be seriously diminished were it not for some very heavy rains from the east and south-east. As for central England, the rainfall depends very much on the heavy thunderstorms that occur in summer. This is an ingenious and satisfactory solution, and we may safely say that we have now the key to that most puzzling of problems, the distribution of rain over our islands.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Exploration of Kilima-Njaro.\***—The great snow-mountain of Eastern Africa, long regarded as a mythical ornament of travellers' tales, has within the last few years been brought into the domain of geographical facts, and endowed with an existence as palpable as that of Ben Nevis or Mont Blanc. True, its crowning snows have not yet been trodden, but the summit which thus keeps a laurel in reserve for the mountaineer, can scarcely have a surprise in store for the geographer, so accurately has it been observed and so closely approached by the latest explorer. Mr. Johnston, selected as the

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\* "The Kilima-Njaro Expedition." By H. H. Johnston. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1896.

envoy of the British Association and Royal Society, commanded a small expedition for the scientific survey of the mountain, with special reference to the distribution of animal and vegetable life on its slopes, his general directions being to collect as much as possible near the snow-line. The present volume describes his adventures in carrying out these injunctions, and the astute diplomacy required to secure the goodwill of the various native chiefs, between whom the broad slopes of the mountain are parcelled out. The most formidable of these is Mandara, who keeps a standing army of 1,000 men, but whose friendship must be purchased by incurring the hostility of all his neighbours, his relations with whom consist of perpetual forays on his side and reprisals on theirs.

His friendship having been secured by a letter from Sir John Kirk, backed by the customary presents, the traveller obtained permission to effect a temporary settlement in his country. A commanding position on a spur of the great mountain, at a height of 5,000 feet above the sea, furnished the site for his camp, and here he established himself for several weeks, his domestic arrangements including a house, a dairy, a poultry-yard, and kitchen garden planted with English vegetables. His relations with his host were not, however, continuously amicable, and he even underwent a short siege or blockade from Mandara's forces. The highest level reached on the mountain was 16,300 feet, 2,500 feet from the summit, but well above the snow-line, placed here at 14,000 feet. The buffalo, elephant, and Kudu antelope all range to this level, although it must be the extreme limit of vegetation. The lion is found no higher than 3,000 feet, and the rhinoceros and zebra do not pass 2,300.

The plains surrounding the mountain are principally occupied by the Masai, a fierce race of semi-nomads akin to the Bari, Dinka, and Shillouk tribes of the Upper Nile. The entire manhood of the nation is trained to war, and their predatory raids are the terror of all the neighbouring countries. They are no doubt invaders from the north, and the original inhabitants are those known by the generic name of Chaga, who form a ring of small separate states round the flanks of Kilima-Njaro. They are members of the great Bantu family occupying nearly all Africa south of the Equator, and here seemingly disposed to industry and settled habits, as they show considerable skill in diverting the mountain streams through artificial water-courses for irrigation. Mr. Johnston thus describes their general social organization:—

Throughout Chaga, by which is meant the inhabited district of Kilima-Njaro, there is no such thing as a congeries of habitations forming a town or village in our sense of the word. Each family lives apart, with its own two or three houses for men, women, and beasts, surrounded by its plantations and gardens, with plenty of room for expansion all round. In another sense, however, each state of Chaga may be looked upon as a huge straggling city; one vast capital of huts and gardens equally inhabited and cultivated throughout its extent. This little territory is more or less completely surrounded by natural defences—indeed the girdle of ravines and cliffs has formed the state by giving

security to its inhabitants—but there is almost always one easy means of approach which has been left open by Nature, and that is therefore strongly fortified by man. Consequently, nearly all these tiny Chaga kingdoms have their "door" of entry, which is at all times strongly guarded, and often serves as the pretext for a toll.

A narrow tunnel three feet high, three feet broad, and six feet long, is the approach through which the visitor has to wriggle on all fours to gain access to the interior.

The forest stronghold of Taveita, with its friendly natives and primitive abundance, is the favourite resting-place of travellers on their way to and from the coast. A little republic of some 6,000 inhabitants of mixed nationality scattered through clearings in the woods, Taveita owes its immunity from attacks by the Masai to its girdle of impenetrable jungle, in whose intricate mazes the invaders have always encountered defeat. Its internal affairs are administered by a senate of notables called Wazee, or elders, whose authority is upheld by all the able-bodied population. Mr. Johnston describes it as a rendezvous of tribes, tongues, peoples, and nations, resembling in this respect Stanley Pool on the Congo, Dondo on the Quanza, and Khartoum on the Nile, and says that, seated in the porch of your comfortable thatched house, built in a few days, you may receive visits from representatives of most of the nations found in East Central Africa, as all come to Taveita somehow, "whether as slaves, traders, criminals, tramps, or refugees."

The author believes the country explored by him to have great commercial possibilities, and to give facilities to traffic not found elsewhere. The tsetse fly is absent, and the mountain slopes furnish the desideratum of a healthy and temperate climate. Coffee and sugar-cane grow wild; quinine, tea, cacao, and vanilla might, he thinks, be easily cultivated; gum, copal, and india-rubber vine are produced, and masses of orchilla-weed cover the forests with their grey-green veil. Elephants and ostriches swarm on the plains, and the country is described as "a sportsman's paradise."

**Colonel Prjevalsky's Explorations in Tibet.**—The *Times* of February 8 publishes a translation from the *Novosti* of the Russian explorer's journeyings in Tibet, summarized as follows:—

Beginning with Tibet itself, he describes the climate as passing suddenly from extreme heat to cold, and *vice versa*. In southern Tibet the climate is somewhat different, for there the summer heat is less extreme, and the cold in winter more moderate. Notwithstanding this, the excessive humidity prevents vegetation, so that the country does not possess sufficient pasture for cattle. Only in the western districts is a little grass to be found, while trees and shrubs are completely absent. Despite this poverty of vegetation, the fauna are abundant. As many as fifteen kinds of mammifera and fifty-three species of birds are to be found in this region. The animals which find shelter in the valleys of northern Tibet are remarkable for their size. The first place must be assigned to the flocks of wild bulls (yaks), which are not fierce. Then come the antelopes, sheep, and wild asses. Many bears, wolves, and foxes were also seen by the



expedition. In the east there are also two rivers and a few lakes, sufficiently rich in fish, but those of few kinds. The Mongol inhabitants of the country recall by their manners and customs their savage origin. They live in yourts made of felt. Kalsou, the country bordering on China, presents quite another appearance. The irrigation there is abundant, and the vegetation extremely interesting. It was here that Colonel Prjevalsky himself discovered a root weighing twenty-six pounds. It is inhabited by Tougoutes of the Buddhist religion, greatly resembling our gipsies, and living in cabins very much like those of our own peasants. Their temples are interesting specimens of Asiatic architecture. In this quarter another people, called Daldy, is also to be met with, and they differ in very few points from the Chinese. These, like the Turks, are occupied in trade. The whole of this region is divided between two creeds—Buddhism and Mohammedanism. The former sensibly declines among these primitive people, who are unable to comprehend its elevated doctrine. Besides, its effect on Asiatics is enervating, while that of the doctrine of Mohammed, based on the sword and constraint, is to produce an active and energetic race.

**Chronology of the Expeditions.**—Colonel Prjevalsky's first journey lasted three years (1871-3), during which, with very small resources, he reached the head waters of the Blue River, or Yangtse-Kiang. His second journey (1876-77) was rich in scientific results, though cut short by unforeseen difficulties. In his third tour, for which he started in 1878, the sources of the Huang-ho, or Yellow River, were reached, but he was again compelled to return prematurely by want of transport and provisions.

In November, 1883, he undertook his fourth journey, having decided on following the desert route to the Yellow River. Two months were spent in crossing the desert, as it was the season of the greatest cold, and the mercury often froze in the thermometer. No member of the commission suffered to any serious extent. Having reached a more southerly region, the travellers found a higher temperature, but still one showing variations of not less than forty degrees. In January there are in the sun twenty degrees of heat, and at night twenty degrees of cold. February, 1884, was spent in the mountainous parts of Tibet, where the ornithological collections were completed. The travellers fed themselves by hunting, and they also consumed large quantities of tea and cracknels. For bread, the roast corn of the country, called "zamba," was used. In the month of May the expedition reached southern Saidam, the ruler of which wished to oppose its passage, but was compelled (we believe by force of arms) to give them a guide and some camels. Leaving his provisions under the guard of seven Cossacks, Colonel Prjevalsky proceeded to the source of the Yellow River, which at this point has a breadth of only twenty feet to thirty feet, and thence to the source of the Blue River.

**Engagements with the Natives.**—After a march of about 150 versts, the travellers met a party of Tougoutes who showed them-

selves very hostile. Some rifle-shots were exchanged, but it was evidently impossible to cross the Blue River, and Colonel Prjevalsky was obliged to beat a retreat. Two fresh attacks on the part of Tougoutes did not prevent his returning to the sources of the Yellow River, and giving the name of "the Lake of the Expedition" to one of the lakes from which this stream springs. From this point the travellers had to pursue their way for several weeks, constantly exposed to the attacks of the Tougoutes, who fired their primitive muskets without ever being able to hit their object. This race do not abandon their slain.

**Western Saidam.**—From Southern Saidam, Colonel Prjevalsky, accompanied by thirteen persons, directed his steps to Western Saidam, where the soil is so poor that it will not support any animals, even camels. After travelling 800 versts, he arrived at the edge of an unpassable marsh inhabited by swarms of pheasants. At a place called Gaz the party halted for three months. From this point the explorers traversed 800 versts more of West Tibet, in which they discovered three new chains of mountains. After their return to Gaz they proceeded to Loto through some passes, and found there a Turkish population who gave them a very hospitable greeting.

A similar reception was accorded them in the western region of China bordering on Eastern Turkestan. It is a magnificent country, fertile, warm, without any winter, having two harvests, one in February, the other in July, and with fruits throughout the year. Among the population are to be found Chinese, Mongols, Arabs, Bokhariots and Hindoos. In its farther progress the expedition entered on a desert pure and simple, but with a few oases. How few these were may be inferred from the fact that there were 900 versts between the first two. The oasis of Cherchen contains the ruins of a town, and near Cherchen was a range of mountains, hitherto unknown, to which Colonel Prjevalsky gave the name of the Czar Liberator. The rains lasted here for twenty days without ceasing. The oasis of Potam contains about 60,000 deciatines of fertile land (a deciatine being about eleven square yards). Colonel Prjevalsky was the first to explore the Potam river which has a length of no more than 150 versts, and issues from a marsh in the desert. The finest animals there are the tigers. Having crossed the Potam, Colonel Prjevalsky passed the river Tarim, reaching the rich oasis of Aksu, and on crossing the Thian-Shan range brought his fourth journey in Tibet to an end.

**New State in South Africa.**—Under the name of Upingtonia a district of Ovampoland, about 300 miles long by 120 wide, has been organized as a state. It lies between the 18th and 20th degrees of S. lat., and the 15th and 20th of E. long., and is 200 miles from Walvisch Bay at its nearest points. A large trek of Boers is already on the spot, houses have been built, and the land, which is given to all Europeans free of charge, mineral rights only being reserved, is being rapidly brought under cultivation. It is described as a fine country, suitable for the growth of wool, wheat and wine, and the

present occupants, Boers and Englishmen, are anxious to be taken under Colonial protection.

**Proposed Congo Railway**—The crowning scheme of Mr. Stanley's enterprises in Western Africa has assumed a tangible form in the foundation of the Congo Railway Syndicate, the nucleus of a joint-stock company. With Mr. Stanley himself and Mr. Hutton, Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, are associated Lord Aberdare, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. Jacob Bright, and other influential men as members of the new Syndicate. The estimate of capital to be raised is from one to two millions sterling, and an international character will be given to the enterprise by the opening of subscriptions in the capitals of the fourteen Powers represented in the Congo Conference at Berlin. The administrative seat of the company will, however, be in England, and it will be registered under English law, while a Royal Charter from the Congo State will legalize its position in Africa. Taking the larger estimate of outlay, a net profit of £100,000 would be required to realize a dividend of 5 per cent., and this must be mainly obtained from goods carriage, as a large passenger traffic can only be looked for in a very remote future. The object of the proposed railway is to effect a junction between the limit of maritime navigation at the head of the Congo estuary, and the vast system of inland navigation converging on Stanley Pool, by a line of communication flanking the long break of rapids which now intervene between the upper and lower water-channels. These obstacles passed, the 7,000 miles of navigable highway on the Congo and its affluents are made at once accessible to European commerce, and vast tracts of the heart of Africa are laid open to civilization.

An annual sum of £52,000 is now expended on portorage from the Lower to the Upper Congo, and the Congo State will guarantee the Company a yearly outlay of £10,000 for its own traffic during a term of ten years from the opening of the line to Stanley Pool. The State Government also makes over to the Company 40 per cent. of the gross Customs revenue from export duties until the railway shall pay a dividend of 6 per cent. All land required for the establishments of the railway will be conceded free of payment or tax, and every possible assistance will be rendered to the undertaking by the State officials.

The first section of railway will be a length of fifty miles, to which succeeds a stretch of the river navigable for eighty-eight miles. Another railway of ninety-five miles will complete the connection with Stanley Pool; and Mr. Stanley believes that the actual cost of this through line of communication will be £475,500. The very large margin allowed for in the limit of the capital of the Company is intended to cover the further outlay required by development of traffic, such as the junction of the two detached railway sections by a connecting line, and the creation of a large steam flotilla on the Upper Congo. Recent explorations of the tributaries of the latter show that their value as means of communication have been under-



estimated rather than exaggerated ; and should the Mobangi, the great affluent which joins the main stream near the Equator, prove, as is now thought, identical with Schweinfurth's Welle, the riches of the Southern Soudan and Upper Nile basin would find their outlet by this route.

**United States Report on the Congo State.**—Lieutenant Taunt, of the United States Navy, has recently returned from a mission to the Upper Congo, and reports much more favourably on the resources of the country than his compatriot, Mr. Tisdell, U.S., Consul in West Africa, who, after a visit to the Lower Congo, drew a very gloomy picture of the productiveness of these regions. As he, however, did not penetrate far into the interior, much of his information must have been derived at second-hand, and his countryman, whose journey extended to Stanley Falls, over 1,000 miles inland, is entitled to speak with much greater authority. His verdict is that there are on the Congo abundant resources to develop, and that, though there are barren tracts on the Lower Congo, there is no considerable region absolutely unproductive. As to the climate, he himself enjoyed perfect health, and believes there is no reason why all Europeans, with ordinary precautions, should not fare as well. The State officials are, in his opinion, very neglectful of the rules laid down by Mr. Stanley for sojourners in Africa, and have consequently suffered in proportion. Supplies of European vegetables were obtainable at most of the stations, and the rearing of cattle is successfully carried on at some. Near one of them a feeding ground, frequented by vast herds of buffalo, shows that the bovine species ought to find a congenial habitat. He advocates an increase in the number of stations as likely to promote the interests of the Free States. The only unfriendly natives seen were those at the mouth of Aruwimi River, and he ascribes their hostility to their distance from any European post.

**An African Eden.**—This favoured spot, described in glowing terms by Captain Storms, of the International Congo Association, is a new station called Mpala, founded by him on the western shore of Lake Tanganika. Originally entrusted, in 1882, with the charge of the station of Karema, on the opposite shore of the lake, he reached his post, after accomplishing, in ninety days' travel from Zanzibar, a journey which usually takes from four to five months. In establishing the new post at Mpala, he encountered at first great difficulties from the natives, but reduced them eventually to submission, symbolized by the payment of "hongo," or tribute. He also claims to have put down the Arab slave raids which previously ravaged the country ; and in view of this fact it is matter for regret that the Association should have resolved on the abandonment of their advanced outposts on Lake Tanganika and recalled their representative. Captain Storms, however, regards this step as but a temporary one, and has for the present installed the Algerian missionaries as guardians of his stations, with all their stores and buildings.

After a three years' sojourn, he pronounces the climate as leaving

nothing to be desired, either from the point of view of salubrity or agreeability, while the fertility of the soil is such as to yield two crops of wheat or three of rice in a single year. Palm oil and india-rubber are to be had in abundance, the ivory furnished is said to be of the best quality, and the forests contain inexhaustible supplies of valuable timber. The stations were not only able to subsist on their own resources, but also to supply the wants of passing caravans, and it is to be hoped the resources of the Association may soon admit of their re-occupation.

**Baltic Canal.**—The *Times* of December 15 gives a summary of the official *Exposé des Motifs* attached to the Bill presented to the Reichstag for the projected ship canal between the North Sea and the Baltic. Military and naval exigencies are set forth as the primary motive of its construction, necessitating an elaborate system of fortification which will much increase its cost. The principal commercial advantage to be derived from it is the shortening of the voyage from the German ports to the Baltic by 237 miles, thus enabling their shipping to compete on more advantageous terms with that of Scotland and the North of England, relatively better placed as regards the present circuitous route. Thus, while the average time saved by the canal to a steamer from a German port or from London would be 22 hours, the passage from Hull would be shortened by but 15, from Newcastle by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and from Leith by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours, the rate of steaming being taken at 8.25 nautical miles an hour. A considerable saving would also be effected to shipowners in pilot and other fees, as well as in insurance, the dangers of the Skaw route being estimated to cause an annual loss of 200 ships. The track of the canal, which will be 53 miles long, will leave the Elbe estuary near Brunsbüttel, to follow the Sudensee and Gieselau valleys to Wittenbergen on the Eider; thence, adopting the course of that stream, and subsequently of the Eider canal to Holtenau, in the Bay of Keil, its Baltic terminus. Its surface breadth of 60 metres, with a floor width of 26, and a depth of 8.5 metres, will enable it to accommodate the largest vessels of the German Navy, and a period of 13 hours is reckoned for the passage. The cost is estimated at 156 million marks, including 8 millions for fortifications, while an annual expenditure of close upon 2 million marks will be required for its maintenance. Toll dues will be levied at the rate of about 75 pfennigs (9d.) on every registered ton, and this charge will include pilotage, lighting (by electricity), and tug fees for sailing vessels.

**Exploration of the Persian Border.**—At the evening meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, December 14, Colonel C. E. Stewart detailed his experiences in exploring the desert country on the Perso-Afghan border, from 1882 to 1885. The utter desolation of these lands is, in part at least, due to the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, previous to which considerable cities existed in countries that are now uninhabited. Thus, at a

small village called Zuzan, near Khaf, where Colonel Stewart had his headquarters, he found the ruins of an ancient city, covering a large area of ground, and with remains of fortifications distinctly traceable. An old villager pointed out the spot called the Red Garden, where legend says Chinghiz Khan had the whole population massacred in cold blood, and where all vegetation has since refused to grow. According to the English traveller, not Chinghiz, but his son Tulai Khan, was the author of the destruction of Zuzan, perpetrated in A.D. 1220-21. The remains of seventy kanots, or covered irrigation channels, can be discerned in the neighbourhood, and it was their dependence on this artificial supply of water that rendered the ruin of these countries by the Mongols so final and irretrievable.

Mir Alam Khan, the Ameer of Khaian, is the ruler of this portion of the border, Birjend being its principal town. Opium is produced here in large quantities, both for export and for home consumption, hundreds of people being said to die annually from its excessive use. The Lut desert, which separates the Ameer's territory from the Persian provinces to the south, is believed by Colonel Stewart to be one of the hottest parts of the earth's surface, and has been only crossed once by Europeans (the Russian mission of Khanikof, in 1861) since the days of Marco Polo. After undergoing terrible sufferings from heat and thirst, the English explorer and his party were forced to return to Birjend, brackish water being only found in scanty supplies at long intervals, and an antelope with two kids, the only living things encountered in the eighty miles of desert traversed.

**Visit to Herat.**—Colonel Stewart was subsequently attached to the Afghan Boundary Commission, and was one of the three officers who visited Herat in May 1885, no Englishman having previously entered it since Sir Lewis Pelly's sojourn there in 1860. The latest visitor confirms all that previous travellers have said as to the luxuriant fertility of the valley of Herat, the whole of which for a length of 120 miles, and a width of 12 or 14, he describes as cultivated like a garden. The thickly planted villages show the density of population, while that of the town has dwindled from its ancient figure of 100,000 to about 12,000, exclusive of the numbers of the garrison. Colonel Stewart concluded by urging the prolongation of the Quetta Railway to Herat *via* Kandahar, the difficulties in the way of which he declared to be not physical but moral, consisting in the prejudices of the English and Afghan peoples. An eventual junction with the Russian line from the Caspian to Samarkand, whose completion is expected within three years, would establish a great circuit of communication between Europe and Asia.

**Petroleum in India.**—The suspicion that petroleum existed in the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass has been confirmed by the Canadian experts called in by the Indian Government to test the matter. Their report is most encouraging, as it declares the supply sufficient not only to furnish fuel for the frontier railways, but also to serve for illuminating purposes throughout Northern India. As it seldom occurs in



isolated beds, it is likely to be found in other places in the same district, a fact which may revolutionize the whole condition of the North-Western frontier. For as the Russian advance in Central Asia has been incalculably facilitated by the vast development of the petroleum trade on the Caspian, so the creation of a great industry in this vulnerable point of the Indian Empire will be of material assistance in helping forward communications over the Afghan border. Already the engines on the Pishin railway are being adapted to burn it as fuel, and the Indus flotilla will probably follow this example. The economy effected may be judged from the fact that on the Caspian shore petroleum dregs, the form used for fuel, are sold for 2s. 6d. a ton, while weight for weight its value as a combustible is double that of coal.

**The Transcaspian Railway.**—The *Times* of February 18 publishes a translation of an official memorandum by General Annenkoff, director of the Russian railway intended to connect the Caspian with the Amu Darya, in which he speaks as follows of its condition and prospects :—

From Kizil Arvat the line takes an east-south-east direction, crosses the oasis of Aschel, and passes under the walls of Geok Tepé. The principal station on this part of the line is Askabad, which is 217 kilomètres (135½ miles) from Kizil Arvat. Further on it turns round the point made by the Shah's possessions in this quarter, and then passes into the Attock, a country where we found many villages formerly abandoned, but which had been re-occupied since the Russian annexation. The most considerable of these is Kahka. Still further on rises Douchak, whence start the routes for Sarakhs, Meshed and Herat. From Kizil Arvat to Douchak the distance is 391 kilomètres (249½ miles). For the whole of the journey drinkable water is to be found in sufficient quantities. From Douchak the line bends east-north-east, and stretches into the desert towards Merv. Here streams are wanting, but two large rivers, the Tejend (lower Heri Rud) and the Murghab are found. From Douchak to the Tejend is 51 kilomètres (31½ miles). The Tejend is an interesting river, still little known for part of its course. In summer, through the melting of the snow, its water is abundant. In winter it is almost dry; but on digging up the bed of the dried-up stream water is generally found at the distance of a few feet.

**New Merv.**—From the Tejend to the Murghab is 125 kilomètres (78 miles); from the Murghab to the first wells bordering Merv is 100 kilomètres (62½ miles). Throughout this region the most frightful aridity would have prevailed if an irrigation canal had not been constructed to convey water from the Murghab to within about thirty-seven miles of the Tejend. Merv is a rapidly-growing town. Formerly it was only a vast *encinte*, intended as a place of refuge for the people of the oasis, and capable at need of standing a siege. Since Merv became Russian houses have sprung up as if by *enchantment*. Plots of land are assigned to whoever wishes to take

them, on the one condition that he immediately sets about erecting a building. Very shortly it will be a fine town with large streets and wide pavements, and avenues planted with trees. The Murghab carries in summer a great volume of water. Its current, which is about 300 metres to the second in summer, falls to about seventy-five in winter. The area of cultivation was greater before the destruction of the Sultan Bend dyke in 1874. Steps have been taken towards the construction of a new dyke, and the Russian Government has assigned for this purpose the sum of 600,000 roubles.

**Further Progress of the Railroad.**—Between the town of Merv and the ruins of its former great cities, the line runs through cultivated fields and gardens. Then for a distance of 190 kilometres (near 120 miles) it crosses a sandy desert. It is in this part that the greatest difficulties are to be encountered through want of water. It can, however, be obtained by sinking artesian wells, and the nearer we approach the Amu Darya the more clearly does the water from the wells show that there is a subterranean communication with that river. The Transcaspian Railway is strictly a military line, and General Annenkoff concludes by summing up its exact condition at present.

Traffic is open as far as Askabad, and the line is ready thence to Gaiours, while from Gaiours to Merv the works are completed, and bridges and stations in course of construction. The line from Merv towards the Amu Darya will shortly be commenced. The whole line will measure 1,065 kilometres (665½ miles) of which it may be said nearly 600 (or 375 miles) are finished, viz., from Kizil Arvat to Merv. Wind and sand are the two principal opponents of the Russian engineers, and General Annenkoff states that the only way to overcome them is by planting trees along the whole of the route.

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## Notes on Novels.

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*At the Red Glove.* By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID. London: Ward & Downey. 1885.

THE "Red Glove" is the sign of a glover's shop in Berne, and the scene of the story is laid among the bourgeois life of the quaint city by the Aar. The old crone who owns the "Red Glove" takes as her apprentice and companion a young relative, Marie Perrolles, and the lovely orphan girl, fresh from her convent training and surroundings, acts as an unconscious marplot, ruffling the meshes of small intrigue she is transplanted into the midst of, as a fluttering butterfly does the gossamer threads of a spider's web. Madame Carouge, the glowing and beautiful widow, who, as the

wealthy proprietress of the Hôtel Beauregard, is a personage of much authority in her small sphere, had set her heart on marrying the handsome broad-shouldered clerk, Rudolph Engemann, and seemed tending prosperously to that conclusion, when lo! a chance meeting with Marie, and a glance or two at her sweet downcast face, turns the current of the young man's feelings in another direction, and upsets all calculations founded on his previous conduct. Then Madame Carouge plots with old Madame Bobineau, the girl's shrewish guardian and employer, to marry her to an elderly half-pay captain, who is only too happy to grasp at the prize offered to him. How Marie is eventually delivered from this fate, and the course of true love smoothed by favouring circumstances, will be learned by those who read the third volume to the end. The characters are sketched with graphic touches, and the setting of Bernese life and scenery gives freshness and piquancy to a very bright little comedy of manners.

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*The Rise of Silas Lapham.* By WILLIAM D. HOWELLS.  
Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1885.

THE advance of the American novel to a leading place in English letters, at a moment too when the vein of native fiction was showing signs of exhaustion, is one of the most striking features in contemporary literature. It is especially noteworthy as the first successful attempt at artistic utterance of the English races beyond the sea; the first articulate voice from those newly-peopled continents which promise to take so large a place in the world's future. Now, of modern American romances, this latest work of Mr. Howells seems to us to have the most solid grasp of human nature, the firmest touch in delineating and discriminating character. The author's style would be prosaic were it not for the intense realism that vivifies its details, just as his actors would be commonplace were they not dignified by his insight into the higher possibilities of even ordinary natures. His present hero, Silas Lapham, the self-made man, purse-proud, boastful, and self-confident, seems at first too hopelessly vulgar for interest, but as the inner depths of the man's nature begin to grow on us, as we learn to know his homely tenderness for his wife and daughters, his rugged rectitude in business, his bulldog tenacity of purpose, we feel that there is a massive groundwork of dignity beneath his self-assertion, and recognize a pathos even in his unavailing efforts at gentility. His wife, too, with her keener spirit and finer perceptions, devotedly attached, yet courageous enough to rebuke him when he falls below her standard of righteousness, has a vivid individuality; and married life in its most ordinary yet perhaps highest aspect of mutual helpfulness, moral as well as material, has seldom been more powerfully presented than in their relations to each other.

The romantic action of the story is concerned with the fortunes of their two daughters—the one beautiful, the other droll and clever



—and the complication that arises from a misunderstanding as to which of the sisters is the object of a charming young man's devotion. The situation thus created is powerfully realized, and the hard practical sense with which the beautiful but unintellectual sister fights off the grief of her disappointment, is a highly original and forcible conception of girlish nature. The author's quiet, shrewd humour comes out in many passages, notably in the analysis of the feelings of Silas at the momentous dinner-party given by the family of his future son-in-law, highly-cultivated Bostonians of the best class. His mental struggles over every article in his clothing, culminating in a pair of yellow gloves, are laid bare with keen-edged intuition, yet with an underlying sympathy for the simplicity of nature that redeems the coarse texture of the man's external fibre. The satire here, as elsewhere, has a foundation of pathos that distinguishes it from cynicism, recalling the beautiful Italian proverb applicable to so much in life—*Chi piu intende piu perdona*: "He pardons most who understands best."

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*A Fair Maid.* By F. W. ROBINSON. London:  
Hurst & Blackett. 1886.

MR. ROBINSON has chosen the hop country of Kent for the scene of his story, which contains a forcibly-drawn group of characters. Abel Mayson, the hop-grower, a man of furious temper but strong affections, upright in the main, yet once overborne by a strong temptation, when, in a moment of pecuniary distress, he robs a dead woman of the money intended for her child's portion, is the central figure, and the well-kept secret of his life the mainspring of the plot. His niece, May Riversdale, is the heroine, the Fair Maid of Kent, who gives its name to the story, and the hero's part is played by the hop-grower's son, Dudley Mayson, returned from Australia a successful emigrant, to come upon the gradual unraveling of the dark mystery overshadowing his home. He ought naturally to have bestowed his affections on his fair cousin, who is quite prepared to accept them, but they are given instead to a mysterious maiden first introduced as hostess of the village-inn, and subsequently proved to be the defrauded orphan, on whom we could wish the author, in an overstrained attempt at originality, had conferred a less grotesque appellation than Grizzogau Shargool.

This singularly circumstanced young person is not happy in her relations, her family circle being composed of a sister constantly hovering on the verge of delirium tremens, and a father living by his wits, who, though undesirable company in his own person, is being constantly hunted for through the story as a clue to somebody else. Indeed, the number of disappearances or occultations of the principal personages is quite a feature of the book, so that they are seldom all in the field of view together. In families of the Shargool type, indeed, an occasional withdrawal from the blaze of publicity may be a convenient episode, but when the respectable young

brewer, with a fortune of £30,000 a year and a flourishing business, undergoes a similar voluntary eclipse, we begin to think the law of probability strained a little overmuch. Sudden and unexplained transferences of several sums of £10,000 also take place somewhat too often for the doctrine of averages, all the money transactions of the story, indeed, taking place in that round and portly sum. But the narrative has vitality enough to carry off these improbabilities of plot, and the author has the power, now grown a rare one, of sustaining the interest through three volumes with unflagging spirit. The characters are not mere puppets, but clothed with a certain amount of vitality, representing types of English rural life under its more grim and uncouth aspects. Old Jabez Cloke, the village miser, with his sordid stealthiness of character and eventual lapse into crime, is an original though repellant portrait, and the ways and doings of the waifs of society are described with a strong, if somewhat hard, realism.

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*The Duke's Marriage.* London: R. Bentley. 1885.

**I**F the anonymous author of this work be a novice, a brilliant career as a novelist ought to lie before him. The plot is full of unexpected complications without being melodramatic, and the characters skilfully grouped and strongly individualized. The action turns on the courtship by the Duc d'Alma, a young French nobleman of high family and large fortune, of Gertrude Corrington, a pretty English girl, the daughter of a general officer, but brought up in very second-rate country town society. The series of obstacles which delay the marriage, apparently imminent in the first volume, until the close of the third, spring in a great measure from the intricacies of the French marriage law, and its restrictions on the independent action of the intending bridegroom. The resulting plot is developed through a sequence of extremely lively and well-sustained scenes and incidents, the most interesting of which are laid in France, during the early part of the campaign against Prussia, amid the events leading to the fall of the Second Empire. The descriptions of French society are evidently written by one very familiar with it, who has witnessed the working of the machinery of government from within, and has seen a good deal of the seamy side of both political parties. The writer is perfectly impartial, describing the corruption and intrigues of the Imperial system, its rapacious officialism and hierarchy of organized rascality, with the same uncompromising fidelity as the farcical follies and frenzies of the ragamuffin government that succeeded it. The scenes in which the prisons of Paris, and the whole working of the administration of justice are described in detail, are masterly, and apparently sketched with intimate knowledge of the subject.

Equally good are the descriptions of the Breton château and its rural surroundings; but here we must take exception to one set of incidents. The introduction of a fraudulently concocted apparition

can perhaps only be objected to on the score of taste, as the fact that such things have been, cannot be disputed; but it is a gross breach of truth and justice to represent the clergy as countenancing the imposture without investigation. We the more regret to have to point out this blemish, as other Catholic institutions are described with sympathy and appreciation. *Sœur Rosalie*, the Sister of Charity, and the Augustinian nuns of the female prison of St. Lazare, are lovingly depicted; and the most charming scene in the book is that in the Carmelite convent at Auray, when the pale waxen-faced sisters, with their spiritualized aspect, confront the ragged hordes of the Republic, and the Breton officer, marching in the *Gardes Mobiles* to their protection, begins by ordering his men to give a general officer's salute to the Reverend Mother.

One would hope that the pictures of English life are not to be taken as faithful transcripts from nature, as the manners ascribed to provincial society seem more suited to the servants' hall than to the drawing-room. It is, we trust, impossible that a lady should publicly bandy such recriminations with a young gentleman as are indulged in by the heroine's married sister at one of the Lewbury parties.

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*The Bostonians.* By HENRY JAMES. London:  
Macmillan & Co. 1886.

MR. JAMES has given an appropriate title to his book, which is rather a brilliant satire on some aspects of society in Boston than an ordinary romance. He has chosen to lay his scene amongst that strangest of all phases of contemporary life, the advanced school advocating female enfranchisement and emancipation. Here we find ourselves among a rare collection of oddities, whose portraits are sketched for us with inimitable humour, and with more depth of insight than is usually to be found in Mr. James's highly finished cabinet pictures. There is indeed a touch of Dickens's great power of merging comedy in pathos, in the character of Miss Birdseye, that gentlest and most tender-hearted champion of the self-asserting sisterhood. We seem to see the little old lady whose "vast, fair, protuberant, candid ungarnished brow" was "ineffectually balanced in the rear by a cap which had the air of perpetually falling backward, and which Miss Birdseye suddenly felt for while she talked, with unsuccessful irrelevant movements." The remainder of her toilette is thus summed up:—

She always dressed in the same way: she wore a loose black jacket, with deep pockets, which were stuffed with papers, memoranda of a voluminous correspondence, and from beneath her jacket depended a short stuff dress. The brevity of this simple garment was the one device by which Miss Birdseye managed to suggest that she was a woman of business, that she wished to be free for action. She belonged to the Short Skirts League as a matter of course; for she belonged to any and every league that had been founded for almost any purpose whatever. This did not prevent her from being a confused, entangled, incoherent, discursive old woman, whose charity began at home and ended nowhere.



whose credulity kept pace with it, and who knew less about her fellow-creatures, if possible, after fifty years of humanitarian zeal, than on the day she had gone into the field to testify against the iniquity of most arrangements. No one had an idea how she lived; whenever money was given her she gave it away to a negro or a refugee. No woman could be less invidious; but, on the whole, she preferred these two classes of the human race. Since the Civil War much of her occupation was gone, for before that her best hours had been spent in fancying she was helping some Southern slave to escape. It would have been a nice question whether, in her heart of hearts, for the sake of this excitement, she did not sometimes wish the blacks back in bondage. She had suffered in the same way by the relaxation of many European despotisms, for in former years much of the romance of her life had been in smoothing the pillow of exile for banished conspirators.

This amiable enthusiast is balanced by the handsome female lecturer, who had always "the air of being introduced by a few remarks," and "something public in her eye from the habit of looking down from a lecture-desk over a sea of heads, while its distinguished owner was eulogised by a leading citizen." Equally well described are Olive Chancellor, the sombre fanatic in the same cause, and the brisk, somewhat cynical, little doctress, Mary F. Prance. Among these strange beings moves the heroine, Verena Tarrant, still fresh, innocent, and unspoiled, though the daughter of a mesmeric charlatan, reared in an atmosphere of imposture, and adding to her gifts of youth and beauty that of oratory, enabling her to hold audiences enchained by a stream of silvery nonsense poured forth in her fresh young voice.

In this circle of modern Amazons the hero, Basil Ransom, an ex-planter from Mississippi, appears as a disturbing element, and triumphs in the end by detaching Verena from her career as a reformer. His character fails to excite the interest it is evidently intended to create, and as a portraiture of a Southern gentleman, is a failure. The flourish and elaboration of manner supposed to be distinctive of the slave-holding aristocracy, is among them, as elsewhere, a tradition of the past, and Basil Ransom's compatriots repudiate it as a national characteristic.

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*Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.* By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

**M**R. STEVENSON'S vivid realism of style enables him to frame a fascinating tale on a basis of fable as weirdly extravagant as a nightmare. A man, originally driven to lead a life of dissimulation by the desire to combine external decorum with secret self-indulgence, attains at length to the concoction of a philtre by which he can dis sever the two opposite strands of his existence; and the respectable and benevolent Dr. Jekyll thus transmutes himself at will into the monster of wickedness, Edward Hyde, in whom all the evil of his nature is incarnated. As a complete bodily transformation accompanies his change of identity, the vices and crimes of the latter can never be brought home to the man in his

original character, and he thus acquires complete irresponsibility for his actions. The subtle process by which the lower nature, thus fostered, gradually dominates and crushes the higher, refusing to be bound by the laws that had given it a separate existence, effects a tremendous retribution, as the man becomes, in the end, liable to transformation at any time, without the act of will signified by drinking the philtre, into his worse and outlawed self. We may thus, if we so choose, regard the extravaganza as a profound allegory, personifying the good and evil tendencies of every individual, and the moral transformation deliberately invoked by the surrender of the faculties to the demon of excess. The gradual deterioration of the better nature, through toleration of the misdeeds of its evil shadow, is finely marked, and the hero's eventual helplessness to recover his original shape accents the meaning of the parable, as the enslavement of will by passion.

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*Fiammetta: a Summer Idyl.* By W. W. STORY. Edinburgh:  
William Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

**M**R. STORY'S idyl is the oft-told tale of a man's selfishness and a woman's wasted devotion, artistic being superadded to masculine egotism in the character of his hero. The outline of the tale is thus identical with that of "Gwen," with the substitution of Italian for Breton scenery and surroundings. The somewhat bald realism of the narrative contrasts, too, with the poetic finish of the work—we believe also by an American author—with which we have compared it. Fiammetta is an Italian peasant girl, whose beauty catches the eye of an artist-count, on his summer holidays, spent in his dilapidated hereditary villa in the Apennines. The girl sits for a picture, which proves to be his masterpiece, and gives her heart to the man while inspiring the genius of the artist. The fancy of the latter is indeed caught for a while, but pride or prudence forbid an inferior marriage, and he departs, salving his conscience with the excuse that he had committed himself by no verbal declaration of attachment. A summons to Fiammetta's death-bed during the ensuing winter gives a temporary shock to his sensibilities, but is, we feel, a very inadequate punishment for his heartlessness. Some of the Italian folk-songs, put into the mouth of the heroine, are perhaps the prettiest part of the volume, and we subjoin a translation of one to enable the reader to judge:—

In Maytime, well I mind it, happ'd the story,  
That we two fell a-courting, you and I.  
The roses of the garden bloomed in glory,  
The cherries hung a-blackening up on high.  
The cherries on the boughs were turning black.  
I met you, and for sweetheart took, alack.  
The leaves are falling now, the summer's over,  
And I have lost all heart to play the lover.

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*A Family Affair.* A Novel. By HUGH CONWAY. Three vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

WRITTEN in a graceful and agreeable style, this book is decidedly pleasant reading. Like its predecessors from the same hand, the plot is full of mystery, and, it must be confessed, of improbability. That the daughter of a baronet, entitled in her own right to an income of £2,500 per annum, should be so far neglected and abandoned by her father, and other relations, as to lead a solitary life in her early girlhood, strikes us as an incident almost outside the fair demands upon the reader's credulity. This, however, is the experience of Beatrice Clauson, the heroine. While thrown in this manner upon her own resources, she contracts an unfortunate marriage with her drawing-master, a person of the worst possible character. For a time he is removed from her life, inasmuch as he is sentenced to five years' penal servitude for forgery; but the five years come to an end at last, and the convict-husband reappears full of affection—for his wife's money! Meantime the child of this marriage has been smuggled into the house of the Messrs. Talbert—two prim and old-maidenly uncles of Beatrice with whom she has found a refuge—by the device of having it left in the train with its address pinned to its frock. The golden-headed infant wins its way with the formidable uncles, and Beatrice is enabled without scandal—for her marriage has been kept secret—to gratify her maternal instincts. When the time comes for her husband's release from Portland, she has, of course, to fly; and with her baby and a faithful attendant she for a time effectually conceals herself in Munich. This attendant, Mrs. Miller, on her return from a futile attempt to buy off the persecution of Maurice Hervey, the convict, is tracked by him from London to Munich. Too devoted to her mistress to allow her life to be embittered by further persecution, and holding with fanaticism the gloomy creed of predestination, she hurled herself upon Hervey, as the train which bore them both was approaching Munich, and clasped in a fierce embrace they fell from the iron platform between the carriages "with a fearful thud on to the six-foot-way." Neither is killed, and additional horror remains to be told. The woman disengages herself from her insensible victim, and, finding him still alive, drags his body across the line in front of an approaching train. After this we consign her with relief to a lunatic asylum, while her mistress reaps the reward of the crime, and marries the man whom she has loved for years.

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*The Story of Catherine.* By the Author of "A Lost Love" (Ashford Owen). London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

IN pretty but melancholy fashion Ashford Owen tells the story of a girl who makes a secret marriage and lives to repent it, as is commonly the case. The subject is sad in itself; but the melancholy tone of the book is due as much to the style as to the subject. It is difficult to say precisely in what this melancholy lies which seems to



cast a foreboding shadow over even the sunnier portions. It is a peculiarity of the author's, and was as conspicuous in her earlier novel, "*A Lost Love*," as in the present case. The opening scene of Catherine's story is placed in Algiers, and without any lengthened word-painting, the author, in a few clever touches, places the unfamiliar background before us with a vividness only possible to one who has studied it personally. The following thumb-nail sketch is of happy effect:—

The building lay in the intense sunlight, with its straight lines, its flat roof, unbroken but by two corner cupolas, and had that look of blank repose which belongs only to an Eastern house. The whitewashed walls seemed to have no shade anywhere, only the strong light rested on them more softly where, in a northern land, the shadows would have lain.

Catherine, the heroine, is a gentle and winning figure, and but for her one act of disobedience and its entailed deceit, good and dutiful too, after an old fashion mostly fallen out of favour with modern novelists. The heinousness of her disobedience is besides much lightened by a skilfully contrived chain of circumstances that prove stronger than her will, and lead her almost involuntarily from the path of uprightness. There is one character in the book likely to win all the reader's sympathy—this is Walter Johnson, Catherine's life-long friend, a Christian and a soldier, who has written duty and self-sacrifice upon his standard. When all his efforts to prevent the girl from drifting into danger have proved futile, and he meets her again in stormy waters, it is he who teaches her courage and the necessity of accepting the cross she has herself chosen.—You married for your pleasure (he tells her, when Mark Avron's worthlessness has become only too clear), and now for God's pleasure you shall not at once leave your husband. Duty is not all over. You will remember that your husband's honour and reputation are yours also through life. I ask, in your Father's name, that you forgive him.—The book has a safe moral, and many readers will be pleased to hear it is in one volume only.

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*Aunt Rachel*: a Rustic Sentimental Comedy. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

VERY charming and quite original is this double love story of the old maid, Aunt Rachel, and the young niece, Ruth. Heydon Hay becomes all alive to us, with its gardens, where village violinists meet, its cottage rooms and stony pavements, its apple-trees and laburnums. The author in his Preface states that an otherwise friendly critic has accused his rustics of talking unlike any rustics of the real world; and this charge he dismisses admirably by reminding us that a very little of the real article would be enough, and too much, in fiction, and that in the Staffordshire of his boyhood the country folk did not talk, as now, in the language of the penny papers, but took many phrases from the Bible and the "*Pilgrim's Progress*," and spoke in his hearing quaint wit and wisdom. Nobody

wants to chronicle the conversation of mere clodhoppers. These countrymen are something more; they are the best of the Black Country folk in a time not long gone by. The old violinist, Ezra, is good company—he who had laid his violin by since, in his youth, he went to London once, and heard Paganini:—

"What was it like?" returned the older man. "What is there as it wasn't like? I couldn't tell thee, lad—I couldn't tell thee. It was like a soul a-wailing in the pit. It was like an angel a-singing afore the Lord. It was like that passage i' the Book o' Job, where 'tis said as 'twas the dead o' night when deep sleep falleth upon men, and a vision passed afore his face, and the hair of his flesh stood up. It was like the winter tempest i' the trees, and a little brook in summer weather. It was like as if therer was a livin' soul within the thing; and sometimes he'd trick it and soothe it, and it'd laugh and sing to do the heart good; an' another time he'd tear it by the roots till it chilled your blood. . . . I've heard him talked of as a Charley Tann, which I tek to be a kind of humbugging pretender; but 'twas plain to see, for a man with a soul behind his wescut, as the man was wore to a shadow with his feeling for his music. 'Twas partly the man's own sufferin' and triumphin' as had such a power over me."

Ezra's own old love story is interwoven with that of his nephew and Aunt Rachel's niece. Every figure is a character, and the scenes pass vividly in the summer village till the happy end. The book is that rare achievement—a novel without even an allusion to the evils that destroy the home and the family, the very groundwork of Christian society. For this reason, Heydon Hay village has a refreshing atmosphere, and the story is most welcome.

## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By DR. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

#### 1. *Katholik*.

**The Gallican Mass from the Fourth to the Eighth Century.**—In the January number, Professor Probst, of Breslau University, has a learned article on the development of the old Gallican liturgy. Up to the fifth century it was in agreement with the Western liturgy, but soon after A.D. 400 it underwent several changes. As S. Leo the Great had shortened the Roman liturgical rite, so the Gallican Bishops, yielding to the wants of their period, introduced not a few alterations into theirs. Professor Probst consults chiefly the works of S. Hilary of Poitiers and S. Germanus for his description of the oldest liturgical functions. The striking features of the liturgy of the Apostolical Constitutions are found in the oldest Gallican liturgy—viz., the *Oratio pro fidelibus*

after the sermon, the prayer of thanksgiving, the kiss of peace after the offertory, and the Preface. The old Preface was common to every feast, but the new Prefaces, which began with S. Damasus, varied in expression—each referring to the special feast for which it was composed. Professor Probst shows clearly from the best Gallican authors the identity of the old Gallican Preface with the prayer of thanksgiving in the liturgy of St. Clement of Rome. In the February issue he dwells on the changes which the liturgy underwent in the beginning of the fifth century. People had grown wearied of the lengthened forms of former centuries, and it became in some way necessary that the Bishops should abbreviate.

Other papers in the same number deal with modern German philosophical theories on time and space and the observance of Confession in the religion of Buddha.

## 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

**Fernan Caballero.**—Perhaps no modern Spanish writer rivals Fernan Caballero in descriptions of the customs, feelings, and religious piety of the Spanish people. Her real name was Cecily Bohl von Faber, the daughter of a German convert who resided in Spain. In two articles, William Hosius tells his reminiscences of Seville, where, during more than a year, he had many conversations with that celebrated writer. Fernan Caballero's beautiful novels have been translated into German, and are highly appreciated by Protestants as well as by Catholics.

**Cardinal Kollonitsch.**—An able article in the February number is devoted to Cardinal Count Kollonitsch and his share in the election of Alexander VIII. Kollonitsch was Bishop of Raab, in Hungary, where he proved himself a champion of orthodoxy, and where he also strongly supported the Emperor Leopold I. against the Turks, when in 1682 they invaded Hungary and laid siege to Vienna. On the death of Innocent XI., in 1689, Leopold I. desired the Cardinal to take an active part in the election of Alexander. He did this with a view of obtaining from that Pontiff such aid against the Turks as Innocent had given. The new Pope, however, would not grant his petitions, adducing, amongst other motives, the necessity of succouring James II. of England. The article, which is drawn from many original documents, will be found to be a valuable contribution, illustrating the beginnings of Alexander's pontificate.

## 3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

**A Description of Iceland.**—The January number gives us the sixteenth and last of Father Baumgartner's articles on Iceland. We hope that these entertaining descriptive articles will soon be gathered into a volume—it will prove a most attractive and useful book of family reading. Prose and poetry are combined in these splendid



articles; indeed it is mainly on account of the poetical portions that they have had such an enthusiastic welcome in Germany.

F. Beissel gives us the history of the venerable Cathedral of Treves, whose beginnings go back to St. Helena, the mother of Constantine. F. Lehmkuhl treats of the observance of the Sunday considered as a social question. An able article contributed to the February issue by F. Meyer, the gifted author of the "*Institutiones juris naturalis*," examines the Pope's recent encyclical, "*Immortale Dei*."

**The late Father Schneemann.**—We next have a biography of the late lamented F. Schneemann, one of the most remarkable members of the Society of Jesus in Germany in our time. As leader of the staff of the *Stimmen*, as an able expounder of the "*Syllabus*" of 1864, and as editor of the bulky "*Acta et Decreta Conciliorum recentiorum*" (the "*Collectio Lacensis*"), he has won for himself the reputation of being a sagacious and hardworking theologian, and has rendered invaluable service to the cause of religion. It may be truly said that he laid down his life in its service. He died after a lingering illness, contracted in Rome, whilst searching there for documents bearing on the Vatican Council, and he died an exile (in Holland).

#### 4. *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).

**The Stowe Missal.**—Father Grisar, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, contributes to the January number a carefully written article on the Stowe Missal, as published by Warren in his "*Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*." Father Grisar holds, with Professors Bickell and Probst, that the Canon in the Stowe Missal is one of the oldest liturgical documents we have. They refer it, undoubtedly, to the time of Pope Gelasius (492–496); and consider that it forms a striking example of the development which led from the Preface as a uniform prayer of thanksgiving to the Preface as commemorative of the varying feasts of the ecclesiastical year.

**The Emperor and the Early Councils.**—F. Blötzer writes on the "*Holy See and the Ecumenical Councils of the Early Ages of the Church*." The chief point of his very solid contribution is the answer to the question: What importance is to be attached to the fact that Christian Emperors convened the general synods? The present article is mainly concerned with the Synod of Chalcedon. Our author narrates the relations between Pope and Emperor before and after the Council, and shows, with great ability, that nothing in the facts can be considered prejudicial to the authority of the Holy See.

Another article worth mentioning here treats of the recent controversies about Inspiration. Its author, Dr. Schmid, Professor in the Seminary of Brixen, is widely known by his work, "*De Inspiratione Sacre Scripturæ*." English readers will be interested to know that Dr. Schmid does not at all agree with the view expounded by Cardinal Newman in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1884.

# ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 21 Novembre, 1885.

**Civil Charity and Christian Charity.**—We have here an excellent article on this subject. The civilization of the people, as we all know, is the great object which the Masonic sects and their abettors put forth, the word not being taken in its natural sense, but really meaning, in their jargon, the unchristianizing of the world. The word is the sheep's clothing concealing the wolf from vulgar eyes. Accordingly, we may always interpret the term *civil*, in their parlance, when applied to any institution, as tantamount to antichristian. Thus we have civil marriage, which, in fact, is licensed concubinage, as opposed to the sacrament of matrimony; civil funerals—which mean that a man is buried like a dog—as opposed to the holy obsequies of the Church; we have civil virtues, civil morality, and so on. Civil charity, the writer proceeds to say, is of the same character. Philanthropy, when not proceeding from Christian and supernatural motives, is not in itself evil; on the contrary, it is a natural virtue which, though it cannot merit an everlasting reward, receives a temporal remuneration. Not having God for its object, it is not divine, but purely human, beginning in man and terminating in man. It is the virtue of the Gentiles. But the philanthropy of the sects is essentially vicious. By their own confession it has self for its source and self for its end; nay, they assert that love is necessarily self-interested; and one of their mouthpieces has gone so far as to say, "Strictly speaking, I must affirm that the primary conditions of our being are outraged in the vaunted precept, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself:' this maxim betrays a very deep ignorance of human nature."

The practice of their so-called philanthropy by the sects agrees perfectly with their theory. When they give it is from self-love, either to get praise, or to purchase an amusement, or to obtain some worldly profit. But, not content with having thus denaturalized even Pagan philanthropy, they set up their civil charity against Christian charity, parading and magnifying it as superior to the latter in every way. In so doing they have two objects—to make money and to get credit. Hence, when any public calamity occurs, they strain every nerve to draw attention to themselves, by their collections, their numerous organizations, and pompous pretences of ministering to the wants of the sufferers. Italians have had abundant opportunity during the last few years of seeing Masonic civil charity in action, and of being edified by it. They have seen a host of journals labouring to collect money for Venetian inundations, for the earthquake in Ischia, and for the cholera in Spezia and Naples, and, in particular, they have now been called to witness a curious exhibition of civil charity in Naples and Palermo. The relieving squadrons, white, red, green, grey, are actually decorated with the symbol of Redemption, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the devout Neapolitans and Sicilians. These bands, styled *croci*, are

nevertheless largely composed of unbelievers, enemies of the Cross of Christ. Honourable exceptions, of course, may be met with in their ranks, but, speaking generally, these novel crusaders have earned a very unenviable reputation, and some of the witty populace have been heard to enquire to which of the three crosses on Calvary they were devout. It is too true that amongst them are to be found numerous apostles of the devil, who hasten to the bedside of the dying to keep away from them the ministrations of the Church, and to fill the ears of these poor creatures with blasphemy in their last moments. Others visit the convalescents to corrupt and lay snares for their morals; two or three of these heroes of civil charity, indeed, have had to decamp from houses at more than a foot's pace, if they would carry away a whole skin. Other shameless and nameless excesses are recorded, of which the less said the better. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the enormous contributions made, the sick poor are in the most deplorable state of destitution, and, but for the self-sacrificing charity of the clergy and religious bodies, would be actually dying of hunger. Whoever may desire to relieve these afflicted populations ought to follow the example of the Holy Father, and transmit their donations through the bishops, clergy, and parish priests. This is easy, for there are several Catholic journals which make collections with this end under their sanction; but let them beware of the Liberalistic organs of civil charity, if they wish to be sure that the alms they send reach their destination.

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2 Gennajo, 1886.

**Prospects of Russia in the East.**—Some remarks of the Russian correspondent of the *Civiltà Cattolica* are worth recording at this juncture, when recent events have increased the interest long felt in the Eastern question, and rendered speculation more rife than ever as to what may be its ultimate solution. Come what may, the writer opines that Turkey is in all probability doomed; but it is already certain that the authority of Russia in the East is little short of annihilated. Its popularity with the Bulgarians, Roumenians, and Servians is greatly diminished, and thus the work inaugurated even in the days of Peter the Great, and prosecuted with such unswerving perseverance by his successors, the great work of the unification of the East under the sway of the Russian empire, is in serious peril of failure. Nothing save some great victories could repair its loss of influence and authority; but will the other Powers give it the opportunity by conceding to it free action?

Besides the external obstacles which thus beset Russia's road to Constantinople, it has also to contend with internal difficulties of a very grave character, which cripple its powers too much to allow of its intervening with energy in the case of any event which from one moment to another may be expected to arise in the East. It is suffering a financial and industrial crisis, daily becoming more intense, and not only incapacitating it for pursuing with vigour what



it regards as its historical vocation, but even quite impeding its liberty of action. This peril existed three months ago, but the distress has since made rapid strides. Russia is essentially an agricultural country, and the whole of the vast plain stretching from Moscow southwards, and from the Dnieper to the Volga, is one extended field of corn, from the overflowing abundance of which Greece, southern France, and particularly Germany and England, used to draw large supplies to help to feed their numerous populations. Now, the competition of wheat from Australia, the United States, and the Indies, had already dealt a heavy blow to the exportation of Russian corn. Commerce with England had dwindled to half what it had been, while the protectionist policy of Prince Bismarck was more and more restricting trade with Germany. Then came the law passed last summer by the French Chambers, raising the duty, which threatened to close the ports of France against the cereals of Taganrog and Odessa. Nevertheless, Russian cultivators, although reduced from lack of capital and of agricultural machines to the simplest modes of tillage, were able, thanks to their ordinarily abundant harvests, to sustain themselves till the fatal drought of 1885 came to ruin all the crops. Far from being able to export grain, the sole riches it possesses, Russia has, now, not sufficient to feed its own numerous rural population. Misery and hunger are beginning to make themselves felt in many of the provinces. What, then, may be looked for before the close of winter? Failure of industrial produce, an exhausted treasury, and eighty millions of starving creatures to feed! But this is not all. It is not merely agricultural distress from which Russia is suffering, but every department of trade seems on the way to ruin. Factories are closing one after the other all over the country and in the very suburbs of St. Petersburg. Even so early as last August the business transacted at the great annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod was next to nothing; and now the host of unemployed and starving poor is daily on the increase and assuming the most alarming proportions. Never since the Crimean war were so many vacant houses to be seen in St. Petersburg. Crowds of people belonging to the lower classes are meanwhile huddled together in low, unhealthy, and smoky quarters.

Government, for some time, has done all it could to conceal this distress from the foreigner, but it was at last obliged to make a virtue of necessity; and the writer proceeds to give us some of the published statistics of the lamentable decline of commerce, proved by the decrease of profits accruing from the duties, one of the chief branches of revenue in Russia. How to make head against this disastrous state of affairs is a question occupying the public mind, beginning with the Ministry. What is to be done? One person suggests a great addition to the fisheries in the Polar Seas, but, if this would bring in money, it would necessitate a large previous outlay: another, the closing of Siberia against American traders; a third, the forcible appropriation of the gold mines of China, in near proximity to the frontier. This last proposal might seem the most likely to find favour. Meanwhile

the Government hesitates, deliberates, and does not know which way to turn in order to find money. Under such conditions, it is difficult to imagine how the Government of Russia could think of entering upon warlike operations in the East.

## FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*La Controverse et Le Contemporain*, Oct. and Nov. 1885. Lyons.

**A Corner of Old Castile.**—Several papers are continued in these numbers—that of the Abbé Blanc, “Un Spiritualisme sans Dieu,” which is an examination of M. Vacherot’s philosophy, that of the Abbé Vigouroux on Voltaire’s attacks on the Bible, that of Professor Dupont on the Eternity of punishment in Hell, of which we have given some details previously, and that of Father Corluy, S.J., on the Inspiration of the Scriptures. Under the title “Rome and sa Légende” M. Léon Lecestre gives in the October number an amusing account of mediæval legends about Rome, founded on the work of Signor Arturo Graf [“Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazione del medio evo.” Turin, 1882-84, 2 vols. in 8vo]; whilst M. Jules Souben contributes, under the heading, “Un Coin de la Vieille Castille,” one of the brightest papers we have seen this long while on the peasantry and country *curés* of Spain. Clerics who aim at benefices, parishes, &c. (which go by *concursus*), pass through the *carrera mayor* of two years of philosophy, and five of theology. Others, with less ambition or destined for rural service, are content with the *carrera menor*, giving only five years altogether, as we make out, to a course, two years of which are devoted to moral theology. At Burgos, he says, they study Goudin’s philosophy, and Father Hurter’s theology. The writer is a layman, we suppose; his testimony, therefore, is worth reading, followed as it is by an outspoken protest against the neglect of oral instructions on the part of the priests:—“Le Curé Castillan fait preuve de qualités solides, d’une pureté et d’une dignité de vie peu communes. Il s’enferme dans les chambres étroites de son presbytère comme un moine dans sa cellule; un scandale est chose extrêmement rare dans les rangs du clergé Castillan; aussi le prêtre est-il à juste titre estimé de ses paroissiens.” This also is interesting: “Les populations rurales de la Castille sont encore pleines de foi,” though the bright picture which the writer proceeds to draw, has its shadowy details which are sad enough.

*Janvier et Ferrier*, 1886.

**S. Peter at Rome.**—The paper by M. P. Guilleux, of the Rennes Oratory, entitled “La Venue de S. Pierre à Rome,” is begun in the January number of *La Controverse* and concluded in that for February. The ancient and universal tradition in the Catholic Church, he remarks, as to St. Peter’s stay in Rome and

martyrdom there, was first opposed in the twelfth century among the Vaudois, but with erudite criticism only at the Reformation period, the arguments of Belenus, completed by M. Flaccus and by Spaulheim, being thenceforward the recognized weapons against the tradition. These arguments had about lost their force with historical scholars when Ch. Baur, with his German transcendentalism, gave to the controversy an entirely new aspect. Baur and his friends see in the historical witnesses to the Catholic tradition only the echoes of a great *legend* formed in an age which it pleases them to consider as the "prehistoric age" of Christianity; and all their efforts have been directed to bring together the fragments of this pretended legend, to show how it arose and to follow its growth and transformations! The Abbé Guilleux replies to both schools of opponents; the older historical criticism is dealt with in the January article, and the legendary theory in that of February. It will be enough to have mentioned that the earlier article gives a good brief reply to the older objections still in vogue among a certain class of writers. The "legend," Baur pretends, arose from the rivalries of his Petrine and Pauline parties in the primitive Church. Each of these parties originated "*des recits legendaires*" for the glorification of its hero at the expense of the other. The Roman Christians, however, who could not escape this intestine division, had less taste for abstract questions than for practical solutions; and "irenic" stories invented to conciliate the rival parties, would find easiest acceptance among them—thus, when the legend of Peter at Rome as its first bishop had once been hatched, it quickly triumphed. The Judæo-Christians first brought the story out, poetically as a set-off to the true story of S. Paul's martyrdom at Rome, in their determination not to give Pauline Christians the advantage of a martyr on the spot; they "were led to imagine" the voyage thither and martyrdom, and when the party of conciliation became the dominant party at Rome, "the success of the legend was assured!" The Clementine literature, which the German critic holds originated in Rome, offers the key to this myth. The Simon who there struggles against S. Peter is only S. Paul personified under that name. This was the first form of the legend: Peter paid at Paul's expense. The next form it assumed was among the Fathers: rivalry had ceased, and both were at Rome and were martyred together.

**Baur's Petrine Legend is Built in the Air.**—This hypothesis vanishes unless three points are granted, and these three points are held to be incontestible by Baur's school—first, the existence of hostile parties in the bosom of the early Roman Church and their fusion into a neutral party which reconciled Peter and Paul; secondly, the fiction that the journey of S. Peter to Rome was an invention of the Clementines, and that the Clementine literature originated in Rome; thirdly, that the Catholic tradition rests on this fiction. We can only indicate that the writer opposes, first, a truer picture of the interior condition of the Church at Rome, which so far as either inspired or other literature gives glimpses of it, was not



torn by contending factions. When S. Paul wrote to the Romans, "it must be granted at least," as Hageman is quoted saying, "that the Catholic Church (the Church of the Conciliation!) was already formed at Rome, and this long before the pretended divisions could have reached an acute stage." So that a neutral or irenic party should have been formed when S. Paul was yet preaching and writing! Secondly, the theological romance under various forms in the "Recognitions" and "Homilies" yields nothing towards the formation of such a tradition as the Catholic one as to S. Peter's journey to Rome. This point is treated at length, as also is the non-Roman origin of this Clementine literature; and the reply to the third contention of the critics becomes a comparatively easy task.

Among other interesting articles in the same January and February numbers we may mention "*La Société espagnole sous Philippe IV.*," by M. Julio Uzed, in which that writer draws the materials of his picture from the dramas of Calderon. There is in the February number a beautiful sketch of the Abbé Hetsch by M. de Segmont, and Professor Lamy, of Louvain, contributes to the same number an interesting exegetical paper on the "Seventy Weeks of the Prophet Daniel."

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## Notices of Books.

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*The Life of the Very Rev. Thomas N. Burke, O.P.* By WILLIAM J. FITZ-PATRICK, F.S.A. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.

**A**N Irish Dominican assured Mr. Fitz-Patrick that the life of Father Burke could be best written by a layman, especially if that layman had been already the biographer of an ecclesiastic. And the present Bishop of Galway said, within a few months of Father Tom's death, that as his mission was primarily with the laity, there was a special fitness in a lay gentleman taking the lead to perpetuate his memory. There can be no doubt about Mr. Fitz-Patrick's qualifications for his work. His *Life of Dr. Doyle* is known on this side of the channel as well as in Ireland; and if any doubt could have existed, his skill and his devotion are proved beyond question both by the two handsome volumes before us and by the thoroughness with which he has prepared himself to write them. To verify facts, he tells us, he travelled from Dublin to Gloucester, and from thence to Northumberland, not to speak of various other journeys. And the names of numerous well-known friends of the great preacher, each of whom contributes to this biography, attest the trustworthiness of the narrative. It is not to be doubted that Father Burke's religious brethren were genuinely glad that a veteran artist like Mr. Fitz-Patrick should take

up the work. It was a difficult life to write. If a "life" should be a picture of the man as he is, no one but a Père Chocarne and a Lever rolled into one could ever paint the portrait of Futher Tom. A priest would have toned down the exuberant, truly Irish, wild yet melancholy humour; a mere *littérateur* would have been unable to even understand the man's inner spirit—a spirit trained and disciplined in the Dominican tradition, as a fine Irish nature has been so often turned into a perfect soldier in a good school of the art of war. It would be too much to say that Mr. Fitz-Patrick will please everybody. There are anecdotes which are not in the best taste, and jests which are not superlatively fine. You may paint a man with all his warts and wrinkles, as Oliver Cromwell wanted to be painted; but there is no need of a realism which reproduces his occasional forgetfulness to wash his face or his hands.

There is no need to say that Nicholas Burke—he took the name of Thomas when he entered the Dominican novitiate—was a native of Galway; he came into the world just one year after his fellow-Catholics had been emancipated. The figure that stands out most prominently in the opening chapters of this entertaining book is that of his mother. Wat Burke, the father, a baker—a stooped, elderly man, full of vivacious and humorous talk, who struck up a wonderful friendship—note the word—with his son the moment the son could converse—is well touched-in. But his mother was a much more serious person. She was unable to understand a joke, and found it difficult to excuse frivolity, whether in a child or in a Dominican Friar. She was of what we are accustomed to call the old-fashioned school, who upheld the traditions of strict discipline, long prayers, and the use of the rod. She had been a Franciscan Tertiary before she married (all the Confraternities, said Father Burke, looked grave when she approached the altar of Hymen); and she was a woman of deep religious feeling, looking in all things to the one thing necessary. Her charities were only limited by her means; the beggars of Galway knew her only too well. "Give unto all," she would say, "lest he whom you refuse may be Christ." She thought her husband, with his light-hearted fooling, would be the "ruin of that boy;" "why not show him an example of gravity and decorum?" On her own part, she dealt faithfully with the child. After an unusually wild prank, when the boy had perhaps been brought home a prisoner by a neighbour or the priest, the good woman would retire into an inner room, lock the door, and then kneel down and begin the prayer, "Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, our actions by Thy holy inspirations, and carry them on by the gracious assistance," &c.; and then she would proceed to administer coudign correction. In after-life Father Tom declared he never recited that collect without feeling a cold thrill between his shoulders. "If there was one thing," said Mrs. Burke, years after, "more than another that I chastised Nicholas for when he was a child, it was his habit of mimicking people. They used to call at my house to complain of him, and I tried to beat it out of him in vain." She flogged

him also for beginning too young to practise that oratory for which he was to be famous, even rousing him out of bed to be punished for mounting on some barrels to make an election speech. She had her trials, the good old soul, for which her remedy was the Rosary; and she had her weakness, which was a game of cards—a very mild game indeed. She died at a very advanced age in 1879, having lived to see her son famous; her husband had been taken from her seven years before.

It is a very rare thing to be able to say of any Irish book at this moment—and yet it is true to say of this one—that there are no politics in it. Father Burke had all the attributes of a patriotic agitator, except lively faith. Faith, in a religious sense, of course he had, and as large a measure of it as an Irishman should have; but he did not believe in the possibility of serving Ireland by political means. It would probably be saying too much to assert that he did not believe in the political future of Ireland at all. He himself would have asserted the contrary. He dwells, in his speeches and sermons, with delight or with pathos on the past; he vindicates his race from the calumny of the cold-blooded maker of history and of the hot-headed Orangeman who cares nothing about history. But he rarely speaks of the present—never of the future. He is studious to condemn no man; he speaks emphatically against outrage and on the side of law; and, having done so, he does not think it necessary to show the other side of the canvas. This can be accounted for partly by his priestly character and his sense of responsibility, strengthened by a residence in Rome and a travelled culture, both of which tended to make his country's grievances less acute. But it is clear that he was of a sad, almost melancholy, frequently despondent, character of mind. In his youth, no doubt, he had been carried away by the greatness of O'Connell, and had keenly sympathised with the Young Ireland movement. But in 1846 he was only sixteen years old, and the excitement of his spirit was rather the effect of the verses of Clarence Mangan, "*Speranza*" and Davis, than of any deeper or more active convictions; whilst the memory of O'Connell was chiefly the memory of one who was the pious and Catholic leader of a pious and Catholic people, altogether and deplorably different, both leader and people, from anything that was to be seen in the experience of his riper years. There seems to be little doubt that, as the great orator became more and more bowed down by sickness and as the moment of death approached, he took views of his country and his countrymen which were exaggerated in their despondency. This was felt; and it was a pity that it should have been so. All that he said—and he said it nobly and eloquently—about the holiness of obedience and the duty of keeping the law was most necessary, and should at times be said by every Irish priest who aspires to lend his countrymen to their true welfare; but it might have been said with a warmer tone of feeling for the present, with a brighter tinge of confidence in the future. It is the man who can combine the priest's austerity with



the patriot's generous heat and the orator's supreme gift, who will lead the people of Ireland infallibly to freedom without letting them cast off the yoke of their religion.

Father Burke's oratory was of that kind which is so good that one is annoyed it is not absolutely perfect. But the written, or published, reports of his efforts have so many slipshod lines and sentences that they do him injustice. It was because he was so incomparable a speaker—incomparable in voice, presence, eye, and inflection—incomparable in that personal sway which is indescribable—that he neglected, whether consciously or not, but certainly blamelessly, to reject weak phrases, and to avoid faults of taste. A written sermon has to please the world—which means, the general level of cultured readers; a spoken discourse has to touch this or that particular audience. With a little more care—which he was perfectly right not to give—the reported lectures and sermons of Father Burke would read, many of them, with the sustained fire and finish of his great namesake the older Burke. They are sometimes splendid examples of that rolling "periodic" style, which enunciates great truths in clause after clause of sonorous phrase, rising and falling in harmonious antithesis, but culminating at last in a climax which is sure to be touched with the rays of an illustration as new and as telling as it is majestic. At other times they are a series of bright and telling sentences, uttered as if extemporaneously (they generally were), and producing a strong effect by the figure of repetition. Every sermon and lecture was full of anecdotes and reminiscences. Father Burke's "I remember" was as often the prelude to a pathetic incident of Irish life, or of his own, as it was the signal for a bit of irresistible drollery. He was fond of apostrophe and of exclamation. Thus in one of his American lectures, which bears the singularly suggestive title, "The History of Ireland as told in her Ruins," he exclaims:—

Ireland, what shall I say of thee? O mother, greatest and most faithful of all the nations, fairest and most loving of all the daughters of the Church! The queen of martyrs on this earth, Ireland, for three hundred years, like the heroic mother of the Maccabees, had stood erect, cross in hand, whilst her children fell around her. Yet she bore it with a good courage for the hope that she had in God. (Vol. ii. p. 85.)

As might have been expected, he excelled in the dramatic presentation of the incidents he narrated. There is an example of this given by Mr. Fitz-Patrick (vol. i. p. 212) which will bear quotation:

I was on a mission some time ago in a manufacturing town in England. I was preaching there every evening; and a man came to me one night, after a sermon on drunkenness. He came in: a fine man—a strapping intellectual-looking man. But the eye was almost sunk in his head; the forehead was furrowed with premature wrinkles; the hair was white, though the man was comparatively young. He was dressed shabbily, scarce a shoe to his feet, though it was a night of drenching rain. He came in to me, excitedly, after the sermon. He told me his history. "I don't know," he said, "that there is any hope for me; but still, as I was listening to the sermon, I must speak to you. If I don't speak to some

one, my heart will break to-night." What was his story? A few years before he had amassed in trade twenty thousand pounds. He had married an Irish girl—one of his own race and creed, young, beautiful and accomplished. He had two sons and a daughter. For a certain time everything went well. "At last," he said, "I had the misfortune to begin to drink, neglected my business, and then my business began to neglect me. The woman saw poverty coming and began to fret, and lost her health. At last, when we were paupers, she sickened and died. I was drunk," he said, "the day she died. I sat by her bedside. I was drunk when she was dying." "The sons—what became of them?" "Well," he said, "they were mere children. The eldest of them is no more than eighteen; and both are now suffering penal servitude." "The girl?" "Well," he said, "I sent the girl to a school where she was well educated. She came home to me at the age of sixteen—a beautiful young woman. She was the one consolation I had; but I was drunk all the time." "Well, what became of her?" He looked at me. "Do you ask me about that girl?" he said. "What became of her?" And the man sank at my feet. "God of heaven! She is on the streets to-night!" The moment he said those words he ran out. I went after him. "Oh, no, no!" he said: "there is no mercy in heaven for me." He went away, cursing God, to meet a drunkard's death.

Father Burke's American tour, with its hundreds of sermons and lectures, was a real triumph. We do not mean merely that the offerings which he received amounted to about £80,000, to the great advantage of churches, orphanages and hospitals, but his occasions and his audiences were such as to bring out his very best work. The published records of this tour are undoubtedly the most worthy remains of this great preacher. He was at his greatest stature in America. "Over and over again he told me," said a Dominican Father who knew him well, "that he could never speak at home as in America. . . . To use his own words, 'I never knew what freedom was until I set my enslaved foot upon the emancipated soil of Columbia. Then I said, I am a free man, and I will speak my soul' (vol. ii. p. 30). His discourses in reply to Mr. J. A. Froude are effective and fine even in their printed form; but delivered as he could deliver them, with his unique power of voice and gesture, and to the overflowing audience who thronged the Academy of Music to hear him, it is no wonder if his friends considered them his "crowning glory."

It is unnecessary to say that Mr. Fitz-Patrick's volumes are filled with capital stories. As has been said above, there are some which in our judgment were not worth recording; and we confess in reading the book to a feeling of having altogether too much—not of Father Tom, but of some of his traits and characteristics. Still, the book is one to possess and to read. It has the advantage, moreover, of being written for what may be called the general public, and not merely for the household of the faith. The writer is not above explaining or illustrating points of Catholic belief or practice, which some of us can hardly conceive to be capable of misconception by our non-Catholic friends, but as to which he thinks differently, and is probably *right* in so thinking. It would have improved the book if we had

had a little more of the celebrated orator's inner life. That he was a man of deep faith, of the most priestly convictions, and true zeal for souls, comes out very clearly; and we can also see how the searching education of a religious life had put him on his guard against his weaknesses or his possible faults, and made him see very distinctly the difference between real and sham virtue, between the primitive impulses of the heart and the ripe judgments of trained asceticism. Moreover, the copious extracts from his discourses which are given by Mr. Fitz-Patrick show many glimpses of a fervent, patriotic, and poetical nature. But we would fain know a little more of that soul which could sway so wonderfully the souls of others. It would be interesting to follow him to his Mass and his cell, and to see what aspect attracted him most of the revelation of that Master whom he served so gloriously. It would not be indiscreet to wish to lift the curtain a little from his prayers, his mortifications, and his consolations. It would not be impossible, perhaps, to read the secret of his sometimes strange and unseasonable fooling, and to find out what sensitive fibres of his heart, what shyness of his nerves, what humility of his spirit these outbursts were intended to shroud and conceal. A chapter by a brother priest, a fellow-religious, might have told us some of these things. Meanwhile, it is but justice to admit that we can gather a good deal from the narrative of Mr. Fitz-Patrick. Father Burke died at the age of fifty-two, after months, nay, years of acute suffering, which he took as saintly natures know how to take such visitations from a God Who wishes to draw them nearer to Himself. No one who heard him on the last occasion of his appearance in England—at the opening of St. Dominic's, Haverstock Hill, in the summer of 1883—can forget the feeling of admiration mingled with compassion that his morning sermon inspired. We cannot agree with Mr. Fitz-Patrick that the sermon was "full of vigour"; on the contrary, it was sensibly an effort; but it was the effort of a wounded giant. The sermons which he preached during this octave, and that supreme effort which he made at Gardiner Street two months later for the starving children of Donegal, were undoubtedly the immediate cause of his death. He died at Talloght, in his cell, surrounded by his brethren, on July 2 of the same year.

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*Problèmes et Conclusions de l'Histoire des Religions.* Par l'Abbé DE BROGLIE, Professeur d'Apologétique à l'Institut catholique de Paris. Paris: Putois-Cretté. 1885.

WE cannot too warmly recommend this very successful attempt to deal with one of the most difficult and important speculative questions of the day. Every one must have noticed how frequently, of late years, other religious systems, especially Buddhism, have been advocated in such a manner as to weaken the evidence for the Divine origin of Christianity. The general principles for judging of all such points will be found in M. de Broglie's work, which we had



occasion to refer to in the last number of this REVIEW as supplying the answers to some of Mr. H. Spencer's objections to religion in general.

The volume begins with a sketch of the moral and intellectual needs which all religious systems profess to supply. Next, the earliest religious beliefs attested by history are examined, and shown not to correspond with either of the theories (ancestor-worship and Nature-worship) proposed by the rationalists of to-day. Good reasons are adduced for believing that there was a primeval religious tradition containing little beyond a belief in the existence and moral government of God. From this starting-point a twofold evolution has proceeded. In the first place, we find that the human mind left to itself has gradually corrupted this original tradition, and evolved the various heathen systems, of which Max Müller's "henotheism" is one of the earliest. The downward course of all these systems has been continually arrested and diversified by the efforts of religious reformers, among whom the Brahmins, Buddha, and Confucius are only the most important, paganism, as it now exists, being the result. It is pointed out that all these reforms, being intended to supply the religious needs of mankind, must necessarily have much in common with the true religion: the resemblances between Christianity and other religious systems are thus accounted for. But, in striking contrast with the irregular and multiform "dissolution" of the primitive tradition is the steady development of monotheism, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in Judaism and Christianity. Buddhism and Mohammedanism are dwelt upon in most detail, owing to the importance given them at the present day; but all other religious systems of any note are sufficiently described, and their good sides are brought out quite as fully and fairly as their deficiencies. M. de Broglie is careful to allow for the large gaps in our knowledge of religions separated from us by distance in time or difference in mental sympathies. He has evidently carefully studied the numerous English works on Oriental religions which have appeared of late years, and this little volume may be said to give, in a small compass, and very lucid style, an excellent summary of his subject.

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*The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715.* Being a Summary of the Register of their Estates, with Genealogical and other Notes; and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents in the Public Record Office. Edited by the late Very Rev. E. E. ESTCOURT, M.A., Canon of St. Chads Cathedral, Birmingham, and JOHN ORLEBAR PAYNE, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. (No date.)

THIS handsomely printed volume lies before us. Every student of the history of our nation, or of the families which compose it, cannot but be grateful for a catalogue such as we have here. Genealogy is the mistress of true history, and genealogy is, to a large extent, dependent on such chance lists of names.

We have read the Preface given us by Mr. Payne, and, as we do not find any very clear account, either of the circumstances under which this list was originally drawn up, or of the special material he has made use of in this edition, we purpose to lay our ideas upon both these matters before our readers.

The question of the "oath of allegiance," as proposed to be taken by Catholics, had been a fertile source of trouble to them during the entire Stuart period. Not only had it been made the plea for confiscation of Catholic property to satisfy the greed of monarch and courtier, but it had the worse effect of dividing the small Catholic body into factions, opposing each other with scandalous bitterness. For 600 years the oath exacted had been "to be true and faithful to the King and his heirs;" but the "Convention Parliament" at the Revolution thought this savoured too much of mere passive obedience, and cut out the word "heirs." Some Protestants and Dissenters, imbued with the tenet of the Divine right of kings—a Protestant substitute by the Stuart monarchs for the Catholic theory of the Papal power over the rulers of Christendom—considered James as their rightful Sovereign, and for conscience' sake refused to take the oath to William III. These men were headed by Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several of the bishops of the Established Church. As a natural consequence, they were deprived of their sees, and they and their followers, who continued to look upon them as their rightful bishops became known as the "Non-jurors," a name, by-the-way, which we have never seen used of Catholics except by Mr. Payne.

Catholics also grieved at the Revolution, regarding it as the triumph of Protestant principle over Catholicism, and as the possible dawn of future difficulties for those of the faith who had enjoyed a brief respite from persecution during the reign of the ill-advised James II. It is true that the Stuart family could have little claim on the gratitude or personal regard of the Catholic body; but at this time the right of cashiering kings was advocated by very few, and, from circumstances which cannot be divined, the Stuarts enjoyed a personal attachment, which continued for half a century after they had lost the throne.

Immediately after the accession of William III., several Acts were passed against Catholics, as a kind of retaliation for the obtrusive Catholicism of the unfortunate James; and by an Act 7 & 8 Will. III., all who refused the oaths of allegiance and supremacy could be treated as *Papish recusants*. English Catholics, as a body, took little part in the attempts of the dethroned King to recover his empire; both in his invasion of Ireland, and at the time of the threatened invasion of England, they remained quiet.\*

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\* There is no doubt that the Pope exerted his authority to prevent Catholics engaging in attempts to overthrow the established Government. Whatever may have been the policy of Cardinal Gualterio, the Protector of England, as regards the attempts of the Stuarts to regain their throne, the Pope clearly disapproved of Catholics taking part in them. In a Brief to the Internuncio of Brussels he

In 1714, the House of Brunswick was established in the kingdom in succession to Queen Anne. In the first year of George I., further Acts were passed in Parliament against Catholics. The oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and of abjuring the Stuart family were required of all who held any public office. Further, the Act empowered any two justices of the peace to administer these oaths to any person they might consider disaffected to the King, and, on his refusal to take them, he was to be considered convicted of *Popish recusancy*. This was termed "constructive recusancy"—that is, by the refusal of the prescribed oaths, any one was placed on the same footing as Papists who refused to attend church. As no Jacobite could take these oaths, numbers of them were included in the lists of this period, although they were not necessarily Catholics.

After the rebellion of 1715, retribution was visited, at first upon the Catholics, and afterwards on the whole body of nonjurors. By the Act 1 Geo. I., which is given at length in Appendix II. to Mr. Payne's volume (p. 365), Catholics, and, as far as we understand the meaning of the words "*Popish recusants* or *Papists*," all who refused the three oaths, from whatever motive, were bound as an alternative to register their names and estates. To put this Act in execution, a committee was appointed called "The Forfeited Estates Commission."

We may now speak of the origin of the list printed by Mr. Payne. By the end of Trinity term 1716, Catholics and others were bound to take the oaths, or to register their estates and names. This had to be done either personally, or by attorney at the sessions, before the clerk of the peace, who had then to return a copy of the registration to the Commissioners. We cannot but regret that Mr. Payne gives no sample of the documents from which he took his information. The *original* documents are to be found, of course, in each county, and are of special importance and interest, not only as having the autograph signatures of the persons concerned, but also, in many instances, having the seals of the family, which are most valuable for county and family history. Copies of the registration were sent to London, and these are now to be found in the Public Record Office, and are described in Appendix II. to the Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Rolls, and are indexed under "Forfeited Estates, P. 30 to P. 127." As an example, we may take the bundle for "Bedfordshire" (P. 31). Here we have a parchment roll and a paper document. The parchments are the actual returns sent for the county of Bedford, and (No. 1) begins "To the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Bedford or his lawful Deputy. I, Magdalen

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orders him to let it be known that Catholics might and ought to take the oath of fidelity to the established Government. This Brief was referred to in an English State document, printed by Chas. Butler ("*Memoirs, &c.*"), who, in a note, says he has not been able to find any trace of such a document. A letter in the "Gualterio Papers" (B. Museum Add. MS. 20310, fol. 173) quotes the *Latin text* of the Brief. For the Pope's policy cf. also Add. MS. 20312, fol. 210.



Gifford," &c. Then follows a detailed account of her estate, which we are sorry Mr. Payne could not find room to give, and the way she got it—namely, through the foreclosure of a mortgage on the property. The document is signed by Magdalen Giffard, April 7, 1717, and delivered by her attorney, "R. Denton, in the Open Session, May 1, 1717." This is a sample of the rest of the documents. We may remark, in passing, on the *date*. The title-page of Mr. Payne's book gives 1715 as the date of his list, whereas it is clear from this, and from a letter printed by him (p. 353) in his Appendix, that it is not a list of 1715 at all. No one was bound to register till towards the middle of 1716, and, as a matter of fact, numbers did not register till the year following, and even later. Mr. Payne seems to associate the date 1715 with the list because he looks upon all in it as some of the rebels of that date; at least this idea is borne out by the binding of the volume, and the Jacobite impress on the cover.

The paper document in the bundle we are describing is indorsed "Abstract of the Estates of Popish Recusants convict and Papists as the same has been returned by the Deputy Clerk of the Peace for the County of Bedford." "Examined by John Cosin." From the abstracts for various counties, a general schedule (P. 2) was drawn up, from which we learn that the total annual value of the estates registered was £382,741 19s. 2½d. The two MSS. in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 30211 and 15629) were apparently drawn up by the same secretary, John Cosin, for the use of the Commissioners. These two MSS. give the names and value of the different estates.

In 1745, James Cosin, a son of the late secretary, made use of these papers to print the list called "Names of the Roman Catholics, &c., who refused to take the Oaths to the late Majesty George I.," and, in the dedication to George II., he says "it is now published with a generous view to promote and serve the true Protestant Interest of these kingdoms." The following year, 1746, Charles Cosin issued another edition, the exact counterpart of the first, with a new title-page.

What is the meaning of Cosin's title-page? If we understand the matter rightly, it is that, whatever may have been the value of the list as a record of Catholics only when it was drawn up somewhere about 1718, when it was printed in 1745 many of the families therein mentioned objected to the title of "Roman Catholic;" and for this reason the MS. title was cancelled, and a new one, giving a wider meaning to the list, substituted. Whether this be the correct explanation or no, it is certain that others besides Catholics availed themselves of the "Act" to register their estates, and thus avoid taking the oaths. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to glance at a MS. "Calendar of Names of those Persons whose Estates were registered under the provision of Acts 1 Geo. I. and 9 Geo. I. to oblige Papists to register their Names and Real Estates, compiled by W. H. Hart, F.S.A., 1880," and to be found in the Search-Room at the Record Office. The

list is compiled from the Exchequer Records, and there is nothing on the face of the entries to show whether the parties registering be Catholics or Protestant nonjurors. But this is certain, that there are many Protestants who appended a note to that effect to their names.

As to the list now edited by Mr. Payne, we have little doubt that the larger number of persons so entered was Catholic, though we are by no means sure they all were. Turning over the pages, we come occasionally to a name we have our doubts about; *e.g.*, p. 193, "Dame Dorothy Yallop" we do not remember as a Catholic name, and certainly the note appended by Mr. Payne adds to our belief that the family was not Catholic. If there was the least doubt on the subject, we should prefer the title of the edition of 1746: "Catholics, Nonjurors, and others." At any rate, we seriously object to that of "Catholic Nonjurors," and should Mr. Payne think of following Cosin's lead in giving his edition a new title-page, there would be little difficulty, as the present edition bears no date.

We cannot, however, feel otherwise than grateful for the volume. It will form a very important storehouse of matter for the history of Catholics at this period. The names, for the most part, form a roll of as staunch supporters as the Church has produced in the long years of its existence. It tells us of a century and a half of imprisonment, torture, spoliation, and even death for conscience sake, and we trust that what Mr. Payne has done may induce others to add to the store of knowledge he has gathered concerning many of the Catholic families. There is much to be done in this way, which the book suggests. As an example, we may take the name of "William Sheldon," of Winchester, given on p. 274. It is of interest to know that this staunch supporter of the Stuarts followed the fortunes of that House to France, and that a descendant still lives in Brittany in the person of Edward Sheldon. It was this William Sheldon who built the house mentioned in Southgate Street, Winchester, which, being the best house of its kind in the city, was purchased about sixty years ago by the county for Judges' lodgings. He was also the owner of a more ancient building, probably of the period of Charles I., in St. Peter's Street, Winchester, which was used for more than fifty years as the home of the Benedictine nuns, now removed to Bergholt. In this latter house Dr. James Smith, the first Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, was born. Of this good Bishop it is related that, whilst on a confirmation tour in the North, he was stopped on the Great North Road, near York, by Earl Danby and some companions, and robbed of his crosier, a present to him from the Queen of Charles II. The Earl, no doubt wishing to make restitution, presented the Bishop's crosier to York Minster, where it may still be seen, having the arms of Dr. Smith on one side and those of Catherine of Braganza on the other.

In conclusion, we may express a regret that there is no "Index locorum" to this edition, and that it is impossible, on any page other than the first of each county, to ascertain without reference back, to what county the names appertain.

*A Literary and Biographical History ; or, Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, from the Breach with Rome in 1534 to the Present Time* By JOSEPH GILLOW. Vols. I. and II. London : Burns & Oates.

A GENERAL English Catholic Biography has not been attempted since the publication of Dodd's "Church History of England," in the middle of the eighteenth century. During this period several authors have written notices referring to individuals in particular districts, or to the members of some special religious Order. The late Rev. Dr. Kirk, of Lichfield, alone faced the more arduous task of reshaping and continuing Dodd's short biographies. At his death he left his papers to Canon Tierney, who purposed carrying out his friend's wish, but was unable to do so.

Mr. Joseph Gillow has now taken up the labour, and has already issued two of the five volumes which are to form the complete work. He is to be sincerely congratulated upon the very able manner in which these volumes have been written. The public will readily accept them as fair specimens of what they are to receive in those which are forthcoming. It will be more just to Mr. Gillow to touch upon a few shortcomings before the attention of our readers is drawn to the merits of his work.

Some fault must be found with the brief genealogies given in some of the biographical notices. There is a want of clearness, which necessitates a second perusal of a paragraph before the actual relationship of the individuals named can be ascertained. We need but refer to the article on the Rev. Joseph Berington as an instance of this obscurity of style.

Amongst a few minor inaccuracies may be numbered the alleged authorship of the excellent little book called "Mrs. Herbert and the Villagers." This unpretending work has done much good up and down England for the better part of a century. Not only has it given to the young and to the simple country folks a better knowledge of their religion, but it has been extensively read by many who were led by divine grace to inquire into the belief of the Catholic religion, and thus it has brought numbers to the Unity of the Church. The authorship of such a book has some degree of interest attached to it. Mr. Gillow attributes it to Mrs. Bodenham, wife of Charles Thomas Bodenham, of Rotherwas, Esq., co. Hereford. We should have looked upon this as a mere typographical error had we not seen it repeated in the notice of the life of the late Mr. Ambrose de Lisle, of Grace-Dieu, in whose conversion the Rotherwas authoress had a share in her little controversial tale. That lady was not the wife, but Miss Elizabeth, the sister of Mr. C. T. Bodenham. That venerable squire's friends will doubtless recollect how he loved to point out to them the beautiful spot on Dinedor Hill where his sister thought over in solitude most of the subject-matter of her story.

It is time to pass to a graver subject. A biographical sketch is



imperfect if it be not comprehensive, and that comprehensiveness must be adequate to the latest historical researches. Now, in the article on Cardinal Allen, we see no reference to that political action of his career, which, however justifiable in itself, added undoubtedly to the miseries of the poor persecuted Catholics of England. Dodd concludes his notice of the Cardinal with a defence of the great Prelate, and rebuts the charges of disloyalty and conspiracy brought against him by Protestants of that day. Mr. Gillow has passed over this great historical question in silence, even after the Fathers of the London Oratory had published the second volume of "*The Records of English Catholics.*" That volume contains most important documents bearing directly upon a policy which so infuriated Elizabeth and her unscrupulous ministers that they resolved to crush the last remnants of the Catholic people of England.

With this notable exception, Mr. Joseph Gillow has proved himself gifted with historical genius and impartiality. We have only to read the memoirs of Bonner and of the other Prelates so unhappily connected with Henry VIII.'s divorce and schism to see evident proofs of these gifts. He thus depicts the true character of Bishop Bonner:—

"It is difficult to write the character of one who has varied his principles and behaviour, but if any one merited to have such a blot in his life overlooked, it is Bishop Bonner. He was not one of those occasional conformists who struck in with every change. He was indeed carried away with the stream in the earlier part of his career, but he quickly recovered himself, and ever afterwards remained firm to his principles."

No less true and just is the author's estimate of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, whose history is even more surprising in its rebound from weakness to fortitude than that of the rough-mannered but honest-minded Bonner.

Mr. J. Gillow has wisely found room in his "*Biographical Dictionary*" for those worthy publishers who, though not authors themselves, yet risked their all in times of persecution, when Catholic literature had but a very limited sale, and when publishing Catholic books was a criminal offence in the eyes of English law. Another thoughtful addition has been the introduction of the names of those who, in spite of Penal Laws, opened Catholic schools in England, and to the best of their power promoted the education of such youths as could not find access to foreign colleges.

In a *Biographical Dictionary*, as in everyday life, strange individuals cross our path. The same volume that contains the lives of great nobles and learned authors gives us the singular history of that eccentric lady, who, styling herself Countess of Derwentwater, sought to make good her claim to the forfeited estates of that family without troubling the House of Lords or petitioning for a reversal of the Act of Attainder.

"In September, 1868," says Mr. J. Gillow, "she took active steps to assert her claim by forcibly taking possession of the old ruined

castle at Dilton. She hoisted the Radclyffe flag on the tower, and suspended portraits of the family on the ruined walls of the principal hall. Conformable to instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, she was speedily ejected by their agent, when she took up her quarters in a tent on the road. After other proceedings she was imprisoned for contempt of court, her claim having formally been investigated and found to be invalid. Nevertheless, by her eccentric conduct in the prosecution of her claim, she continued to keep constantly before the public until her death, at her residence in Durham Road, Durham, Feb. 26, 1880, aged 49."

We have now to wish Mr. J. Gillow "God-speed" on the long journey yet before him. He fully deserves the best wishes of English Catholics, and we feel sure that he will meet with every encouragement from those in whose cause he is labouring.

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*The Truth about John Wyclif: His Life, Writings, and Opinions, chiefly from the evidence of contemporaries.* By JOSEPH STEVENSON, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1885.

FATHER STEVENSON has here collected into a volume the series of papers contributed by him to the *Month* during the excitement caused by the celebration of the quinqucentenary of Wyclif's death. Much of the interest in Wyclif has already died out; but he must always be looked upon as an epoch-maker, and therefore it is important to have at hand a view of his work from a thoroughly competent writer.

We need hardly say that Fr. Stevenson has made himself master of all that has been written on his subject. To Professor Lechler especial obligations are due, and are cordially acknowledged. But most of all we have been struck by the way in which Fr. Stevenson has made use of the State Papers and other original documents which he has consulted. We may note in passing that he has given (142 seq.) an interesting abstract of a register in which are recorded the Acts of a Visitation of the Diocese of Norwich in the years 1428, 1429, 1430, a document now in the possession of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop. "The Book of Sentences of the Inquisition of Toulouse" is another valuable document from which much information has been drawn.

The main contention of the present work is that John Wyclif was indeed the Morning Star, or, perhaps we should say, the Lucifer of the Reformation. England, that is to say, was not robbed of its faith by Henry VIII. and Thomas Cromwell; the tares had been sown long before, and had sprung up in abundance. Even before Wyclif's time the germs of heresy can be detected in England. We must be careful, however, not to accept all that Protestant writers say about the forerunners of the Evangelical doctor. Lechler claims this doubtful honour for Grostete, Bracton, the great jurist, Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, Bradwardin, Archbishop of Canterbury, Longland, the author of the "Vision of

William, concerning *Piers the Plowman*," and the notorious Occam. Fr. Stevenson has no difficulty in showing the orthodoxy of all of these except the last-named. Occam, he acknowledges, was "an undoubted predecessor of John Wyclif, a man who resembled him not only in his heretical teaching, but also in the turbulence of his character, and as such we gladly resign him to the Wyclif Society." Wyclif systematized the mass of error already existing here and on the Continent, and supplied new weapons of fence. His heresies are on the whole the same as those of the Protestants of the sixteenth century, and may be briefly summarized as the rejection of all that is hard to believe or to do in Catholic faith and morals. The teaching authority of the Church and the doctrine of Transubstantiation were the chief objects of his attack. His work as a destroyer was small, however, in comparison with his work as a translator of the Bible. Wyclif must undoubtedly be credited with planning the first English translation of the *whole* Bible, although he himself translated only the New Testament and a small portion of the Old. Fr. Stevenson does not seem to us to be at his best when he deals with this matter. We think that Lechler's summary of the case may be accepted as fairly correct:—

I. A translation of the entire Bible was never during this whole period (before Wyclif's time) accomplished in England, and never even apparently contemplated. II. The Psalter was the only book of Scripture which was fully and *literally* translated into all three languages, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Old English. III. In addition, several books of Scripture, especially Old Testament books, were translated partially or in select passages—*e.g.* by Ælfrie, laying out of view poetical versions and the Gospel of John, translated by Bede, which celebrated work has not come down to us."—Lechler i., p. 331.

Wyclif's errors were not confined to theology. His political doctrines were wild and subversive of all authority. John Ball, Nicholas Herford, and others of his followers attempted to put these doctrines into practice, and thereby brought upon their master so much discredit that the spread of his theological errors was providentially stayed. Fr. Stevenson gives us a graphic account of the Insurrection of the Villeins in 1381—an account which shows that poring over dusty documents has not dimmed the eye of his mind, and makes us wish that he had made the other parts of his book more descriptive. We are sorry, however, that he has no word of sympathy for the poor villeins. Their grievances were many and sore. The Statutes of Labourers and the Poll Tax, passed in defiance of the economical laws of supply and demand and taxation by a parliament of landlords, clerical and lay, brought intolerable suffering upon the poor. We cannot wonder at the results of John Ball's sermon on the famous couplet: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" We have no desire to justify the excesses of the insurgents, but it is well to remember that the accounts which have come down to us are from hostile sources. Fr. Stevenson concludes with a sketch of Wyclif's character:



Of Wyclif personally we have been unable to form any exalted estimate. Intellectually, there is little to admire in him. He was a voluminous author, and has left behind him a large mass of writings upon various subjects, thus supplying us with ample materials on which to form an estimate as to his mental capacity. These writings are remarkable only as embodying numerous blasphemies, heresies, errors, and absurdities, expressed in obscure language.

Morally, he does not command our respect. He attacked the Church of which he was a priest, and in which he continued to minister long after he had denounced it as the synagogue of Satan. He rebelled against that ecclesiastical discipline which he had pledged himself to maintain and enforce. During many years he drew the revenues of his benefice, availing himself of an authority which he declared to be illegal and ungodly; and until the last day of his life he administered to others, and he himself received, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, according to a ritual which he denounced as false and blasphemous. His life must have been a daily lie, and he died as he was about to perpetuate an act of habitual mockery of the great Sacrifice of Calvary.

The religious system which he succeeded in introducing among his countrymen proves, upon examination, to be a collection of errors and heresies, each of which had previously been condemned by the common voice of the Catholic Church. They were gleaned by him from that stock of falsehood against which believers had been warned by our Lord from the beginning; but disregarding the caution, he picked them up, made them his own, and bequeathed this inheritance of evil to his native country. England accepted the legacy without knowing what it would cost her; but the knowledge has at last come. It is only after centuries of suffering and sin that our bitter experience enables us to estimate at its true value the work done by John Wyclif.

T. B. SCANNELL.

*Philosophia Lacensis, sive series Institutionum Philosophiæ scholasticæ. Institutiones Juris Naturalis seu philosophiæ moraliæ universæ secundum principia S. Thomæ Aquinatis ad usum scholarum adornavit THEODORUS MEYER, S.J. Pars I. Jus Naturæ generale continens Ethicam generalem et Jus Sociale in genere. Friburgi: Herder. 1885.*

THIS series of philosophical textbooks is being brought out by the German Jesuit Fathers who formerly resided in their house of studies at Maria Laach, near Coblenz. Having been turned out of the Fatherland, they now pursue their noble undertaking, as best they may, in exile. The first instalment of the series, entitled "*Philosophia Naturalis*," and treating of metaphysical cosmology, or the constituent principles of bodies, has been duly noticed in this Review.\* We desire now to make known the appearance of the first part of a work on Natural Law from the pen of Father Meyer. This work will perhaps appear of less importance in England than in Germany, where the tendency of political action has been towards consecration for the State of the rights of individuals, of communities, of the Christian Church. However, it ought to be borne in mind that

\* January, 1881, p. 224.

the same tendency is, more or less, making itself felt in every other modern country. But apart from these practical motives, the present volume ought to be of great and permanent value on account of the prominent and time-honoured place accorded to Natural Law in Christian and Catholic philosophy. The close, and we must add true, because natural, connection of natural law and morals was insisted on by the Scholastics, and from the Catholic point of view must continue to be upheld.

Father Meyer's work will consist of two parts. The first part and volume, the one before us, treats of Ethics and the *jus sociale* in general. The next part will treat of social bodies, the State, the community, and the family. This arrangement will be acceptable to the student, and his memory may easily retain the short clear theses under which the doctrine is formulated. The wants of our own times are not forgotten, nor are present-day difficulties shirked. Modern systems, and mainly those which originated in England, as of Bentham, Mill and Herbert Spencer (pp. 106, 124, 127), are duly dealt with. Quite a feature of the book is the defence of the "*lex eterna*," the foundation of every idea of right and justice (p. 193-241). In the second half of this volume (p. 294-482), our author treats of the "*jus sociale in genere*," and sound doctrine on such important points as the origin and nature of Society and Right is duly propounded and vindicated against ancient and modern errors. It need scarcely be remarked that S. Thomas Aquinas is the safe guide of Father Meyer throughout. Scholars in England are familiar with Father Taparelli's "*Saggio di diritto naturale*." Meyer's work, both for close reasoning and scientific handling of the various problems, is far superior to that of the learned Italian.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Jacobi Lainez, Secundi Præpositi Societatis Jesu, Disputationes Tridentinæ ad Manuscriptorum fidem edidit et Commentariis historicis instruxit HARTMANNUS GRISAR, S.J. Two vols. Oeniponti: Rauch. 1886.*

**A**MONG the many theologians who faithfully served the Holy See during the Council of Trent, perhaps no one better deserves a biography than James Lainez, the second General of the Society of Jesus. Yet, up to the present not even a carefully edited edition of his works has been published. The greater gratitude, therefore, is now due to Father Grisar for a work which will be of permanent value—Lainez's works have so long lain in the dust of archives, chiefly because of the difficulty of reading his handwriting.

Father Grisar, in these volumes, does his work in a way to command the approval of scholars; they are, in fact, up to the requirements of present historical criticism. He has, at cost of immense labour, enriched the pages with some thousands of footnotes, indicating the sources whence Lainez drew. And it must be confessed that this very learned commentary enables one to better

appreciate the wonderful sagacity and diligence of the man who faced the Reformers with all his strength, and stood forward as the defender of the old teaching against the new schools of thought within the Church. Each of these volumes is prefaced with an historical Introduction. These tell us of the laurels won by Lainez as pontifical theologian at the Council and at the Conference of Poissy in 1561, and of such documents among the contents of the volumes as now are for the first time published. The singular value of some of these is pointed out, and mention is not omitted of such opinions of Lainez as could not now be upheld.

The great feature of the first volume is the "*Disputatio de origine jurisdictionis Episcoporum et de Romani Pontificis primatu*" (pp. 1-371). It cannot be denied that this too has its drawbacks; for the author largely uses pseudo-Isidore. Besides this, Lainez holds the opinion that the Apostles received their jurisdiction not immediately from our Lord, but through S. Peter. Due allowance, however, having been made for all this, the "*disputatio*" may be pronounced to be one of the finest specimens of theology from the excited period of the Reformation. Grasp of thought, close reasoning, great power of seeing and dealing with the arguments of adversaries, and, lastly, a wonderful cleverness in using the telling facts of church history, give to this work a value which will not decrease, but rather increase with time. Indeed, it is to be borne in mind that Lainez's teaching on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and the jurisdiction of bishops is substantially that which has been solemnly pronounced by the Vatican Council in July, 1870. What Father Lainez emphasizes is simply the doctrine approved by the most judicious theologians—viz., that the jurisdiction of the Pope, and likewise the jurisdiction of the episcopacy, taken as a whole body, is based immediately on divine right, while the jurisdiction of single bishops is derived from Christ by means of S. Peter's successors.

The value of Lainez's dissertation is brought out by the letters, of which we have here no less than sixty-five, written either in Latin or Italian by the Legates from Trent to the Cardinal Secretary of State, S. Charles Borromeo, and by the latter to the Legates. These leave no room for doubt that Lainez's doctrine was decidedly patronized by the Holy See, and that Pius IV. counted the Jesuit father amongst his most able and trustworthy champions. The interest of these letters is increased by the fact that they are here for the first time published from a MS. preserved in the municipal archives of Trent.

In the second volume we meet with twelve dissertations of Lainez bearing on most important questions connected with the Council of Trent. Three of them seem to deserve special mention—viz., that on the question of the so-called lay-chalice; the speech delivered before Queen Catherine of Medicis at Poissy in 1561; and the one: "*An Pontifex reformandus sit per Concilium.*" They are followed by ten dissertations on moral subjects. It only remains for me to remind the student that neither Cardinal Pallavicini's history of



the Council of Trent, nor Theiner's edition of Massarelli's Acts of the same synod can now be safely followed without due consideration of Lainez's works; for these throw new light on many parts of the Council, and fill up considerable gaps in the documents handed down by Massarelli.

BELLESHEIM.

*Les Huguenots et les Gueux, étude historique sur vingt-cinq années du XVI<sup>e</sup>. siècle (1560-1585). Par M. le Baron KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE. Tomes I.-VI. Bruges: Beyaert-Storie. 1883, 1885.*

**M.** KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, one of the best known of Belgian historians, is the author of several important works, written in French, and of high repute. A score of years ago he published the History of Flanders, where he was born. To him was entrusted the publication of Froissart's works in twenty-eight volumes,\* and also of those of Commynes in three volumes. (Brussels, 1867-74). In addition to all this labour he had, for several years, worked at the History of Belgium during the latter part of the Sixteenth Century. The reports of the Royal Academy, of which he is one of the most distinguished members, and which selected him as perpetual President of the "Commission d'histoire," are replete with *petits mémoires*, with remarks and details, hitherto unknown, belonging to the epoch in question. In his studies on the "Revolution of the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century," he experienced great opposition from two opponents, MM. Wauters and Juste, his colleagues at the Academy, who, notwithstanding their historical ability, could not always break from the accepted tradition as to the greatness of character, devotedness, and the political aim of the promoter of the Revolution, William the Silent, Prince of Orange. The Apology which the Prince wrote to justify his conduct in the eyes of the people of the Netherlands and Philip II., has always been considered a chief source from which a correct knowledge of the life and actions of William may be derived. The attractive picture which Motley gives of the events of this period so far deceived many persons, that they accepted as infallible truths certain details and estimates which appeared differently to a cooler and more unprejudiced estimate of their circumstances. Dr. Nuyens, of Holland, Mgr. Namèche, formerly "Rector magnificus" of the Catholic University of Louvain, the late Canon David, Professor of National History at the same University, have published important works in defence of the Church in the sixteenth century. They have also exposed certain authors who took an unfair advantage of the political errors of Philip II., and the intrigues of Catherine de Medici, in order to throw doubt upon historical facts, and to exalt as much as possible the different persons who caused the dissensions and revolt of that period.

\* Twenty-five volumes of Chronicles and three volumes of Poems. Brussels. 1870-74.

M. Kervyn de Lettenhove, fully alive to the merits of the afore-said authors, especially of Dr. Nuyens, who was the first to enter the list with an admirable work treating of this period, has, so to speak, reconstructed his history upon a new basis. He has not confined himself to printed sources, but has, during several years, pursued his own researches in the Archives at London, Paris, Brussels, and even of St. Petersburg and other cities, in order to find confirmation of what printed documents had made known. He paid particular attention to the correspondence of English and Spanish Ambassadors at the French and other courts. He exposed the malice and egoism of these diplomatists on the one hand, and, on the other, the intrigues of the Princes who were often the dupes of their ambassadors. It happened more than once that Queen Elizabeth had to sacrifice (at least for a time) her own views to those of her counsellors and ambassadors. At the commencement of the period we are here concerned with, it was Throckmorton who directed English affairs on the continent rather in accord with his own ideas than with those of his government.\* Then there was Councillor Cecil, who had the reputation "de dominer le diable lui même," and from whose intrigues Elizabeth herself could not escape.† Moreover there were still other councillors who craftily tendered to Elizabeth such reports as necessarily tended to war with Spain, to which they urged her whilst she was unwilling to listen. In fine, there was the ambassador, Dr. Dale, who had to inform Elizabeth of the appearance and character of the Duke of Alençon (Anjou, younger son of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis). Interesting himself rather in favour of the French Prince, who ardently sought the hand of the Queen, than of Elizabeth herself, Dale was loud in his praises of the attractive appearance of the Duke, who all the time was deformed and exceedingly ugly; such, too, was his dissoluteness that he was known as "Sardanapalus," yet in the Low Countries he was going to be honoured as "The Envoy of God.‡ Kervyn, by means of the correspondence of the ambassadors, shows that Elizabeth was not desirous of war either with France or Spain, because, in case of defeat, she feared the one and the other of the powerful neighbours in the Low Countries. She encouraged the Gueux to avoid a collision with the Spanish troops; she urged on John Casimir, Prince Palatine, "the Avaricious," an expedition against France and the Low Countries with the negative object of weakening the enemy. Our author furnishes us with a large number of details but little known regarding the movements of these expeditions, and his work, on the whole, throws still more light on the characters of the principal actors in this historical drama: Philip II., Catherine de Medicis, William of Orange, the Elector Palatine, and even Queen Elizabeth.

The character of Philip, as portrayed by the author, does not appear to any greater advantage than it did in Hübner's "Histoire

\* "Kervyn de Lettenhove," i 173 *seq.*

† *Ibid* i. 61.

‡ Cf. P. Alberdingk Thijm's "Ph. van Marnix," p. 74: translation *frang.*, p. 92.

de Sixte V," in the "History of Pius V," by Fortoul, or in Sterling's "Don John of Austria." The light which was reflected on him by the "Correspondance de Granvelle," published, by order of the Government, by the late M. Poulet, Professor at the University of Louvain, and by M. Piot, Royal Archivist at Brussels, has in no way bleached the stains from the political career and personal character of this *roi terrible*, who was consistent in his principles, distrustful and gloomy in politics—yet, at the same time, in his domestic life at once a devoted and affectionate father. Severe towards his son, whose revolutionary tendencies he feared, he was always to his daughters kind and even tender in his letters. These letters have been published by the late M. Gachard, Royal Archivist at Brussels, from a MS. found in the Archives of Florence. The researches of M. Kervyn have also exposed the insatiable ambition of the King of Spain. He not only wished to invade England and be declared its sovereign; he not only sought—a fact well-known—the crown of France for his daughter Isabella, but also he himself aspired to succeed his uncle Ferdinand on the imperial throne of Germany, and this latter fact influenced him to consent to the marriage of William of Orange with the Lutheran Anne of Saxony.

In regard to Catherine de Medicis, we find, in the work of M. Kervyn especially, confirmation of the spirit of intrigue of this woman of high intelligence. Her shifty policy is here exposed in all its flagrance. That Philip, at times, considered the interest of his throne as the interests of the Catholic Church, that the English Queen, Elizabeth, sought in the support of Gueux and Huguenots strength for her Anglican Church, at the expense of the peace of Europe—may be granted. But Catherine shows only as a haughty and perfidious woman, sacrificing the principles which she pretended to defend, ever preparing poison and the poignard for her enemies, without preconceived plan however, but as circumstances lent the opportunity—a quality of the Queen-mother of which historians have not made sufficient account. They pretend that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was pre-arranged eight years before its execution, which would be in direct opposition to any policy of Catherine's. Besides, new information, furnished by M. Kervyn, leaves no doubt of the entire spontaneity of the revolution.

Moreover, from MSS. kept in the Record Office, and from other important documents, additional information is gleaned as to William of Orange. It is well enough known that he sought to make the Low Countries independent of Spain whilst he feigned obedience to the King; and that he preferred pacific means to a war. But until now it has not been sufficiently made evident that the great difference between the tendencies of William and of his co-revolutionists was their religious sentiment. The Prince thought he could do without the clergy in founding a State independent of Spain.

This last circumstance, the author of this notice considers he has fully proved in his "Histoire de Marnix," was the great stumbling-block to William's success. "The Silent" was not an iconoclast, but



had not the enthusiasm necessary for founding a new Church and independent State upon the ruins of Catholicism. He sought to do away with the traditional good feeling between Church and State, and to replace this happy state of affairs by indifference in the matter of religion. It was for this reason that, on the one hand, the towns, on whose fidelity he thought he could rely, declared themselves for the Catholic religion; and, on the other, that William had to proclaim himself for Marnix, to whom he was opposed at the beginning of the revolution. Marnix, the chief of the Calvinists, was an ardent follower of the Elector Palatine, whose idea was the formation of a Calvinist State in the Low Countries and on the banks of the Rhine, having different centres, and Heidelberg as the "New Jerusalem" of the Apocalypse. The title of "prophet," had been given to Frederic III., as it was given later to the Duc d'Alençon. To Frederick III. all the excited heads in the Low Countries paid blind obedience.

Such are a few of the facts for the most part newly furnished by our author. The work, however, deserves to be thoroughly enjoyed, and should be read calmly from end to end. Its principal charm lies in the fresh details with which the book swarms throughout. The logical subdivisions of the text render a knowledge of its contents easy for those who are unaccustomed to read a work of such detail. Its style is at once attractive and concise. The scholar will find his delight in the corroborative footnotes with which the work abounds. The more general reader, if unprejudiced, will find many things subversive of old established prejudices.

DR. PAUL ALBERDINGK THIJM.

*Decreta Quatuor Conciliorum Provincialium Westmonasteriensium, 1852-1873. Adjectis pluribus decretis, rescriptis, aliisque documentis. Editio 2<sup>a</sup>. Londini: Burns et Oates.*

**A**MONG the constitutional methods of Church government, provincial and diocesan councils have from early times played a conspicuous and influential part. The regularity of their recurrence may almost be called the pulse of ecclesiastical life; certainly, whenever a council has been assembled to repair errors and restore order after a period of confusion, such council has always raised its cry for the future regular holding of synods. It was natural, therefore, that the hierarchy having been restored to this country, a provincial synod should speedily follow. It is indeed almost a surprise that the one should have followed so closely on the other; for Pius the Ninth's Bull, *Universalis Ecclesie*, is dated September, 1850, and the first synod was held in the July of 1862, the No Popery riots intervening. The last synod of Westminster, the fourth since the restoration of the hierarchy, was held in 1873, and it has been a good thought on the part of those who have brought out the present work, to gather together into one consecutive volume, well-indexed for quick reference, the acts and the decrees of these four provincial councils. There is an appendix

of valuable rescripts and decrees, also indexed. These include the *Romanos Pontifices* of the present Pope, and the *Firmandis* of Benedict XIV., on the jurisdiction of Bishops as to Churches of Regulars, &c.; several important instructions of Propaganda, as e.g., that "de titulo Ordinationis," with the form of mission oath, that "super facultate binandi," and two or three following ones on the method of procedure in various matrimonial difficulties of frequent occurrence in the circumstances of our modern society; some *Responsa* of the S. Congregations as to conditional baptisms, &c. Finally, several miscellaneous papers of recent date have been added to this second edition; the Concession of New Breviary Offices, a decree of June 28, 1884, "de appellatione ad Metropolitanum" the letters of Propaganda of last January on non-Catholic Universities, and of last March on the interpretation of the *Romanos Pontifices*.

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*La Civilization en Italie au temps de la Renaissance.* Par JACOB BURCKHARDT. Traduction de M. SCHMITT, Professeur au Lycée Condorcet sur la seconde édition annotée par L. GEIGER. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1885.

THE reputation of Burckhardt is made, and the popularity of his works is assured. It is agreeable to find a writer on the history of the Renaissance who, whilst thoroughly in sympathy with his theme, is not fascinated by splendid wickedness, and does not find in a picturesque or prodigal magnificence a welcome opportunity for word-painting. By the side of some recent authors, Burckhardt may appear tame. His method of working has itself an apparent ease which is deceptive; erudition sits lightly on him. In reality, few tasks are more difficult than the selection, in the abundance of material, of the typical facts which are made the starting points of a series of reflections always instructive and generally just. A conspicuous merit of the book is the author's soberness in formulating judgments. "Without doubt," he says, "there is a personal appreciation, of which conscience is the guide; but a truce to general sentences passed on whole nations." The reader who looks to find opinions ready made, and roundly expressed, will be disappointed; perhaps irritated at the many limitations and exceptions with which the author sees fit to guard his more general assertions.

This moderation is pre-eminently in place in discussing a movement like the Italian Renaissance, which, with its mixture of formal beauty and moral turpitude, excites a passionate reprobation, and an admiration no less passionate. If the recognition of the supreme rule of conscience may not seem always adequate (II. p. 191), the tone of the book is fresh and healthy. Even in dealing with the characteristic which enlists all the author's sympathies, and which gives the key-note to the work, the development of individualism, he is never swayed from the rectitude of his judgment; no

success or heroic achievement blinds him to the danger of the unchecked assertion of the individual will. Nay, more: however frequently the idea may recur in his pages that "the short splendour of the Renaissance" was brought to an untimely close by external circumstances, Burckhardt makes it abundantly clear—is it in spite of himself?—that a further natural development on its own lines was impossible; corruption had penetrated throughout the whole of society; and its essentially worldly, earthy, and unspiritual character was the fatal and inevitable cause of its decadence.

It will be readily understood that there are many pages which are not pleasant reading to the Catholic solicitous for reputations which their owners, in their day, took no great care to leave untarnished. It is vain to try to elude the force of the fact that those to whom the interests of religion were primarily entrusted were overborne by the current, and gave in their own persons most conspicuous examples of worldliness. As we look back on the later decades of the fifteenth century, and the earlier years of the sixteenth, it almost seems that then, if ever, did Christian men practically admit the futility of individual effort to stem the tide of evil. It is more agreeable to turn to an earlier day. In the development of the Renaissance we are met at all points by *Æneas Silvius Piccolomini*, who died Pope Pius II., a figure whose interest and charm it is difficult to exaggerate. Endowed with a marvellous versatility, and reflecting more faithfully than any other individual all the varied movements of his day, he is at the same time inspired by the great ideas of the middle ages which had passed away, and anticipates some of the most marked and essential characteristics of the moderns. He was the first, writes Burckhardt, to enjoy the splendours of the Italian landscape, which he describes with enthusiasm; he finds a charm in an isolated object, a mere detail, a bridge flung boldly across the ravine, even a flower shaken by the breeze. "These are enjoyments essentially modern; antiquity has no part in them." Burckhardt's aversion to feudalism and all its works, though not obtruded, is somewhat amusingly strong; he seems to turn away with impatience from his own country to the free and sunny land of Italy. Yet the "look of envy" cast by *Æneas Silvius* on the "happy" imperial towns of Germany, as compared with the cities of his own land and their turbulent factions, was not unjustified; he had had long and intimate experience of both. The north was certainly not "a world in which intellectual culture and wealth" were "the measure of social importance" (II. p. 105); the Medicis may excuse such an ideal; and the distance which separates the Medicis and the Fuggers is great.

The translation reads easily; if anything, too much of good is attempted. *Revue historique* does not immediately suggest von Sybel's *Zeitschrift*; nor *les Écrivains de Wattenbach*, his *Schiffstesen*.

E. B.



*Le Morcellement.* Par ALFRED DE FOVILLE. Chef du Bureau de Statistique et Législation comparée au Ministère des Finances, etc. Paris: Guillaumin. 1885.

MANY of us are getting tired of the torrents of sentimental and historical bluster about division of land, which have lately been poured out upon the devoted heads of electors, and Englishmen generally. Many of us, at least, would listen with more respect to the speeches of irrepressible land-reformers, if their utterances evinced that they had been at the pains of addressing themselves to the practical aspects of their subject—if they gave evidence of having devoted themselves to a study of the abundant materials relevant to the matter which exist in other lands—if, in fine, before endeavouring to upset an established order of things, and urging violent experiments upon the country, they had endeavoured to gauge in some measure beforehand the probable results of such experiments.

We can heartily recommend the book before us to the attentive consideration of land reformers. They will find therein abundant argument in favour of legislative reform with regard to land. They will find the question of the subdivision of the soil treated not by vapouring, but by valid reasoning from well-ascertained facts and figures. Not the least recommendation of the volume is the open-mindedness and impartiality of the author, who apparently writes in support of no party, and whose official position has doubtless made him familiar with the bearing of the statistics, which are a large portion of his material, if, indeed, it has not afforded him facilities for his work, not given to "the general."

M. de Foville treats of his subjects under three principal aspects:

1. The division of land.
2. The Parcellary subdivision of land. (The strict meaning in the French administrative terminology of *parcelle* is a portion of land situate wholly in one cantonal district, wholly under one kind of culture, and belonging to a single owner.)
3. The dispersion of landed property.

The author shows in a very forcible light the influence of national usage and its sanction. The partition of land in France is less a matter of law than of national feeling and tradition. Indeed, the maxim of equal division of the heritage among the inheritors is generally observed to a higher extent than the law prescribes. The custom of primogeniture, sanctioned in England by the national usage, would in France by the generality of people be regarded as abominably unjust.

The mode in which property is divided, as much almost as its division, affects its value. When the property of a single owner is distributed, when lots are isolated in other properties, there is always economic loss. This case, as well as extreme subdivision, cause, in a way which might be easily overlooked, a waste of land in the multiplication of cartroads and similar ways.

The subdivision of land in France is not by any means to be wholly

ascribed to revolutionary legislation, there is abundant testimony to its development under the old *régime*. The same Earth-hunger (Balzac calls it "*le démon de la Propriété*") was felt in France as in Ireland. The land was bought overdearly, but, once acquired, no labour was spared upon it. The very rocks were covered with earth or pulverized into soil. "*La propriété y est toute dans le propriétaire*," as the author epigrammatically remarks. And accordingly it is hard to find a waste spot of land in France.

Turning to the English land system, which he has evidently studied with much care, the author declares that the old landed system of France was far from presenting the abuses which obtain in England. The conservative spirit of the Englishman cannot postpone indefinitely a reform which Mr. Gladstone has already begun in Ireland.

In England, the father has the sanction not only of law, but of custom, in leaving nearly all his property to one child. Hence the unjustifiable anomaly of 2,000 proprietors, now at this close of the nineteenth century, owning nearly half the territory of Britain, while the large towns are accumulating an increasing multitude who are a prey to frightful physical and moral suffering. . . . National misery or prosperity are, however, due to far too complex causes to be explained off-hand by the respective laws of succession.

Not that the laws are not a factor in the question; Great Britain indeed shows that they are, and it is a "significant symptom when Englishmen, generally more disposed to dwell with complacency on their superiority than to accentuate the weak sides of their social organization, are to-day endeavouring to reconstruct artificially that peasant proprietorship of which they have dried up the natural source."

We have already occupied too much space, but the subject is a "question of the hour," and we would briefly state the conclusions which the author draws from his facts. These are:—

1. That hereditary partition of land is not in France the chief factor in its subdivision.

2. That territorial subdivision may be carried much further before any evils arising from it equal its advantages.

3. That, where the subdivision of land has been pushed to excess, a spontaneous reaction has commenced, which would speedily repair the mischief, did not transfer duties (which have now, on small transactions, reached about 150 per cent.), check trade in land. *A propos* of free trade in land, it is a pleasant surprise to find an opposite extract from Xenophon's dialogue between Socrates and Ischomachus in the third book of the *Economics*. The volume is much enhanced by an appendix of valuable *pièces justificatives*.

M. de Foville has the eminently French gift of investing a rather statistical and unpromising subject with a pithy literary style. "It is noticeable," he writes (p. 22), "that ardent reformers pass one half of their time in clamouring for the transfer to the State of rights which belong to the individual, and the other half of their

time in demanding for the individual the rights which pertain to the State." M. de Foville gives full recognition to the revolution which steam transport is effecting in agriculture. It strikes us as a curious fact, which seems to escape M. de Foville, and, as far as we know, all writers on the subject, that the development of steam navigation tends to check the use of large machinery in European agriculture. "Neither 'extensive' nor 'intensive' culture" writes M. de Foville,\* "as practised on model farms with the aid of large machinery, approximate in yield to those veritable vegetable manufactories which the market gardeners round our great towns are progressively developing. Between the field and the garden competition is impossible. In the garden the owner is also the workman." The climax of productivity is reached by the small proprietor who works *his own land*.

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*Manual of the Seven Dolours.* By FATHER SEBASTIAN, Passionist.  
Dublin: J. Duffy & Sons.

THE sixth edition of this admirable manual of devotion, greatly enriched by additional matter, will come most opportunely at this season of the year to the devout servant of Mary. Father Sebastian's writings are generally full of thought: occasionally, in the present volume, the matter is curious, but suggestive. The "Canonical Office of the Seven Dolours" is given in English; of course this can only be for *private* devotion.

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*The Thirty Years.* (Vol. LIV. of the Quarterly Series.) By FATHER COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.

WE have so constantly spoken in terms of highest praise of Father Coleridge's great Gospel Commentary, that we have no need at present to say more than that this volume of "The Thirty Years" is as full of thought and devotion as its predecessors.

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*Ireland under the Tudors.* By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A.  
Vols. I. and II. London: Longmans & Co. 1885.

IT is a hopeful sign of the times that Irish history is being now written less as a whole and more in parts, each of which is treated with that measure of fairness and fulness which only a specialist can give to it. Mr. Bagwell's work is written professedly in a tolerant spirit, and it entitles him to a place in the new school of writers, whose aim is to give more light and less heat in dealing with the facts and features of history. His conception of the office of a historian is that of judge, who, after listening to the evidence of witnesses, marshals the data and the issues in a charge to the jury. It is undeniably refreshing to hear the judicial charge from the bench, when we have listened *ad nauseam* to the special

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\* Caird, at least, if not other English economists, uses "intensive" and "extensive" in this sense.



pleading from the bar, and have been wearied with the declamation of those who, like Mr. Froude and others, hold a brief for a given theory or a given party. But we know that even the charges of learned judges are not always altogether free from arbitrary notions of law and from personal bias as to the facts at issue; and how far Mr. Bagwell fulfils his conception must be left to the general reader. For instance, the authenticity of Pope Adrian's bull to Henry II. is still, we venture to think, commonly regarded as a vexed question amongst writers on Irish history. We believe that so learned an authority as Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, and whose researches on Irish history were well known to Irish readers even before those of Mr. Bagwell, holds the bull to be a forgery, and adduces the testimony of the Vatican archivist to show "that nowhere in the private archives, or among the private papers of the Vatican, or in the 'Regesta,' which Jaffé's researches have made so famous, or in the various indices of Pontifical letters, can a single trace be found of the supposed bulls of Adrian and Alexander." Yet Mr. Bagwell, after mentioning that "Irish scholars, torn asunder by their love of Rome and their love of Ireland, *formerly* attempted to prove that Adrian's bull was not genuine," adds, "but its authenticity is *no longer* disputed." (The italics are ours.) Mr. Bagwell has no doubt in his hands ample evidence to prove the genuineness of the bull, and has, of course, an undoubted right to take that side of the controversy which seems to him most reasonable. But it may be fairly doubted if he has the right to settle that the controversy no longer exists, to withhold from his readers all evidence for or against, and ask them to rest satisfied with his assurance that (Cardinal Moran, Father Morris, and others notwithstanding) "its authenticity is no longer disputed." That, we conceive, is following out the conception of a judge in more respects than in the impartiality of the charge. To sentence to death controversies still unclosed, plainly exceeds the right of any historian.

The main features and arrangement of the work are such as to entitle it to every commendation. Although the author's researches bear chiefly upon the Tudor reigns, he has wisely consulted the interests of sequence, by devoting the first seven chapters to preceding periods of Irish history. In these, the early condition of Ireland, the Scandinavian inroads, the invasion by Henry II., the visit of John, the invasion by the Bruces, are successively treated, and supplemented by a sketch of the Irish Parliament. The remaining twenty-eight chapters bring the work down to 1578, and include a remarkably clear and interesting account of the country during the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. This comprises the Reformation struggles, and one of the most decisive eras in Anglo-Irish history—the one in which the conflict of religion widened agape the chasm which the conflict of race had already opened, and lent to the Irish question that "insoluble" character which has made it the despair of statesmen to the present day. The value of the work is enhanced by a number of

coloured maps, by which the reader is enabled to grasp the divisions of the country at various stages of its development. We understand that Mr. Bagwell intends to complete his work by a third volume, and until its appearance we reserve a fuller notice of what is already a valuable contribution to Irish history.

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*Studies of Family Life. A Contribution to Social Science.* By C. S. DEVAS, M.A., Oxon. London: Burns & Oates. 1886.

MR. DEVAS is now well known, and holds a deservedly high position as an authority on matters connected with economics and social science. His modest volume on "Family Life" is extremely interesting, and ought to be widely circulated. In the first part he treats of Fore-Christian Families; in the second of the Christian Family; in the third of After-Christian Families. The nomenclature and classification are original, but they are none the worse for that. By a somewhat exhaustive survey of family life in various nations before the advent of Christianity, of family life based on Christianity, and of family life as now exhibiting itself among those who have cast aside Christian doctrine, in part or in its entirety, a most valuable argument is drawn out—one which will bear a deeper consideration than that which we are able to afford to it in this number of the REVIEW.

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1. *The First and Three Last of the Minor Prophets.* For the Use of Hebrew Students. With an Appendix on Dan. ix. 24, 27. By Rev. W. RANDOLPH. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co.
  2. *Propedia Prophetica; or, the Use and Design of the Old Testament.* Examined by W. R. LYALL, D.D., sometime Dean of Canterbury. New Edition, with Notices, by G. C. PEARSON, M.A., Hon. Canon of Canterbury. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1885.
  3. *Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom, traced in its Historical Development.* By C. VON ORELLI. Translated by T. S. BANKS. Edinburgh: Clarke's Theological Library. 1885.

A REVIEWER, whose hard lot it is to read a stupid and ignorant book on the prophet Osee, naturally seeks his consolation in a renewed study of the prophecy itself. Mr. Randolph's commentary, which stands at the head of our list, offers no real help to the student of that difficult author, whom he professes to explain. But the interest of Osee is ever fresh, and perhaps the readers of THE DUBLIN will not take it amiss, if we make some remarks on his historical position and the significance of his teaching. A few words at the close will suffice to justify the above estimate of Mr. Randolph's labours.

We might have gathered even from the language and thought of the prophet, that he belonged to the Ten Tribes and not to the

Southern Kingdom. It is Israel, in that narrower sense which the word assumed after Jeroboam's revolt, which constantly presents itself to the prophet's eye. Mizpah or Gilead in the East, Tabor in the West, are to him the boundaries of the whole land (v. 1, vi. 8, xii. 12). He speaks of Shechem, infamous for the bloodshed and treachery of the Israelite priests (vi. 9). He is familiar with Gilgal and Bethel, the seats of idolatrous worship and, adopting a play upon words which Amos (vi. 5) had brought into vogue, he changes the name of the latter from Bethel, "the House of God," to Bethaven, "The House of Iniquity" (iv. 15, ix. 15, x. 5, xii. 12); he makes frequent mention of Samaria. It is evident, moreover, that he knows Israel and its chief tribe Ephraim, by a long personal experience. His language has that Aramaic tinge which, in early Hebrew literature, belongs only to the literary productions of the North, such as Debhora's hymn of triumph over Sisara and the "Song of Songs" (חכי vi. 9, חרנל xi. 3, חרר xiii., שכבים viii. 6, נהה v. 13). But we are not left to circumstantial evidence, though that of itself is conclusive. To him "the land" (i. 2) means Israel, and he calls the Sovereign of the Northern Kingdom, "our king" (vii. 5). This alone would be enough to invest his book with a unique interest, for we have no other prophecy from a subject of the Northern Kingdom.\* Amos did indeed prophesy in Israel, but he went there as a stranger, and was driven back to his native Judah, while Osee belonged naturally and irrevocably to the nation in which his prophetic work lay. To this we must add that he carries us back almost to the beginning of prophetic literature. He was not the earliest, but he was a younger contemporary of Amos, the earliest of the prophets whose writings have come down to us. Lastly, he brings a new and fruitful idea into Hebrew religion, and, in setting it forth, he at the same time lifts the veil from his own sorrow-stricken life. As Amos proclaims the righteousness, so Osee the unconquerable love and tenderness of Jahveh, and thus prepares the way for that "grace and truth" which was manifested in Jesus Christ.

He entered upon his work as the long reign of Jeroboam II. (B.C. 783-743) was drawing to its close, and to this period the first section of the prophecy (cap. i.-iv.) refers. At least, it is plain that the rebellion of Shallum, which hurled Jeroboam's son and successor Zacarias from the throne on which he sat but six months, had not yet occurred. The dynasty of Jehu, in which Jeroboam II. held the fourth, Zacarias the fifth place, was still in power. "And Jahveh said to me . . . Yet a little and I will visit the blood of Jezreel on the house of Jehu, and I will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cense" (i. 4). The reign of Jeroboam had been one of outward triumph and splendour. He had extended, or all but extended, the kingdom to its old limits on the north under

\* Or at least no other prophet who described the Northern Kingdom from within. Elkoeh, where Nahum was born, may have been, and probably was, in Northern Israel, but Nahum's prophecy has no local colouring.



David and Solomon, and Amos depicts the luxury of the rich at that time. He speaks of those who were "at ease in Sion and confident in the mountain of Samaria" (vi. 1), of the "couches of ivory," the banquets of wine and meat, the precious ointments, the songs and the newly invented instruments of music (Amos vi. 4-7). He tells us, too, how zealous the people were in their sacrificial worship. They thought of Jahveh as their own national god. He had done much for them, and they in turn by their ritual service did much for him. They did not dream of any possibility that Jahveh might deliver his people to destruction, since the ruin of the people would have been the ruin of Jahveh himself. In short, their religion was little more than nature-worship, against all which Amos sets and proclaims a god of righteousness. By this, he means, right and just institutions, not chiefly individual righteousness and purity in the New Testament sense. In the midst of wealth and prosperity, Amos saw the greed of gain. "They sell the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes . . . the way of the lowly they pervert" (ii. 6). The ladies in Samaria "oppressed the weak and crushed the poor, and said to their lords, 'bring forth that we may drink'" (iv. 1, 2). Whereas, it was justice, not sacrifice which Jahveh wanted. "I hate, I despise your feasts: and I will take no pleasure in your assemblies. Yea, if ye offer me whole burnt-offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them: and on the peace-offerings of your fatted cattle, I will not look. Take thou away from me the din of thy songs: and I will not hear the melody of thy lutes. But let judgment roll like water, and righteousness like a perennial stream" (v. 21, 24). It was on righteousness, not on sacrifices, that Jahveh's original covenant with his people rested: "Did ye bring me sacrifices and meat-offering in the desert during the forty years, O house of Israel?" (v. 25). Nor did Amos believe in the necessary and continual protection of Israel by Jahveh. He had led Israel from Egypt, but so also he had brought the Philistines, from Crete, and the Aramæans from Kir (ix. 7). Amos, with the clear view of a man, whose eye, undimmed by selfish passion, looks facts in the face, saw the Assyrian host looming in the distance. "I will lead you into captivity beyond Damascus, saith Jahveh, the god of armies is his name" (v. 27).

A comparison of Osee (iv. 15) with Amos (v. 5), perhaps also of Osee (viii. 14) with Amos (ii. 5), shows that the younger was, in spite of his singular originality, acquainted with, and influenced by, the writing of the elder prophet. But in Osee, as has been already said, a new element appears. He had known the greatest sorrow possible to a true-hearted man, for his wife Gomer\* the daughter of Diblaim had been unfaithful to him, and he could not even regard his children as his own. Even, however, in his desolation, when his wife was his wife no longer, his heart yearned for her, and he came to

\* No symbolical meaning can be extracted from the name ("completion"), and this, among other arguments, shows that she was a real woman, not a mere figure in a parable, like Ohola, Oholiba, &c.

see, in his own sad fate, an image of the relations between Jahveh and Israel. Nay, it was as if God himself had taught him, at so terrible a price, a lesson on the divine dealings with Israel, as if Jahveh himself had said, "Take to thee a wife of fornications and children of fornications, for surely the land committeth fornications, abandoning Jahveh" (i. 2). The covenant was broken like that between a husband and a wicked wife. "Ye are not my people, and I will not be your" [God] (i. 9). It was the abundance of natural wealth which had led Israel to idolatry—into the worship of the Baals, to whom she offered incense (i. 15), the gods who had given her, as she supposed, her "wool and flax, oil and drink" (ii. 9). Restoration could only be affected by disaster. The fruits of the earth would be withdrawn; her feasts, her new moons, her Sabbaths (ii. 13), that sensual and ritual service of Jahveh, which the prophet scarcely distinguished from Baal-worship, would cease, and, in her desolation, the memory of former days would return. "She will say, I will go and return to my first husband, since it was better with me then than now" (ii. 9). God would lead her away from her luxurious life into the desert, and then, as in the old Patriarchal days, he would "speak to her heart" (ii. 16). Thence her prosperity would be restored once again, as under Joshua centuries before. Israel would pass through the valley of Achor—i.e., Affliction, and once again it would be changed into the gate of hope, as "in the days of her youth, on the day she came up from the land of Egypt" (ii. 17).

This first section closes with the completion of the prophet's history in his conjugal relations. A voice within bade him seek out his erring wife and love her still. "Jahveh said, Go still, love a woman beloved of a paramour and an adulteress"—i.e., the same wife Gomer, of whom he has been speaking all through. Osee buys her back at a slave's price, keeps her many days under penitential discipline, which makes fresh crime impossible. This was done in wise and enduring love. So the sons of Israel would be purified by desolation. They were to be left without "king or prince, altar or pillar, ephod or teraphim." But in the end they were to return from their double apostasy, civil and religious. The prophet at that time regarded Judah when the regular succession was in striking contrast to the violent changes of dynasty in Israel,\* and which was then, probably, under the rule of good Uzziah, with special favour, and believed that the two kingdoms would be re-united under the Davidic house. "Afterwards the sons of Israel shall return and seek Jahveh their god and David their king, and shall come trembling [with joy] to Jahveh and to his good things in the latter days" (cap. iii.). "The latter days" signify simply the end of the time of penance which the prophet has in view; David stands for the Davidic line which reigned in Judah; the "good

\* Michena seems to have had the mushroom dynasties of Israel in his mind (iv. 14, v. 2) when he speaks of the Davidic house and its ancient origin in Bethlehem.

things of Jahveh" are the fruits of the earth, which were in the prophet's eye the proper wealth of the Hebrews (cf. ii. 21-23, and Jeremiah xxxi. 12, where the same word *אֲשֶׁר* recurs and is explained by the context).

We breathe quite a different air when we pass to the latter of the two great divisions into which the prophecy falls, when we pass from ch. i.-iii. to ch. iv.-xiv. Since Osee spoke and wrote ch. iii. the house of Jehu has fallen, and though the final catastrophe through the Assyrians was delayed for a little, the whole condition of Israel had changed for the worse. Shallum, who murdered Zacarias the son of Jeroboam II., could not maintain his power: a fearful civil war broke out (see especially 2 Kings xv. 16) which ended in the enthronement of Menahem. Even Menahem could only subsist by paying a heavy tribute—viz., a thousand talents of silver to Pul.\* His authority was weak at the best, for his son Pekahiah was murdered after two years reign; no Israelite king was ever after succeeded by his son, and the kingdom itself was tottering to its fall. We have no reason to carry the history further, for Osee shows no sign of acquaintance with the dismemberment of Israel by Tiglath-Pileser II., much less of the final conquest by Shalmaneser and Sargon. He does, it is true, mention a certain Shalman "who spoiled Beth-Arbel" (x. 14), but there are not even plausible grounds for identifying this warrior with Shalmaneser IV., who besieged Samaria (2 Kings xvii. 2-5; cf. xviii 9).† It is then to a period of confusion after the death of Jeroboam II. that the second part of Osee's prophecy belongs. The style is so emotional, the transitions so abrupt, the mastery over literary style, then just beginning to be cultivated among the Hebrews, so imperfect, that this latter prophecy cannot be clearly subdivided. Still it may be fairly said that ch. iv.-viii. treats chiefly of national godlessness, ch. ix.-xi. of the inevitable retribution, ch. xii.-xv. of Israel's better days in the past, and the future yet in store for her. Let us take these subsections in order.

The worship of Jahveh under the form of a calf was of course nothing new, but, on the contrary, hereditary in Israel,‡ though Osee protests against it far more openly and energetically than any one before him, and looks upon it as mere idolatry, no better than Baal worship. "That too is from Israel," it is a mere human

\* Berosus, in the extracts of Polyhistor, mentions a king of Babylon called Phalus; but no such name occurs among those of the Assyrian kings on the monuments, while the eponym lists entirely ignore the name. Most likely Sir H. Rawlinson, Lepsius, and Schrader are right in identifying him with Tiglath-Pileser, who began his reign over Assyria in 747.

† Schrader, Nowack, and others, conjecture that Osee's Shalman may be the "Salamanu" of the inscription. He was a Moabite king, tributary to Tiglath-Pileser II.

‡ The representation of the godhead under this form was familiar to other Semites—viz., the Phœnicians and Assyrians; and there is no need to connect it with the Egyptian worship of Apis and Mnevis, which were live animals, not images. It was, of course, Jahveh himself who was worshipped under this symbol in Israel. Elijah and Elisha did not oppose it.



invention, "a workman has made it, and it is not God. Yea the calf of Samaria will be broken in splinters" (viii. 6). Nor, again, was there anything new in the guilt of the northern priests who had failed so conspicuously in their sacred office. "Hear this, ye priests, and listen, house of Israel, and give ear, O royal house, for to you judgment appertains, for ye have become a snare to Mizpah" in the East "and a net spread out on Thabor" in the West (v. 1). "It shall be like people, like priest" (iv. 9). Nor, again, was there anything new in the mere existence of oppression. It was the kind of violence that was new, a kind of violence impossible under a strong and able ruler like Jeroboam II., but only too possible in the confusion of civil strife. "There is cursing, and lying, and stealing, and adultery: they have broken out and blood has touched blood." (iv. 2). "The thief goeth" (secretly), "and the troop" (of robbers) "spreads itself out in the street" (vii. 1). "They devour their judges" (vii. 3). "All their kings have fallen" (vii. 7). Judah also now appears to the prophet in a new light. He had before made a sharp distinction between Judah and Israel. "On the house of Judah I will have mercy, and will save them through Jahveh their God (i. 7), but Osee now sees little to choose between the sister kingdoms. "Judah also has stumbled with them" (v. 5 to vi. 4; vi. 11; viii. 14). Already national corruption had brought national decay. "Ephraim is a cake not turned" (vii. 8), left on one side, and so half burnt by the fire. Whence then was the remedy to come? The great men of the state turned naturally to Assyria and to Egypt. Palestine lay, a narrow strip of land, between the two great empires of the world, and its strategic position was far too important to be neglected by either power. From one or the other help must be got; only it was hard to say which would prove the preferable protector, and hence there was both an Assyrian and an Egyptian party in Israel. "Ephraim went to Assyria and sent to the contentious king, but he will not be able to heal you and will not take away your wound" (v. 12).\* "Ephraim became like a dove without sense," flying hither and thither; "they call on Egypt" to help them, "they go to Assyria" (vii. 11). The natives as a whole trusted in Jahveh as the national god, who depended on Israel the country of his altars and sacrifices. "They cry to me, 'My God'; we Israel know thee" (viii. 2). "With their sheep and cattle they go to seek Jahveh and will not find him; He has passed away from them" (viii. 2). Even when real their repentance was shallow and fleeting. "Come," the people say, "and let us return to Jahveh, for he hath torn, and he will heal; he struck, and he will bind up. After two days he will revive us, on the third day he will raise us up and we will live in his sight" (vi. 1, 2). The same god who rejects their feasts and sacrifices will have none of such easy repentance. "What shall I do to thee, Ephraim? What

\* For פִּיּוּ point, פִּיּוּ; and cf. the use of פִּיּוּ in the Peshitto, Acts ix. 12.

shall I do to thee, Judah? your love [of me] is like the morning cloud, like the dew that hastens early away" (vi. 4). Yet Jahveh has his remedy, though a long and terrible one, very different from that revival after two or three days which the people expected. "I shall be as a lion to Ephraim, as a lion's cub to the house of Judah. I will send and go my way; I will carry off and none shall deliver. I will go my way, I will return to my place till they suffer for their sin and seek my face: when in straits, they will search for me" (v. 14, 15). At the very close of this section, in which punishment is the main subject, comes the most concise and terrible threat of all. "They shall return to Egypt" (viii. 13). In the night of the exodus from Egypt, Israel's national life had begun, and they were "not to return that way any more for ever." Now, all is reversed, and they are to be slaves again.

The next section (ch. ix.-xii.) is written in a calmer spirit, and sticks closer to its subject—viz., the absolute necessity of divine judgment on Israel. It was the gifts of nature which had led the people astray. They rejoiced like the nations around in the plenty of the threshing-floor and the wine-press (ix. 1, 2). Jahveh, the God of the land, had His share in the fruits of the earth, and then all was hallowed. Those were rites which had come down from a time antecedent to morality, or rather to any developed morality. It made men satisfied with the things that are seen, whereas the stern voice of conscience summoned them to live for the unseen.\* Therefore, says the prophet, "the threshing-floor and the wine-press will not feed them, and the new wine will deceive her," i.e., the nation (ix. 3). Further, they would be driven from the land and the worship of Jahveh, as a national God, who could only be worshipped on His own territory, would cease. "They will not dwell in Jahveh's land, and Ephraim will return to Egypt, and in Assyria they will eat unclean food. They will not pour out wine to Jahveh, and their sacrifices will not be sweet to Him. As the bread of mourning shall it be to them. All who eat of it shall be defiled, since their bread shall be [simply] for their appetite; it will not come into the house of Jahveh. What will ye do in the day of assembly, in the day of Jahveh's feast?" (ix. 3, 4, 5). Their sin was deep as that of the Benjamites of Gibeah (Judges xix., xx.). And Jahveh would surely visit it. His love, ever since he found Israel in the desert (ix. 10) had been in vain. Ephraim's name means "fruitfulness," but, be his children ever so numerous, they would be "brought forth to the slayer" (ix. 13). Thorns and briars would come up in the altars (x. 8), and the calf be carried away to the Assyrian king (x. 6). Their fortresses would share the same fate (x. 14), and the soldiers in whom they trusted (x. 13). The section ends like "a dying fall" of music in the pathetic recollection of ancient days. "When Israel was young then I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son." "With the cords of a man I drew them, and with the bands of love."

\* See the vivid picture, Judges viii. 27.

There had been no answer to the love on Israel's side. To Egypt and to Assyria he must go.\* Yet still Jahveh yearned after Israel, as the prophet after his wife. Jahveh could not bring himself to destroy Israel as he has destroyed Admah and Seboim, the "cities of the plain." To exile they must go, but the exile was not for ever. "In their homes I will make them dwell: it is the oracle of Jahveh" (xi. 11).

It is this promise of love and mercy which mainly fills the concluding section (xii.-xiv.). Pierce threatenings mingle with the promises, for the punishment must needs come first, and Judah will not repent (xiii. 14). Once more, also, we have, and at greater length, the lingering over the old Hebrew stories: how God had met Jacob at the sanctuary of Bethel; how Jacob had won the Rachel he loved so well; how faithfully he had watched over and preserved her; how Rachael in turn had been the type of the people† whom God had watched over and preserved through the prophet Moses. Yet Israel had forgotten and abused all these benefits. But at last the threats and reproaches are over, and only hope and promise remain. Israel is invited to return to a God who will freely pardon, and who asks only for spiritual sacrifices. "Take with you words and return to Jahveh: say to Him, Thou wilt forgive all iniquity, and do 'Thou receive good, and we will render to Thee our lips as offerings instead of bullocks.'" No longer will Ephraim trust in Assyria or in any worldly power. "In Thee [Jahveh] the orphan finds pity." The land is to bear plentiful increase, for the prophet is a true Hebrew patriot, with a vision which does not reach beyond the Hebrew horizon; but the love which has given its special character to the prophecy is still dominant; at the conclusion it reaches its climax: "I will heal their backsliding: I will love them freely" (xiv. 5). God's love is of course love to Israel and Judah only. Even the notion that other nations would inquire at the shrine of Judah, or attach themselves as proselytes to Israel, which meets us a little later in the prophetic books, is unknown to Isaiah. But Osee insisted on the moral—I had almost said the human—element in God, for he had learnt that what is best and tenderest in man is but a faint reflection of the divine nature. And in teaching this he unconsciously laid a stone for the foundation of a religion which is universal, because it depends not on country or race or ritual custom, but on the eternal character of God. Jesus himself appealed to Osee's teaching. "Go ye and learn what this meaneth: I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (Matt. ix. 13; see also xii. 7).

I have made the first book at the head of my list a pretext for a little essay of my own on the prophecy of Osee, and small room is left for a detailed criticism of Mr. Randolph's commentaries. I

\* I translate x. 5, "Will he not return to Egypt?" "Yes, to Assyria he will go."

† This, as Ewald rightly says, is the first instance of a typical interpretation of history in the Old Testament.



may be excused for thinking that there is no occasion to say much on this head. The plan of his book is enough for its condemnation. What can be thought of a writer who unites in one volume commentaries on the earliest but one of the literary prophets and on three prophets who wrote after the exile, and justifies this on the ground that young students find special difficulties both in Hosea (Osee) and Zechariah? The author does not explain why the same reason did not make him include in his scheme Amos, a prophet far more closely connected with Hosea than Malachias with Haggrens. Mr. Randolph actually begins his commentary on Hosea without even the attempt at an historical introduction, though surely the young student should have his attention directed to the place the prophet holds in the development of Hebrew religion. Still all this might have been forgiven, if we got, instead, that careful and learned treatment of grammatical points which shows itself—*e.g.*, in Mr. Lowe's commentary on Zacarias. But there is nothing of the sort. Mr. Randolph has not known how to avail himself of Buer's critical edition of Hosea—of the emendations proposed by a succession of scholars—of the commentaries of men like Ewald, Hitzig and Nowack, or of the results of Assyrian research. We fail to see any help of any kind which the student, young or old, can derive from Mr. Randolph. That such a book, filled from first to last with an exegesis which has long ceased to commend itself to reasonable scholars, should have been published even after the issue of the Revised Version of the English Old Testament is a mystery.

The two other books on our list are concerned with much the same subject—*viz.*, the Old in its relation to the New Testament. Both are written from a conservative point of view, but their spirit and merits are far asunder. There is some excuse for Dean Lyall. He published his book in 1840, when Biblical criticism was all but absolutely unknown in England. It is strange at this time of day to read the chapter on the credibility of facts related in the Old Testament. It does not even touch the negative criticism as it has existed almost for the last hundred years. Mr. Pearson, its editor, has done nothing to bring the book up to date, and it is fair to say that this an impossible task, since the book would have to be rewritten. Mr. Pearson has found it easier to disfigure the book by adding notes, in which he attacks the late Dean Stanley with monotonous reiteration and amazing silliness and spite. This is a grievous wrong to Dean Lyall, a genial and pleasant writer, whose name is now connected with Mr. Pearson's ridiculous escapade. It is a relief to turn from Mr. Pearson to Dr. Orelli. Students, however much they may differ from his view of prophecy, will acknowledge with gratitude the real learning and moderation of his work. He writes with the true German thoroughness. The so-called Messianic passages of the Old Testament are translated and commented upon, and the reader is put in possession of the whole literature of the subject. On each single point a very fair view is given of the results of criticism, even when hostile to

Dr. Orelli's own contentions. History and grammar are by no means neglected, and the references of themselves make the book very valuable. Very high praise also is due to Mr. Banks for his masterly translation.

W. E. ADDIS.

*Immortality: a Clerical Symposium.* London: Nisbet & Co.

THE contributors to this readable volume have all a belief in the soul's immortality; but, representing as many schools of thought as there are speakers, it cannot be supposed that their views or their arguments will not exhibit more variety than agreement. They discuss, not immortality alone, but the resurrection of the body and the relation of the whole doctrine to Christian revelation and the Old Testament; and the subject is perplexed by references to Swedenborg, Plato, the early Egyptian mythology, and the fancies of men like the Rev. Edward White, to whom life beyond the grave seems conditional on promises made in Scripture to good Christians. The Rabbi Hermann Adler answers Prebendary Row, and Bishop Weathers rises to speak after Canon Knox Little and before Principal Cairns. It is a veritable symposium and picture of modern society distracted with old thoughts and new. The least satisfactory papers are those by the Rev. Edward White and Prof. Stokes, which defend conditional immortality. They disclose the usual British inability to appreciate, or even to grasp, what is meant by pure speculation, combined with that insular treatment of the New Testament which has created a hundred sects in this happy land. Rabbi Adler is not very much more fortunate in his effort to produce from the Pentateuch and the earlier prophets evidence which all the world will receive, that immortality was a part of the Hebrew creed long before the Captivity. It is surely a first step in any such demonstration to ascertain whether the orthodox Jewish exegesis will stand in the face of modern criticism. The methods of the Talmud are one thing, and a sound literal interpretation of Scripture is quite another. Prebendary Row seems disposed to rest the whole weight of our belief in immortal life on revelation; but it is well said by the Rev. John Page Hopps, in his brilliant paper, that "we surely risk too much on one cast when we disparage all other voices, and say that we become sure of immortality only as we believe that in Christianity God once for all made an announcement on the subject to the world." We must add that Mr. Page Hopps is a Unitarian, and there are many things in his contribution to which Catholics would strongly demur. But he argues powerfully for the reasonableness of immortal life from a scientific point of view. Mr. Garrett Horder's article is eloquent and convincing. Bishop Weathers alone lays due stress on the argument from the constitution of man's nature; and, unwelcome as it may sound to an age very little acquainted with Christian metaphysics, it is one of immense cogency. The Bishop appeals, indeed, to tradition and

revelation before he turns to pure reason. He traces the belief in immortality to a "primitive revelation" which "finds a response in the deepest instincts of our nature." It may be remarked by the way that, granting such instincts, they would be sure in the long run to make or find an outward expression of themselves, and so give rise to a conscious philosophical creed; as we know that, in fact, they have done. Various speakers seem to have been disturbed by what Mr. E. White terms "Bishop Weathers' very confident definitions and assertions" on the nature of spirit. "What," asks Mr. White, "can the Right Rev. writer know of essences?" This is taking the "know-nothing doctrine," as Dr. Brownson called it very justly, for certain, and abolishing metaphysics at a single stroke! We may know a great deal of "essences" provided we will view them in operation. Bishop Weathers does not say we can know them otherwise. And if Mr. White cannot tell the difference between a workman and his pickaxe by considering what each of them is able to do and not to do, we fear that even Aristotle's *Ethics* will not help him to understand essence. Dr. Weathers proceeds from a knowledge of what the soul has done by intellect and free-will to an inference concerning its nature. He concludes that it is indestructible, and, by the law of its being, will live for ever. Oddly enough, no other member of the Symposium appears to have remarked that this argument lies at the root of every statement made throughout the book in favour of natural immortality. What are they all founded upon except the acts and faculties which we observe in man? But when it is stated in the abstract it seems, in the English way of looking at things, to have lost all solidity. We ought not to end, perhaps, without calling attention to Prof. Stokes's extraordinary account of evolution as "the sequence of cause and effect, irrespective of intelligence." Assuredly, if this were evolution, we should do well to protest that it is not an "established conclusion of science." But such is the abuse of terms just now that we should not be surprised if, in various well-meaning circles, evolution and atheism were looked upon and denounced as equivalents. "*Quantum in rebus inane!*"

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*Types of Ethical Theory.* By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D.,  
Principal of Manchester New College, London. Two vols. 8vo.  
Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1885.

IT is no exaggeration to say this is the most considerable philosophical work that has appeared in England for many years. It covers such a wide field that the longest review would not do it adequate justice; I shall therefore best consult the reader's convenience by giving only an idea of the work as a whole. Dr. Martineau devotes the preface to a sketch of the philosophical developments of his own mind. We learn that he was first led to the belief in an ethical world, outside the rigid system of Bentham and the Mills in which he had been trained, by his own moral con-



sciousness. A little later the study of Greek philosophy completed his emancipation from a thralldom which must have always been uncongenial to his mind; and the present work is designed to justify the opinions he then formed.

He first examines those ethical systems which start from an *unpsychological* basis—from a study of the universe without, not of the thinking mind within. They belong, on the whole, to ancient philosophy, which, “looking out through the young eye of heathen wonder,” turned to the universe. Christianity first concentrated the mystery of the world in man, between whom and God there is an immediate and personal relation. This effect of Christianity upon ethics was delayed by what he calls “the Augustinian Theology,” but what we should rather term Calvinism; and still more by the Reformation, for “with the proclamation and spread of Protestantism the religious value of morals disappeared, and they were deserted by that sentiment of reverence which alone can generate a true science.”

The systems which seek for an external basis for morals are either metaphysical or physical; and the former, again, either admit that God transcends, is greater than nature, or consider the two to be “immanent;” that is, co-extensive. Of transcendent metaphysical philosophers Plato is chosen as the type, on account of his doctrine of ideas, which is expounded with singular clearness and subtlety. But it is shown that the Platonic theory of morals involves some very important assumptions. The supremacy of justice implies a moral faculty; and the doctrine of the “*summum bonum*” that we have in us “an unspoiled residue of an uncreated nature and a diviner life;” so that our aim would be, not obedience to God, but communion with Him. Dr. Martineau makes a very interesting comparison between Plato’s ideal Republic and the Catholic Church, which is (he says) “the middle term between ancient and modern systems of society—the one dealing with individuals as organs and media of a common life, the other constituting a State by the aggregation of individuals.” He has probably hardly realized that we consider the building up of the mystical Body, and the perfecting of each individual soul, to be parallel and simultaneous operations of the same Divine Spirit. In this connection I am sorry not to see how our author explains Plato’s *θεία μορφή* (*Meno. 99D*), which has always seemed to me the most remarkable pre-Christian anticipation of the doctrine of grace.

From Plato, Dr. Martineau passes at once to modern philosophy, only mentioning scholasticism cursorily, and not quite accurately. It is going too far to say that it “paid no respect to the material world as having any irrefragable rights or even subsistence of its own.” We cannot but regret that one so competent to appreciate the mind of St. Thomas should not be acquainted with his account of the *debitum justitiae* in creation, and his protests against Occasionalism.

He passes from Plato to the more or less developed Pantheism of

Immanent Metaphysics. He starts from Descartes, showing very clearly the inconsistency of his philosophy, which led to the two opposite extremes of complete supernaturalism in Malebranche and complete naturalism in Spinoza. Malebranche is very sympathetically dealt with, but his Pantheism is conclusively shown. The Catholic philosopher would probably be most interested by the very able criticism of Malebranche's theory of cognition which goes over the ground since occupied by Ontologism.

The account of Spinoza is mainly of value as establishing the practical atheism of his system, according to which "mind does not give birth to nature, but nature gives birth to mind," and man is treated as a spiritual automaton with no real duties.

All the systems hitherto examined are built upon some ontological foundation, and agree in recognizing a permanent ground for phenomena. In sharpest contrast with them, Comte (as is well known) denied that human reason has any other object of thought than phenomena, their co-existences or successions. But he agreed with Plato and Spinoza in approaching man from the side of nature; and his ethical system is therefore as "unpsychological" as theirs. I regret that I cannot follow Dr. Martineau through the very searching, though scrupulously fair, examination of the Positivist negation of philosophy. There is no such refutation in our language of the errors which have had such an enormous influence in England. The relativity of human knowledge is shown to imply a common ground, which is not relative; sensory cognition is shown to involve intellectual elements; and the power of self-introspection is clearly vindicated. Comte's assertion of the three stages of thought is brought to the test of facts, and shown not to correspond to them. In dealing more specifically with his ethical system, Dr. Martineau points out that there is no way, on Comte's premisses, by which the centre of gravity of the will could be transferred from personal selfishness to universal love, which is his fundamental postulate. Public opinion would not do it, for the sum of humanity can contribute no quality that is not in its separate units; and the public reprobation of self-seeking must therefore be due to the feeling implanted in each individual. Dr. Martineau states very forcibly the inherent weakness of the Positivist religion; how the transcendent reverence and trust towards a higher personality, which Comte inculcates, is falsified when directed towards the abstract idea of humanity:

The broken gleams of loveliness and sanctity in character penetrate us, from their relation to the infinite light of a Divine beauty and holiness. Take away that relation, and they become fruitful in idolatry. Invert the relation, treat them as passing contributions towards a *grand être* that is worshipped for what it is going to be, and they can but foster the sickliest sentimentality.

With the second volume we enter upon the study of the psychological systems of ethics. These may be based, either upon the assumption that there is in our minds a separate category of moral

facts, or upon the postulate that there is no such category, and that the facts can be otherwise explained. The former—"Idiosychological Ethics"—is the scheme adopted by Dr. Martineau himself, to which he devotes the most important part of his work. Starting from the fact that all men tend to approve or disapprove of their own and others' acts, he proceeds to inquire what is the precise object of our moral judgments. First, they refer to *persons*, not to things; next, they consider not the outward act, but its inner springs or motives. This, admitted by all recent English moralists, leads to a more important point which they generally deny. For since these motives are directly discoverable by self-consciousness alone, and only to be inferred indirectly in others, we ourselves must be the primary object of our moral judgments. This he regards as the most certain test by which to discriminate true from false ethical theories. Next, he points out that approval and disapproval are reserved for voluntary as distinguished from spontaneous actions; and the *differentia* between these is, that spontaneous acts are preceded by only one impulse, while voluntary acts require at least two, which must be simultaneous, possible, and both within our choice. Free-will is therefore assumed in this volume as a postulate without which all moral judgment is a delusion: this is finely stated in answer to Mr. Sidgwick.

From the *object* of moral judgment Dr. Martineau passes to its *procedure*. He argues that we only make an ethical choice when, of two incompatible impulses, we recognize that one is the *higher*, the other the *lower*: this "higher" and "lower" being regulated, not according to the scale of pleasure or of beauty. "We are sensible of a graduated scale of excellence among our natural principles, quite different from their natural intensity. . . . The sensibility of the mind to the gradations of this scale is precisely what we call *conscience*." It is the same for all men, as is proved by the possibility of mutual converse on moral questions; so that "conscience, like intellect, is the common property of humanity." And the identification of this common order with the will of God "seems to construe very faithfully the sense of *authority* attaching to the revelations of our moral nature; they are *in* us, not *of* us; not ours, but God's." For, "if it be true that over a free and living person only a free and living person can have higher authority, then it is certain that a subjective conscience is impossible." He next classifies the springs of action, and arranges them in a scale of relative excellence, as follows:—

The "Propensions" carry us simply out of ourselves, we know not whither; the "Passions" repel from us our uncongenials, be they things or persons; the "Affections" draw us to our congenials, who can only be persons, unequal or equal; and the "Sentiments" pass out by aspiration to what is higher than ourselves, whether recognized as personal or not.

Each of these, again, may be either primary or secondary; the latter being merely the former metamorphosed in self-consciousness. An examination of them all leads to their being arranged in an order,



ascending from the secondary passions (censoriousness, vindictiveness, suspiciousness), to the primary sentiment of reverence at the summit. Consequently, the following definition is proposed: "Every action is *right* which, in the presence of a lower impulse, follows a higher; every action is *wrong* which, in the presence of a higher impulse, chooses a lower."

I have omitted, I believe, no essential detail of Dr. Martineau's theory, though the extreme brevity to which I am compelled gives no idea of his amazing fertility in statement and in defence. I am equally unfair by not expressing the restrained fervour and deep reverence that come continually to the surface, and carry away the reader, whether his reason follows or not. Still less do my limits allow of any adequate criticism, which I would not attempt were not my own personal unfitness assisted by Catholic philosophy. I will only anticipate the remarks our readers will probably themselves have made. Taking the author's own test of an ethical theory, self-introspection, I cannot find, in my own consciousness, that two impulses are present in every moral act. I can generally find only one; and I remark that in two of Dr. Martineau's three instances, one impulse only is present at the moment of the act. Of course, foresight, and therefore comparison, are needed to make up a voluntary act; but that comparison need not be between two impulses rather between those moral judgments according to which Dr. Martineau has graduated his table. I am strengthened in this by remarking: first, that the secondary passions, being the lowest in his scale, are regarded as absolutely, and not merely relatively, bad; secondly, that a conflict between some impulses (as between avarice and lust or gluttony) has always an immoral result, whichever prevails; while the conflict between others has always an unmoral ending. I conclude, therefore, that of two competing impulses one must always have an intrinsic moral value, if the result is to be approved or disapproved by conscience: so that I can only accept the conclusion by substituting "motives" for "impulses," and leaving the decision with the morally-informed reason. Nor is this a vain subtlety. In other hands, Dr. Martineau's theory would lead to a revival of the Jansenist *delectatio victrix*, which makes void that very free-will he holds so dear. Again, the definition of right and wrong confuses those ideas with the notions of better and worse, so that many actions would be classed as wrong which the most rigid moralist would never condemn. I cannot express myself more clearly than J. S. Mill does in the following words: "It is not good that persons should be bound to do everything that they would deserve praise for doing. . . . This distinction was fully recognized by the sagacious and far-sighted men who created the Catholic ethics."

Dr. Martineau next passes to those "Heteropsychological" schemes which attempt to bring the moral phenomena of our minds under some other category. The most important of these is of course "Utilitarianism" or "Hedonism," which looks on morality as equivalent to being useful for happiness in the sense of pleasure.

This being the position taken up, in one form or other, by most opponents of the intuitive school of morals, is more searchingly examined than any other. I can only notice one or two salient points. A discrimination between motive and resultant pleasure clears away many verbal juggles: and the younger Mill's admission, that there are "higher" and "lower" pleasures, is used as a wedge to drive into the heart of the Hedonist position. It is also clearly shown that although there is some provision in our nature for converting interested into disinterested feeling, yet the greatest happiness of self cannot possibly be identified with the greatest happiness of all. Nor will the praise and blame of society (as James Mill thought) suffice to do so unless all men agreed in those sentiments, which they would only do if what benefits one benefits all. The weakness of Utilitarianism is concealed from its supporters by its appearing after most of the ethical convictions of society have been settled; *their* benefits are apparent enough, and they are compared with no alternative.

We next meet with the ingenious modification of Hedonism which is due to Mr. Herbert Spencer. Dr. Martineau at once denies his fundamental position, that pleasure increases vital energy, and pain diminishes it. "Pleasure does not start the heightened activity, but closes it." Incidentally, there is a noble defence of Asceticism against Mr. Spencer's Philistine conception of it, as the mere worship of pain:

Its aim has been, not [only] to suffer, but to be free from the entanglements of self, to serve the calls of human pity or Divine love, and conform to the counsels of a Christ-like perfection. Condemn its method as you will, and satirize its extravagances, this was its essential principle, as it still is, for those to whom the garden of Gethsemane is more sacred than the garden of Epicurus.

Again, it is pointed out that the very essence of evolution is the addition of some fresh character to the stock handed down by heredity, so that on that hypothesis intellectual and moral qualities must be different in kind from their predecessors; also, that there are gaps in the chain of evolution, at the appearance of sentient and moral beings, which all Mr. Spencer's ingenuity has not bridged over.

Two more systems of ethics remain with which Dr. Martineau is much more in sympathy (though he thinks them insufficient) than with the Utilitarian school. One (Cudworth, Clarke, and Price) endeavoured to reduce moral to intellectual preferences; the other (Shaftesbury and Hutcheson) identified Right with the Beautiful.

This is a very meagre sketch of the whole work. Its two main characters will at least have been apparent: the exposition of an intuitive system of morals, and the refutation of all contrary systems. But it is by no means valuable on these accounts alone. Throughout the whole book, but especially where he is defending his own system, a large number of passages are to be found which must interest every student of morals. Such are a very striking justifi-

cation of the belief in hell; keen analyses of sentimentality and of "interest in religion"; the extent of our duty to God and to our neighbour; commutative and distributive justice; and the exceptions which Dr. Martineau thinks may sometimes be made to the rule of veracity.

The whole work is written in a grave and solemn manner, which seems to carry us into an air purer and serener than that in which men commonly dwell. We can only all the more desire *talis cum sis, utinam noster esses*, and that a mind so qualified in all ways to appreciate it, should not have entered into Catholic philosophy. For us, however, this has its compensations. Though Dr. Martineau's course, on almost every subject, is not identical with ours, yet he moves on lines parallel, and so near to us that we are often able to learn more from him than from expositions of our own doctrines, which fall upon ears that are dull, because familiar with them.

J. R. GASQUET.

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*Life of Anne Catherine Emmerich.* From the German of Very Rev. K. E. SCHMÖGER, C.S.S.R. Two vols. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1885.

WE shall always find much to marvel at in the lives of even the most ordinary of God's saints. We shall not be astonished, therefore, to meet many strange and curious incidents in the history of Sister Catherine Emmerich, who was by no means an ordinary saint. Quite the reverse. She was a saint (and the word is only used in that limited sense which obtains before canonization) of a most unusual order, and led a life so wholly mystifying and supernatural, that we are almost more impressed by its strangeness, its difficulties, and the awful sufferings that accompanied it, than by anything else. The life of this wonderful woman should do much good. It should teach much of God's hidden ways, and His secret dealings with chosen souls; yet we must add that it is only minds of a certain temperament that will profit by the lesson, and we fear that such minds are extremely rare. To the weak in faith, to the sceptical and critical—indeed, we may say, to all who are unfamiliar with the strangeness of God's ways—it may have even an opposite effect; while to the pronounced enemies of our religion it may, perhaps, furnish some material for ridicule and contempt, and we very much question the wisdom of putting such arms into the enemies' hands. Indeed, we would like to see the book thoroughly revised and altered before putting it into the hands of the public.

Catherine's familiarity with the angels and the saints, and even with Jesus Christ himself, was so great and unwonted, that as we read we almost imagine that we are dreaming some strange and beautiful dream, or that we have wandered by chance into some fancy realm of fairyland. The great citizens of the heavenly court sometimes rendered her the most signal services, and often saved her in moments



of imminent danger. Thus, when carrying linen from the wash to the drying loft, she met with an accident which would certainly have proved fatal had not her angel interposed and "seized the rope and saved her from falling with the weight." Indeed, a constant and very familiar intercourse with the world of spirits, of the details of which there is abundance in these pages, forms perhaps the most marvellous side of her life. Yet the severity, bitterness, and duration of her sufferings and trials are from another point of view almost, if not equally, as marvellous. Interior trials and cruel maladies, most varied in form and opposite in symptom, were her daily bread; her soul was tortured with sadness, anguish, dryness, desolation; it was in this manner that she atoned both for the whole Church and its individual members. Like another S. Francis, she received the stigmata, and though repeated tests were applied, they only served to prove its genuineness the more completely. Indeed, we may conclude this brief notice by saying that there is nothing stated in this truly wonderful life which any properly instructed Catholic would hesitate to believe on sufficient grounds. We know that God can and does work prodigies in His saints; the whole matter resolves itself therefore into a question of evidence. If the evidence is sufficient, it only remains for us to glorify God, who is wonderful in His saints. To say that the evidence put before us in this book is strong and persuasive, is possibly not to say too much; the final verdict, however, we must in all patience leave to her who has received the commission from Christ to judge and decide such matters.

Before entering upon the history of this chosen soul, the devout reader should carefully study the Introduction by Fr. Schmäger, C.S.S.R. It will aid him immeasurably in forming a just estimate of the veracity of the incidents related, and by indicating the tests of virtue, help him to recognize its presence in the person of Sister A. Catherine Emmerich.

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*Christian Constitution of States by Leo XIII. A Manual of Catholic Politics: With Notes and Commentary, by the Bishop of SALFORD. London: Burns & Oates. Manchester: C. McVeigh, 14 Livesey street.*

THE Bishop of Salford has added to his series of "The People's Manuals," a handy edition of the authorized translation of the recent Papal Encyclical on the character of the State according to the principles of Christianity. Of the grave importance of the subject matter of that Encyclical, it would be superfluous to speak; while the manner in which the supreme Pontiff has dealt with it, justifies the description of his letter as "The Catholic's Manual of Politics." It must therefore surely be most opportune at a moment, when here in England the new franchise has placed political influence in so many hands to spread abroad and popularize the teaching of Christ's Vicar. For, as we read in the Introduction to this little volume:—

The momentous struggle between political atheism and Christianity is being waged in England, if not as fiercely at least as seriously as on the Continent.

This is undeniable; and it is of vast importance to teach a multitude of voters, both old and new, to look oftentimes through the mere conflict of "parties," on to the vital principles which may be threatened now on one side and now on the other, sometimes even on both sides alike. It is these principles with which the Holy Father is concerned; he has studiously emphasized his singleness of purpose in this regard. The Bishop of Salford also opens his Introduction to Catholic voters with this clear distinction:—

In public and political life some principles and maxims are Christian, and as such to be known and openly professed by Catholics, while others are purely economical, political, dynastic, or constitutional; and as such are outside the commission of the Gospel—outside, thereof, the jurisdiction of the Church.

And, speaking of the Encyclical as a guide in politics:—

As such, it should be read and re-read, and studied in every Catholic Club, and by intelligent Catholics, young and old. It is the test to which they should apply all political opinions that are in any way of doubtful morality. If these do not square with the teaching of the Pope, they need to be reconsidered, reformed, or discarded. It is the code of political doctrine which must be held by all Catholics, to which ever party in the State they may belong.

That such words do not overstate the value and the practical usefulness of the Encyclical, is plain enough to any one who has read it carefully and can see, also, the signs of the times. We believe, therefore, that the present publication is calculated to do much good; and we trust it may find its way into libraries, clubs, and wherever those who now enjoy a vote, wish to use it for the true and permanent interests of the State, and in the service of Christianity. And the bishop dwells, rightly we think, on the duty of using one's vote and influence. We need only add that the Pope's letter is here divided into parts, according to its subject matter; each part is followed by a commentary in which much subsidiary matter is to be found on interesting points raised by the argument; short footnotes explain as need arises, terms used in the text; and lastly, each page of the text has its analytical heading which brings into prominence its meaning and drift. The footnotes, will, we feel sure, prove useful; see as an example the one on page 66, on "Toleration"; whilst the nature of the sections in the Commentary may be gathered from such headings as "Catholic Principles imbedded in the British Constitution and in the Statute and Common Law," "Catholic Laymen and Public Life," "The Conduct of Priests and Politics," and "On Catholics attending Protestant Worship, and on the Right Feeling towards non-Catholics." It will be seen that within the dimensions of a twopenny book, much has here been done in the hope of making intelligible to every one the scope and practical application of the Holy Father's "Manual of Catholic Politics."

*Early Christian Symbolism.* A Series of Compositions from Fresco-Paintings, Glasses, and Sculptured Sarcophagi. Selected, Arranged and Described by the late WILLIAM PALMER, M.A. Edited, with Notes, by the Revv. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., and W. R. BROWNLOW, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

IN the eight sumptuous *cahiers* of this important work we have now realized for the first time an idea of the late Mr. William Palmer. Some seventeen years ago, in Rome, he was studying the ancient Christian inscriptions, chiefly of the Catacombs, and it struck him that it would be a useful enterprise to choose and classify, for historical and controversial purposes, leading examples of these representations, accompanying them with a few notes. We have here, therefore, arranged under fourteen headings, a series of typical drawings from the very dawn of Christian art. They exhibit to the eye, as he tells us, the Christianity of the third century, though possibly one or two may belong to the second, and several of them certainly to the fourth. The author does not pretend to present any new drawings or discoveries; most of them had already been long known in the pages of Bosio and Aringhi; others were copied for the author from the Catacombs. But the arrangement, that is, the placing certain designs side by side in one composition belongs to Mr. Palmer himself; and it is the portfolio of these arrangements, together with the writer's notes, which Dr. Northcote and Canon Brownlow, zealous in the cause of ancient Christian ichnography, have disinterred and now present to the public, enriched with a few notes of their own. The first "composition" refers to what the author calls "the Dispensation;" the new Covenant, and symbolized by Christ the good Shepherd, and Christ the rock, with the representative figures of Moses and Peter. Next follows the "Woman"—that is, an illustration of prayer to the Blessed Virgin; then the "Rod"

St. Peter and his prerogatives, supplemented by the next, in which the two great apostles figure. The Scriptures, the Eucharist, the Sacraments, the Virgins, and the Martyrs are next illustrated. We have then a reproduction of several of those Old Testament types which occur again and again in the old Christian inscriptions—Susanna, Nabuchodonosor, Jonas; Herod, also, has a page or two, whilst the work concludes by the reproduction of symbols of Baptism and Burial. An appendix follows, giving the celebrated "blasphemous" crucifix, scratched by some mocking hand on a wall in the palace of the Caesars, probably before the end of the second century, together with some Gnostic inscriptions, &c. The value of this work lies in its systematic arrangement. Those who are familiar with the writings of Dr. Northcote and Canon Brownlow, not to mention the "Roma Sotteranea" of De Rossi, will find no novelties, and Mr. Palmer's own letterpress has been anticipated whilst it has waited for the light of day. But still it is a valuable guide to ancient ichnography; and as in the old Christian art the same subjects recur over and over again, the lessons which that art teaches and the



historic facts which it enshrines may be learnt very easily and very clearly from a book of this kind, which has the further advantage of being beautifully printed on large paper. It is dedicated to his Eminence Cardinal Newman, in whose possession Mr. Palmer's drawings and MS. seem to have been left, and who, in promoting this publication, doubtless has the satisfaction of still further ministering to the good memory of a dear friend.

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*The Divine Office considered from a Devotional Point of View.* From the French of M. l'Abbé BACQUEZ. Edited by the Rev. ETHELRED L. TAUNTON, Cong. Ob. With a Preface by his Eminence the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. London: Burns & Oates.

WE have, in this translation, a most useful and welcome addition to the library of English devotional books. Many priests and religious know and use this work in its original language; but very many more will make use of this translation. It may be said at once that the translation itself is fairly good. More than this can hardly be stated in its favour, because, although the English version reads for the most part smoothly and has the air of being sensible and correct, there are numerous feeblenesses apparent on close inspection, which turn out on examination to be mistakes of rendering. The work is divided into two divisions, the first of which treats on the Divine Office as a whole—its excellence, the necessity for studying it, and the way to go through it—whilst the second goes into details as to each of the Canonical Hours. There are at the end forty or fifty pages of notes, in addition to the numerous footnotes scattered throughout the work. All is very edifying and useful; but it is to be regretted, perhaps, that the editor, who has thrown in various bits of his own here and there, chiefly in the notes, did not go a little further and make the bibliography of his subject a little less incomplete. For example, Abbot Wolter's "*Psallite Sapienter*" might have been mentioned—an eloquently written, though too long-drawn-out commentary on the Psalms, the translation of which is, we suppose, the only Catholic commentary in English on the Psalms. Perhaps even J. M. Neale might have been named; he was not in the visible Church, but he is perfectly orthodox, and in every way excellent. We wish some one would translate Thalhofer's "*Erklärung*;" no better manual of the Psalter could be desired. On the Hymns of the Breviary, it is unsatisfactory to be put off with the *Elucidatorium* of Clichtovius and the *Elucidatio* of Timothy of Granada. We must own to never having heard of the latter commentator. The original French note gives the name "*Tim Grateensis*." There must be a mistake somewhere, but it can hardly matter much, for neither name is likely to be met with in the oldest of old-book catalogues. Reference might have been made to Mone's "*Hymni Latini mediæ ævi*," and it would not have taken up much space to insert a complete catalogue of breviary hymns, abridged from that

given in Addis and Arnold's Dictionary out of one of Bishop Hefele's essays. No one can help heartily agreeing with the author on the necessity of studying the Divine Office. Full as it is of history, tradition, hagiology, and spirituality, it easily becomes a very thick-skinned apple to those whose object is merely to get it recited and done with. But the author hardly gives sufficient importance to the study of its literal and historical side. This refers especially, of course, to the Psalms, which form the substance of the Office. The Psalms are comparatively dry and vague unless we can distinguish one from the other. Devotional or mystical applications are easy enough to make—easy to writers, that is, of the French school, but by no means equally sure to strike the attention of readers or to touch the heart. It may not be true of every Psalm, but by far the greater part can be fixed in the mind by the circumstances under which they seem to have been written. The utterances of David, in the persecution of Saul, in the moment of victory, among the rocks and hiding-places of the desert, or in the presence of the Ark of God, have each their special and marked interest, and the study of such features not only makes it easy to distinguish one Psalm from another, but serves to show the connection of verse with verse, and to bring out occasional picturesque and striking references in the language of the Psalm itself. It is true, this is but the framework of devotion; but a framework is very useful. We heartily recommend this translation to priests and religious; we are not so well off in the matter but that we are bound to thank those who give us works of this kind in the mother-tongue. It is well and clearly printed, and the notes and references have evidently been revised with some care.

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*The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge.* By JOHN FISKE.  
London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

THIS is an address delivered before the Concord School of Philosophy, by one who has done most to diffuse a knowledge of Mr. Spencer's system in the United States. He professes, and doubtless considers himself, to be a thorough disciple of that teacher; but to us it appears that he has hardly succeeded in following two opposite courses at the same time, and that his scheme may rather be called semi-Spencerianism. We gladly recognize that he believes in the existence of an Omnipresent Energy, which is not identical with the universe, but is, "in some incomprehensible sense, quasi-personal." He refuses, therefore, to say that "God is Force," "since such a phrase inevitably calls up those pantheistic notions of blind necessity which it is my express desire to avoid," and prefers the expression, "God is Spirit." He lays stress upon the service which the doctrine of evolution can render to the cause of Theism; and makes one remark we have not seen elsewhere, that Darwinian biology, "by exhibiting the development of the highest spiritual qualities as the goal towards which God's creative work has from the outset been tending, replaces Man in his old position of headship

in the universe, even as in the days of Dante and Aquinas." This is so far satisfactory that we all the more regret the confusions and contradictions into which Mr. Fiske has been led by following his teacher. These have been so fully discussed on other occasions that we need not now recur to them. One difficulty that he raises need alone detain us. Following one Professor Allen, he maintains that there have been two different opinions in the Christian schools as to the knowledge of God; and he sets Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and, above all, St. Athanasius in opposition to the line of thought which he considers to be dominant in the Church since St. Augustine. We need not say that he has been misled by his authority, and that no such difference exists. St. Athanasius has fortunately left us a treatise (the "*Oratio contra Gentes*") in which he describes our knowledge of God with a clearness and precision which he could not have exceeded had he written after the Vatican Council. We could wish nothing better than that Mr. Fiske should read it for himself. He would there find that God "hath not made extreme use [*κατεχρήσατο*] of His invisible nature, and left Himself entirely unknown to men;" but, for the very reason that He is invisible and incomprehensible in His own nature, hath so ordered creation that, by its order and harmony, it may point out and proclaim its own Governor and Maker.

Mr. Fiske, in common with so many other writers at this day, has never realized two points which are clearly brought out in the philosophy of the Church, and which would solve all his difficulties. The first is, that our statements concerning God, in order to be true, need not be adequate; and that our knowledge of Him is real, although incomplete. The second point is, that the perpetual indwelling of the Divinity in external nature and in the human soul does not imply an identity, or fusion, of the Creator and the creature. If these are borne in mind, all the seeming contradictions which are a difficulty to our author at once disappear.

*Tributes of Protestant Writers to the Truth and Beauty of Catholicity*  
By JAMES J. TREACY. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.

THE compiler of these "Tributes" has an idea that non-Catholics, however hostile they may be to the true Church, are impelled by a special dispensation of Providence to testify to "the truth and beauty of Catholicity;" and in his reading of the works of the various English-speaking Protestant writers he has noted the passages which seemed to support this opinion.\* His book is consequently a series of extracts only from the works of such writers as Alison, Froude, Macaulay, &c., bearing witness to the excellence of the doctrines and practices of Catholicism, and on a variety of subjects, amongst others of the Crusades, Chivalry, Penance, Vows, &c. In reading

\* Since this was written we see with pleasure that the Holy Father has sent his benediction to the author, and a cameo, as a mark of his appreciation of the book.



through the extracts we have been particularly struck by the tributes to the Catholic clergy; notably by that from "The Notes of a Traveller," by Samuel Laing, in which the Catholic clergy are compared with those of other denominations. The book will be welcome to many Catholics as containing, in a compact and handy form, the opinions of some of the most important Protestant writers in favour of their holy religion. The volume is neatly got up and well bound, and would form an excellent gift-book or prize.

*Hans Holbein.* PAR JEAN ROUSSEAU. "Bibliothèque d'Art Ancien."

*J. F. Millet.* PAR CHARLES YRIARTE. "Bibliothèque d'Art Moderne."

*Ghiberti et son Ecole.* PAR CHARLES PERKINS. "Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art."

*Le Style Louis XIV. Charles Le Brun.* PAR A. GENEVAY. "Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art." The four volumes, the same publisher. Paris: Librairie de l'Art. Jules Rouam, Editeur. 1886.

ALTHOUGH widely different the one from the other in subject, period and treatment, we place these four volumes together, because, being alike Art volumes, and coming from the same publisher, we are unable this quarter to give to each of them separately that space and detailed attention which we should like to give and they well deserve. They are books for artists or for art *amateurs*, and are illustrated in that high style which one looks for from the publishing house of *L'Art*. The small quarto volume on Holbein has a special interest for English readers; and although we will not institute a comparison (which might have the proverbial quality) between the text of this French and recent English sketches of the artist and his work, we will venture to note the advantage gained to the illustrations in the French volume by its larger size. The drawing and execution of the numerous full-page illustrations in this handbook on Holbein are first-rate. Most of the plates are portraits, and they so well reflect the artist's well-known accuracy of drawing as to be really excellent "copies." In addition to a criticism of his chief works, there is an interesting analysis of each of the cats in the "Dance of Death," and a double-paged copy of Holbein's sketch of Sir Thomas More's family—"la sévère famille et le grave intérieur," as the French critic puts it. Another recommendation of this Holbein is its moderate price, 2*fr.* 50*cs.* The companion volume on the modern painter Millet (he died early in 1875) is perhaps of less general interest to English readers.\* But there is this charm about all the works of

\* What Mr. Ruskin has said about Millet in his "Fiction—Fair and Foul" (*The Nineteenth Century*, October 1881), though only a few lines, is of singular interest. The fact that the young man was brought up chiefly under the care of

his best (and longest) period; he devotes himself exclusively to the study of rural scenery and peasant life, the varieties and incidents of which he reproduces with truthfulness to nature and the variety of nature herself. There is one incident of his artistic career which we shall be pardoned for mentioning. He appears to have been always a man of simple life, great honesty of thought and conscientious withal; but he had drawn the nude, unsuspecting of evil and seeing in it only "*une vente facile et utile aux siens*," for he had a wife and family. But the chance remark of an unknown bystander as they looked together into a window where one of his paintings was exhibited, revealed to him another aspect of the affair, and he refused firmly and for ever after "*à peindre ces sujets demandés*."

Let the reader please take the very little we can here say of the other two, larger and more abundantly illustrated and expensive volumes, as being in exactly inverse ratio to their artistic excellence and critical merits. Much should we like to dwell at length on the volume which treats of the many-sided genius of Ghiberti and his *chef-d'œuvre*, those bronze baptistry gates of San Giovanni at Florence, of which Michael Angelo said they were worthy to adorn the gateway of Paradise, and which have never since been excelled. Mr. Perkins—Director of the Boston (U.S.A.) Museum, and "*correspondant de l'Institut de France*"—writes pleasantly and criticizes intelligently. His remarks are admirably illustrated by reproductions of photographs of the gates and by woodcuts of their separate panels on a larger and more useful scale. The other works of Ghiberti are not forgotten either by the writer or the artist.

Of Le Brun, in whom the author recognizes the greatest French decorator, of his preponderating influence on the art of the *grand siècle*, of his works, of his collaborateurs and of the period in which he lived, M. Genevay has much to say, and he says it well; indeed his name is well known as an art critic. As to the typographical beauty of the volume, and the choice and quality of the numerous illustrations, we can only say that they are excellent, and sufficiently characterize the period of which the book treats.

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his uncle, the Abbé Charles, which Mr. Ruskin uses to point a moral, seems not to be mentioned in Mr. Yriarte's sketch. Neither is there in this French volume a plate of that particular picture of Millet's of which Mr. Ruskin says, with grim sarcasm: "I find one peculiarly characteristic and expressive of modern picture-making called 'Hauling,' or more definitely 'Paysan rentrant du Fumier,' which represents a man's back, or at least the back of his waistcoat and trousers and hat, in full light, and a small blot where his face should be, with a small scratch where his nose should be, elongated into one representing a chunk of timber in the back ground;" though we confess there are some others which (at least as they stand in these sketches) sadly lack definiteness and meaning. Mr. Ruskin, however, perceived that Millet "had indeed natural faculty of no mean order in him."

*Russian Art and Art Objects in Russia: a Handbook to the Reproductions of Goldsmiths' Works, and other Art Treasures from that Country, &c.* By ALFRED MASKELL. In two parts. Part II. London: Published for the Committee of Council on Education by Chapman & Hall. 1884.

THE second part of Mr. Maskell's book\* comprises religious art, arms and armour, English plate, and miscellaneous objects. This division of the work, which is perhaps due to publishers' requirements, does not seem very judiciously chosen. The chapters on "religious art" and "ecclesiastical metal work" intervene between the notice, in chapter vi., of the regalia and other artistic appurtenances of civil pomp, next which the account of arms and armour might have found a more suitable place. Under "religious art," too, has been included the short account of ornamental needlework, which of all art-work in Russia is the most distinctly characteristic and independent of Byzantinism or other Christian influences. But in truth the field of the author's labours, including, as it does, Greek, Colonial, Scythian, Siberian, Muscovite, Russo-Byzantine, and English gold and silversmiths' arts, is so vast and varied, and so utterly out of proportion to the dimensions of this small manual, as to present great difficulties in the way of a methodical and lucid arrangement of the very diverse materials, while the few and meagre woodcuts employed fail to afford any adequate illustration of the subject. It must be said, however, in favour of the author that doubtless there were "circumstances over which he had no control," as the manual is one of a series, and therefore subject to certain restriction, and taking this into account we have no hesitation in saying that a large amount of valuable information is compressed into its small compass. It is for the most part compiled in a guarded and judicious spirit, as is only wise, seeing the immature condition of archaeological science itself in Russia, the diversity of opinion, the scarcity of ancient records, the heterogeneous nature of the materials, and the circumstance that the author is apparently unacquainted with the language of the country, and consequently with most of the best critical work which has been done of late years in the field of Russian antiquity.

While acknowledging the value and usefulness of Mr. Maskell's book, there are several points, not indeed very material ones, upon which it may be worth while to say a few words. A brief but fairly clear account of Church architecture is the first subject under religious art, where the influence of the Lombard builders, invited to Russia in the twelfth century, has been duly noticed by the author, who would have given much help to the reader had he lettered and described his ground-plan of a Russian Church at page 153. The element in the development of Russian ecclesiastical architecture was mostly overlooked until attention was drawn to it by Count Stroganof in his work on the early churches at Vladimir na Klinsme. Mr. Maskell scarcely alludes to this influence in small objects, as

\* Notice of first part in the July number of this REVIEW 1885, p. 228.



owing to most of them having perished, it is less traceable. We may, however, mention a little-known chalice of the twelfth or thirteenth century, preserved at Pereiaslavl, where it is apparent in a remarkable degree.

The "iconostasis" is described on p. 158 as "a solid erection extending from side to side, from floor to roof." The iconostasis is, however, by no means always carried up to the roof. It is, as Mr. Maskell judiciously remarks, interesting to compare the modern screen with the *septum* of churches like St. Clement's in Rome; but an intermediate phase should be noted in Greek and Armenian Churches, which we could name did space suffice, and even in the rock churches in the Crimea. In earlier times, the author states, the iconostasis was lower. It would be more accurate to say that in its place there was a low barrier or balustrade (*cancelli*), often connected with columns which supported statues (hence the term: Iconostasis), were subsequently surmounted by an architrave, and eventually developed in the East into the present form of the iconostasis, and in the West into the rood screen. See the present writer's remarks on this subject on pp. 447-8, in the number of this REVIEW for last April, and in vol. iii. of the fine work "*La Messe*," by M. Rohault de Fleury, who has thrown much light on this subject.

The remark on p. 153, that up to the middle of the fifteenth century the three apses were all of them surmounted by cupolas, is open to objection. There were a few instances of churches with numerous cupolas, notably St. Sophia at Kiev. It seems, however, to be mostly agreed that the general earlier form of the Russian Church had but one dome or cupola. Kiprianof seems to have been quoted in this connection without acknowledgment.

The notice of the Church of Vasili Blazhénnoi, would rather lead one to infer a direct Indian or at least Asiatic influence in its construction. This idea is, however, mostly abandoned by Russian antiquaries. The peculiar shaped cupolas, the superimposed arches, are traced to the earlier timber churches. The edifice, which has usually been accounted one of the best and most splendid specimens of Moscow architecture of the sixteenth century, is a *tour de force*, in which the structural principles previously existing were translated from wood to brick and stone, and developed to a fantastic and meretricious exuberance, described most happily by Theophile Gautier: its character is pronounced by competent judges to be thoroughly Russian. It is worth noting that the chief architectural terms are genuine Russian words. The house of the Romanoffs in Moscow is almost the only specimen of Russian secular architecture extant which gives an idea of the former dwellings of the nobles; but in this connection the drawings made by order of Catherine II. of the palace of Alexis Mikhailovich (1645), at Kolomenskoe, are of great interest, and should not have been overlooked.

Decorated manuscripts, both because they frequently supply indications of date, and because they are oftener preserved than objects

more exposed or of greater intrinsic worth, afford most valuable materials for the history of art. For here the ornamentalist, untrammelled by any constructive necessities, has the widest scope for his conception, and can give the freest play to the contemporary decorative feeling and to the development of its characteristics. In the manual under notice the subject of manuscripts is hardly allotted a space commensurate with their importance as an element and illustration of art in Russia, and here too, perhaps, as in some other respects, the author seems to place too implicit reliance upon Viollet-le-Duc. For instance, it is surely venturesome to speak of Slavonic ornaments as existing in manuscripts of the tenth century, when the earliest monument of Slavonic writing dates only from the eleventh century. Of course the southern Slavonians, who were more directly under the influence of Byzantium, but of whom, however, Mr. Maskell scarcely says a word, may have exercised some influence upon the workmanship of the artists and artificers in Byzantium in the tenth century, though, as their traditions would be rude, this does not seem very probable. The constant conflux of foreigners to the capital of the Eastern Empire, may doubtless have been answerable for the disorderly exuberance and meretricious diversity of much of Byzantine MS. art. The homilies of St. Chrysostom of the tenth century has a Slavonic character, says Mr. Maskell, after Viollet-le-Duc, which recalls the incrustations in coloured glass of barbaric work.

That the decoration of Greek MSS., executed presumably in Constantinople or in Greek Scriptoria at a date anterior to the earliest known Slavonic writing, should display Slavonic character, seems an unlikely supposition only explicable on the hypothesis of Slavonic artists in Byzantium at this early date. The ornament in question does not, indeed, in our opinion, present any very distinct affinities with extant Slavonic decoration; on the other hand, it strikingly reminds one of the Syrian manuscripts of which engravings and notices are found in Lambecius, and in some respects is not unlike the ornament in the Eusebian Canons, purchased for the British Museum at Dr. Askew's sale in 1785. It is hardly correct to say that in the eleventh century the gold ground of manuscript paintings entirely disappears; the celebrated Ostromir Gospels of that period are lavishly decorated with gold.

Coming to textiles:

The designs embroidered or woven in the fabric of the borders of household linen, and some articles of costume, are, Mr. Maskell truly says, especially characteristic in Russia, and mark in an especial manner the artistic tastes and originality of the people. This class of work is, for the most part, embroidered (the pattern on one side only) in red cotton, in simple lines or cross stitches; or in white with threads drawn out. . . . We find geometrical mosaics, lozenges and crosses with denticulated edges, floral motives borrowed from Persia, men, animals, trees and monsters. Often the figures are *affrontes*, or are back to back, having between them a tree or flower. It is only necessary to allude to the frequency of this figure in the stuffs and ornaments of Persia, and the worship of Mithras. . . . The habit of embroidery

has always been constant; old pieces descend in families, and the same designs with slight variations are perpetuated from generation to generation, forming a science full of technicalities perfectly understood. The origin of the ancient style of ornament and design is quite uncertain. If a worker were questioned, the only answer would be that they [*sic*] work from memory and tradition transmitted from one generation to another. It is equally a matter of uncertainty to fix dates or localities. The figures and ornaments are not peculiarly national, they are to be found among many peoples. A comparison, however, of the figures (such as the double-headed eagle and fantastic quadrupeds) with similar figures in illuminated manuscripts, will lead to some conclusions from which it would appear that the designs of this kind of needlework go back to the earliest times of the Russia of history. They are also distinctly Oriental. They are Asiatic. Again, though the peasant is absolutely unaware of it, every line, every form has its signification. In designs which are composed simply of geometrical lines, where the figures are conventionalized to the last degree, religious signs and religious emblems, signs of good wishes and good augury, common to the East, are to be traced (p. 178).

We may perhaps be forgiven this long quotation, as the domain is one in which, if anywhere, a Russian national art exists. Mr. Maskell has in the above remarks evidently followed M. Stassof, who has made the subject of national embroidery peculiarly his own, but who, with the enthusiasm of a specialist, may not improbably have pushed too far the theory of the significance of the types used in embroidery; compositions of animals *affrontés* or *adossés* would be, as it seems to us, naturally enough suggested by the punched-out bractee, numerous found in the *Kourgani*, which were sewn on to garments and hangings, and many of which were in the form of animals. We venture diffidently to hint at the possibility of another origin. The wooden dwellings to be found all over Russia are, for the most part, log-built, but the roof-edges of the gable and the similarly shaped window frames, are faced with flat planks which have been fret-sawn into ornamental forms usually culminating in heads of animals *affrontés* or *adossés*. There can be no doubt that this is a very ancient practice; the head most generally represented appears to be that of the horse, an animal held in honour among the pagan Slavonians, as it is still by some of the Siberian or Central Asian tribes. Whether these decorative timbers were fret-worked before or after they were sawn into the boards, their employment in this way suggests very naturally, as it seems to us, the symmetrical gemination so often met with in the forms affected in Russian embroidery.

We must remark that, although, indeed, especially at the present time, large quantities of needlework, showing the design on one side only of the material, is produced for cheap sale in the towns, the genuine and most prized work, which may be had easily enough in the country, is that which presents exactly the same appearance on both sides of the fabric. The secret of this cunning work does not, however, seem to be easily acquired by ladies in the higher classes, being perhaps kept with some jealousy.

Mr. Maskell might easily have included in his manual a list of the



works referred to, and an index. Such additions would very materially have enhanced the usefulness of his book, which furnishes in a compendious form an immense amount of information previously inaccessible to the ordinary reader. The author fully deserves the thanks of all interested in the history of art, for a work which will put them on the right road to a deeper study of this particular branch of the subject, and which will prove an invaluable mentor among the precious collections preserved in both the Russian capitals.

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*The War of Antichrist with the Church and Christian Civilization.* By Monsignor GEORGE F. DILLON, D.D., Missionary Apostolic, Sydney. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1885.

THIS handsomely-printed volume consists of Lectures given in Edinburgh towards the close of 1884, in which Monsignor Dillon exposes the designs of Freemasonry and kindred secret societies, which aim, under the cloak of humanity and philanthropy, at the destruction of Christianity and social order.

The progress of Atheism through Voltaire; its use of Freemasonry through the "Illuminism" of Weishaupt; its progress during the first French Revolution, and under such Masonic leaders as Nubius, Mazzini, and Palmerston; the use of English and Scotch Masonry by the Stuart partisans; but, above all, the baleful influence of the "Inner Circle," through which all revolutionary organizations are controlled, are clearly and calmly told, but with an effect more completely crushing than we remember to have read. The cunning abuse of national sentiment, studiously designed to entrap priests and people alike, and the omission of Christ from Masonic formularies, are profoundly significant of the methods of Atheism; while articles on Fenianism and practical remarks on Catholic organization bring the wide interest of the book nearer home. The lecture on the "Spoliation of the Propaganda" will be a revelation to many, and should provoke zeal for Catholic interests which, in the instance of Propaganda, has not hitherto been so successfully shown by Anglo-Hibernian as by American Catholicity. A very full table of contents dispenses with the need of an index.

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#### LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Synods in English." Being the Text of the Four Synods of Westminster. Translated &c. by the Rev. Robert E. Guy, O.S.B., with a Preface by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hedley, O.S.B. Stratford-on-Avon: S. Gregory's Press.

"The Church of the Apostles." By J. M. Capes, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

"*Chapters in European History.*" By William Samuel Lilly. 2 vols. London: Chapman & Hall.

"*Christianity, Science and Infidelity.*" By Rev. W. Hillier, Mus. Doc. Second Edition. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

"*Theology of the Hebrew Christians.*" By Frederic Rendall, A.M. London: Macmillan & Co.

"*The First Century of Christianity.*" By Homersham Cox, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"*The Pulpit Orator.*" By Rev. J. E. Zollner. Translated and adapted by Rev. Augustine Wirth, O.S.B. Third Edition. 6 vols. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

"*A Life of Joseph Hall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.*" By Rev. George Lewis, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

"*Quelques Pensées sur l'Education Morale.*" Par le Baron de Lenval. Paris: E. Plon & Co.

"*Mémoires sur les règnes de Louis XV et Louis XVI et sur la Révolution.*" Par J. N. Dufort, Comte de Cheverny. 2 tomes. Paris: E. Plon & Co.

"*Flora, The Roman Martyr.*" 2 vols. London: Burns & Oates.

"*The Pope: the Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Church.*" By the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Capel, D.D. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

"*Humanities.*" By Thomas Sinclair, M.A. London: Trübner & Co.

"*Why I would Disestablish: a Representative Book by Representative Men.*" Edited by Andrew Reid. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"*The Second Punic War.*" Being Chapters of the History of Rome. By the late Thomas Arnold, D.D. Edited by William T. Arnold, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

"*F. Boucher.*" Par André Michel. (*Les Artistes célèbres.*) Paris: Librairie de l'Art, J. Roumain.

"*A Tale of a Lonely Parish.*" By F. Marion Crawford. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

"*Mrs. Peter Howard.*" By the Author of "*The Parish of Hilby.*" 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

"*Dagonet the Jester.*" London: Macmillan & Co.

"*Louise de Kéroualle, 1649-1734.*" Par H. Forneron. Paris: E. Plon & Co.

"*Our Administration of India.*" By H. A. D. Phillips. Bengal Civil Service. London: W. Thacker & Co.

"*Short Easy Mass in E Flat.*" Composed by J. Cliffe Forrester. Newbury: Alphonse Cary.

"*The Official Baronage of England, 1066-1885.*" By James E. Doyle. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"*Tiresias, and other Poems.*" By Alfred, Lord Tennyson. London: Macmillan & Co.

"*The Choice of Books, and other Literary Pieces.*" By Frederic Harrison. London: Macmillan & Co.

## Record of Roman Documents.

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**ALTAR STONES, Reconsecration of.**—Special indult granted by Leo XIII. to the Bishop of Achonry, allowing him to reconsecrate any Altars which require reconsecration, at his convenience, and with the short form, and even to delegate a priest to do the same. (*S. C. Prop.*, Nov. 22, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 9, 1886; *Irish Eccles. Record*, Jan. 1886.

**BEATIFICATIONS.**—The following servants of God have been passing through the various processes connected with Beatification:—  
Canon Joseph Benedict Cottolengo, founder of the Institute known as "The Little House of Providence" in Turin.

Raiz, Fra Emmanuel, of the Order of Friars Minor Observants; also his seven companions.

Anne of Jesus, Sister, foundress of the Monasteries of Carmelites in Belgium.

Bellesini, Stephen, professed priest of the Order of Hermits of S. Augustine, parish priest of Genazzano.

Romans, Vincent, parish priest of Diocese of Naples.

Spagnoli, John Baptist, professed priest and Prior-General of the entire Carmelite Order, for the confirmation of the *Cultus* rendered *ab immemorabili*. *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 26, 1885.

Luzzago, Alexandro. *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 23, 1886.

Zaccaria, Ven. Father. *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 27, 1886.

Hofbauer, Clement, a Redemptorist, of Vienna.

Grignon de Montfort, founder of the Missionaries of the Society of Mary.

Ines of Beniganim, or Sister Joseph Mary of S. Agnes, an Augustinian of Valencia.

Egidius Mary of S. Joseph, a professed lay brother of the Friars Minor of Strict Observance. *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 27, March 6, 1886.

Ribera, Fra Emmanuel, professed priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 27, 1886.

Chanel, Mario Louis, professed priest of the Society of Mary. *Vid. Tablet*, March 6, 1886.

**BLESSING OF A NEW CHURCH.**—The Mass to be said is that of the Saint in whose honour the Church has been raised, as a *Missæ sollemnis pro re gravi* without any commemoration. *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 2, 1886.

**CHAPTER, PRIVILEGES OF A.**—The privileges of the Chapter of San Eustachio, though introduced without sufficient authority, being conferred by Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, are not to be interfered with. (*S. Cong. Conc.*, Dec. 12, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 6, 1886.

**CONSECRATION OF A NEW ALTAR OR NEW CHURCH, ON OCCASION**



of.—The Mass will be of the dedication, with the exception of a few Feasts, when a commemoration only of the dedication will be made. *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 2, 1886.

FOUNDATION STONE OF NEW CHURCHES.—The Mass to be said after laying the foundation stone cannot, on Solemn Festivals, be the Mass of the Saint to whom the church is to be dedicated. It must always be a *Missa sollemnis pro re gravi* without any commemorations. The Bishop may depute a priest to say it. *Vid. Tablet*, Jan. 2, 1886.

JUBILEE OF 1886.—The Fast which is required as a condition for gaining the Jubilee can be observed in Lent, except on the days of Black-Fast, Ash-Wednesday and Good Friday. It cannot be observed on Ember days.

The Jubilee Confession must be distinct from the Annual Confession.

The Jubilee Indulgence may be gained as often as the conditions are fulfilled; but the Jubilee faculties for Absolution granted to Confessors can only be exercised once in favour of the same person.

The visits to the churches may be made on several days, or all on one day.

The Jubilee may be gained by those who fulfil the conditions, partly in one diocese, and partly in another, provided that the instructions of the Bishops in the respective dioceses be observed. (*Sac. Penit.*, Jan. 15, 1886.) *Vid. Irish Eccles. Record*, March, 1886, and *Tablet*, Jan. 30, 1886.

To leave the church and then again to enter it is declared to be necessary and sufficient to distinguish visits for the purpose of the Jubilee. (*Sac. Penit.*, 1875.) *Vid. Irish Eccles. Record*, March, 1886.

A member of one parish joining in the Jubilee processions with the members of another parish may enjoy their privilege of being bound to fewer visits. (*S. Pen.*, Jan. 30, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 13, 1886.

PRIVILEGED ALTARS.—A priest saying the Mass of a semi-double, simple, a votive Mass, or of a feria not privileged at a privileged Altar, may gain the Indulgence, just as though he said the Mass of Requiem, on these occasions:—during the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and during the Octave of a great solemnity. (*S. C. Ind.*, July 24, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Nov. 7, 1885.

RACCOLTA OF INDULGENCES.—The ejaculation "Jesus, Heart of Mary," &c. (No. 176, p. 142, of Fifth Edition, Burns & Oates), is to be changed into "Jesus, beloved of Mary," &c. The original in Italian was, "Gesù, Cuor [Heart] di Maria," &c., now changed into "Gesù, diletto di Maria," &c. "Cuor di Maria" does not bear literal translation into English. (*C. S. Ind.*, June 5, 1885.) *Vid. Tablet*, Dec. 12, 1885.

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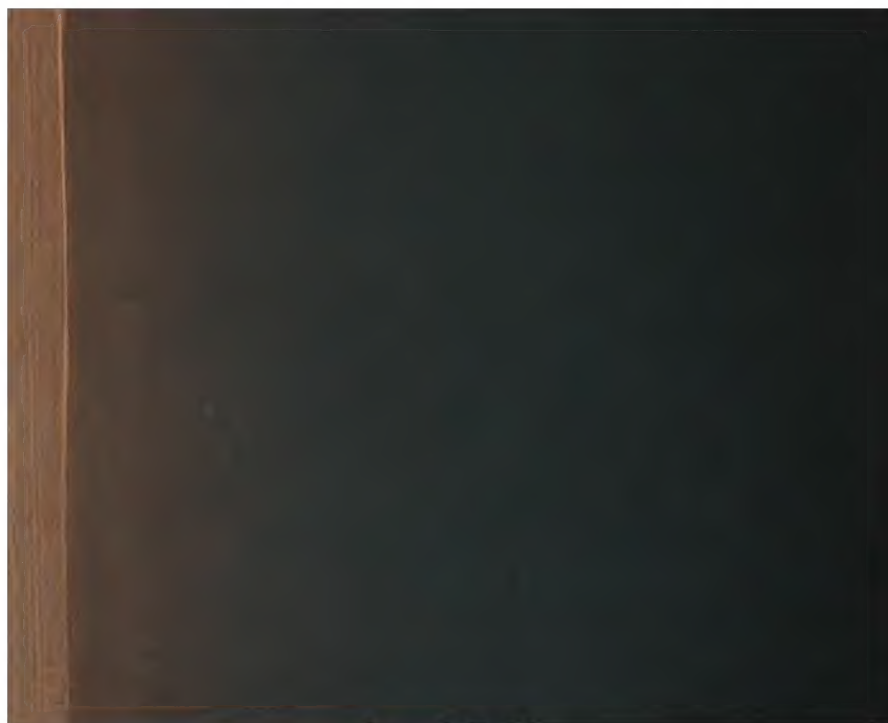
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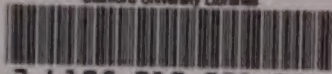








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